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Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs

Vol. II

Special Periods



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PREFACE

THE second volume of the Monographs is issued more than six months after the first, but well within the year 1909, thus punctually completing the four volumes (two of Register and two of Monographs) with which the Principal and the College respectively have endeavoured to mark the Quatercentenary of Brasenose.

Of the six parts or Monographs (nos. IX–XIV) which compose the present volume, three (nos. X, XI and XII) were completed in time to be noticed in the Preface to the first volume, so that here we need only again tender our best thanks to Mr. R. W. Jeffery, Mr. G. H. Wakeling and Professor Lodge for their generous and timely services to the College. The first Monograph (no. IX) is fortunate in having fallen into the hands of a distinguished barrister, for the 'Early Years of the College' were marked as much by processes of law as by statute-making and statute-mending. From Mr. Leadam's pen we have a first-hand investigation of the circumstances in which the College was built up, both materially and morally. It was undertaken under great pressure of other work, and he is to be congratulated and thanked for bringing it to so satisfactory a conclusion. With respect to no. XIII (the Eighteenth Century), when Mr. Edmundson found that he was quite unable to write it, we

should have been in real difficulties, but for the most opportune aid of Mr. R. W. Jeffery, who has applied the same system which he employed for the Sixteenth Century to a less stirring and in some ways also a less interesting period. He appears to the Editor to have obtained the best results possible from his material.

It is for the Nineteenth Century, which, as was clearly foreseen, could not be treated as evenly and systematically as the other periods, that the indulgence of readers is specially requested. They will recognize and welcome three first-rate pieces, Mr. Wace's on the College Boating, Mr. Buchan's all too short appreciation of nine 'Brasenose Worthies', and Mr. Jenkinson's original and elaborate study of Eugenics as illustrated from Brasenose records. The first of these does justice to the unique position of Brasenose on the River, and although, as Acting Bursar, the author has had many and onerous claims on his time, he has succeeded in giving an almost exhaustive record of the subject: 'he who does most can do more'.

Mr. Humphry Ward has kindly contributed a short sketch of Brasenose life in the genial reign of Dr. Cradock—'the Chief' on whom all Brasenose men of that time look back with special affection, as can well be understood by those who remember his warm interest in all the pursuits which distinguish the College.

But after these contributions, there remain some grievous gaps. The College had hoped for reminiscences of every decade from the Forties onward, but this was too much to expect. What could not Mr. Brandt have told us of early Cricket, or Mr. Gumbleton of the amateur theatricals for which

the College was so famous? Where too are the histories of the lesser College Clubs, such as the Vampires, the Octagon, the Ingoldsby, the Pater, the Sutton Society? We have to confess that these topics must for the present be looked up in Mr. W. B. Woodgate's racy *Reminiscences*, in Mr. A. C. Plowden's *Grain or Chaff?*, or in that rare treasurehouse of hidden history, the Provost of Worcester's privately printed *Our Memories*, or similar sources; and not in these pages. Let us hope that the College Magazine, the *Brazen Nose*, will help from time to time to make up for the defects of the present volume.

It will not, we trust, escape readers, how usefully the Principal's *Register* fits in with and supplements our more scattered notices of B.N.C. men. It has already helped considerably the preparation of these Monographs.

In conclusion our best thanks are due to the Principal for some much-appreciated help, and to a host of others whose names do not appear in the book itself—chiefly, as with Vol. I, to Mr. Coxhill, of the Bursary, who from start to finish has in no way relaxed his exertions, and who seems to possess a kind of radio-activity which does not burn itself out. The Keeper of the Hope Collection of Engraved Portraits has courteously furnished us with most of the engravings which illustrate Mr. Buchan's Monograph. We are grateful to Mr. H. W. Taunt, who has supplied us with Plate XXIX of Monograph III; also to Messrs. Hills and Saunders for Plate XXVIII of Monograph III and for Plates V–X of Monograph XIV. 1 and Plates XV–XVIII of Monograph XIV. 2. The elaborate and to some extent original

index is the work of Mrs. New and of Miss E. G. Parker, and only those who have done similar work can realize the patience and labour which it has involved. The inevitable toils of editing have been much lightened by the extraordinary 'reserve powers' of the army of compositors, readers, and other officers who owe allegiance to Mr. Horace Hart, the Controller of the Clarendon Press; and who have co-operated with success to bring out the present composite and difficult volume within the appointed time.

F. M.

DECEMBER 21, 1909.

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Early Years of the College

By

I. S. Leadam M.A.

Late Fellow of the College

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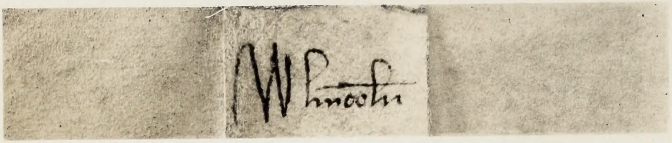
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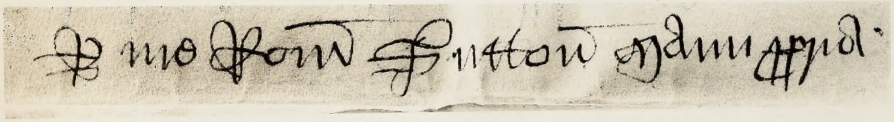
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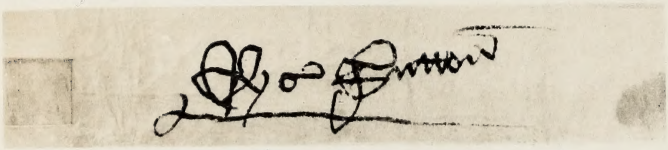
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2. Signature of Sir Richard Sutton
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THE EARLY YEARS OF THE COLLEGE

I

The Founders and the Foundation

THE early years of Brasenose College have faded from men's memories. With the exception of the two Founders, the details of whose careers have been disinterred by Churton and others from public archives, the names of those responsible for its early fortunes are names and nothing more.

Their antecedents are, for the most part, unknown; their correspondence has perished. Some thirty years ago,[1] indeed, a bundle of Bishop Smyth's letters was preserved in Westminster Abbey, but these have since vanished from the Muniment Room, having followed the fate ot others which had disappeared exactly a century earlier.[2] All that we know of the private life of the Bishop is contained in a letter to Sir Reginald Bray without date either of time or place, probably belonging to 1503, since he speaks of having 'byn her x yeres', that is, presumably, in Wales, of the Council of which he was a member as early as 1493. That letter, which pathetically regrets the state of his diocese, perforce neglected by him for affairs of State, discloses his temper towards the monastic houses. 'Also', he says, 'gret plases off relygyon bothe off the kyngs fundacyon and other moste be vyset[3] for thaye be sore dekayet in dyvyne seruys and other thyngs, and all the parsons and vycares for the moste parte byn absent, and let don[4] thayre manssyons and thayre chansels.' Such

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1874, p. 173. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub 'Smith, William.'

[2] R. Churton, *Supplement to the Lives of Bp. Smyth and Sir R. Sutton* (Oxford, 1803), p. 12.

[3] Must be visited. [4] down.

an indictment of the monasteries, the great appropriators of advowsons, if laid by Henry VIII's commissioners, would be parried by attacks upon their characters. Coming from such an authority and concerning Lincolnshire, in particular, notorious for the number of its religious houses,[1] this letter goes far to explain the resolution of the Bishop, though an unbending conservative, to devote his wealth to the endowment, not of monks but of a place of learning. Into his College no member of the Regular Clergy, even if accredited as his deputy by the Visitor himself, should ever be allowed to intrude[2], and for a Fellow to join a monastic order was *ipso facto* to vacate his Fellowship.

Bp. William Smyth.

William Smyth, successively Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and of Lincoln, Lord President of the Council of the Marches of Wales, and Founder of Brasenose College was, according to Churton, fourth son of Robert Smyth, of Peelhouse, in the parish of Prescot, Lancashire. His grandfather, Henry Smyth, was a country squire, seated at Cuerdley. The date of his birth and the place of his education are alike unknown. Churton conjectures, partly from the association of one Hugh Smyth with Lord Strange, son of the first earl of Derby, more forcibly from the patronage early bestowed upon the Founder by the earl's second wife, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, that he was brought up at a school in which were educated 'certayn young gentilmen at her findying'. This conjecture is strengthened by the certainty that as a young man Smyth enjoyed exceptional favour in high places. There is room for much doubt whether he can have been, as Anthony Wood suggests, a commoner of Lincoln College in 1478. It is known that he was a Bachelor of Law in 1485, when, within a month of Henry VII's accession, he was appointed to the lucrative office of Clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery. But, according to Dr. Rashdall, M.A. candidates for the degree of B.C.L. were compelled to submit to four years' study, making

[1] 'Lincolnshire had a monastery to every 53 square miles.' C. H. Pearson, *Historical Maps of England* (1870), p. 61.

[2] Statutes, pp. 30, 39.

a total of eleven years from the date of their admission to the University. Assuming the degree of B.C.L. to have been conferred on Smyth as late as 1485, he would have taken his Master's degree in 1481 and his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1477.[1] If, indeed, he proceeded to the degree of B.C.L. without first becoming a Master, his course of study would be six years from his B.A. degree, which would then date back to 1479, a very close margin on the most favourable hypothesis. Nor was he likely to have become, within eight years of being an undergraduate, as he did, as early as 1486, a member of the King's Council. Further, in the letter from which a quotation has been made, which cannot well have been written later than 1503, the Bishop says, 'nowe I myselff beynge olde and full of sekenes and ache in my bones,' &c. Men, it is true, aged fast in those days, but if he were eighteen in 1478, he would be only forty-three in 1503, and scarcely likely to insist so strongly on senility and decay. Nor did any connexion exist between Lincoln College and Lancashire. The suggestion appears to have sprung from the identity of the names and from the subsequent benefactions of the Bishop to Lincoln College, of which he was official Visitor. But he was a benefactor of Oriel, being there also Visitor, and Fuller's eulogy of him is justified that 'this man wheresoever he went may be followed by the perfume of charity he left behind him'. He belonged to a well-to-do family and his provision for commoners in his College suggests that he may once have been in such a position himself. There was place for such in some of the older Colleges, but their academic dwelling was more often in one of the numerous halls. Among these Brasenose Hall enjoyed the distinction of being the only one not dependent upon a Collegiate foundation. It had a Northern connexion, and it may be that Smyth's selection of it for transformation into a College was prompted by affection for the home of his youthful years.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate at length, since they are to be found in the pages of Churton and of the *Dictionary of*

[1] See H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. 454–6.

National Biography, the rapid succession of the preferments which poured upon Smyth after the accession of Henry VII to the throne. The part of the country from which he came was notably well-affected to the House of Lancaster, and it is possible that he or his family had, in some conspicuous way, exhibited loyalty to that dynasty. A favourite with the King's mother, he was in 1492, with Bishop Foxe, the Founder of Corpus, and Sir Elias Dawbeney, made a co-feoffee to the uses of her will. As dean of the royal chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster, he must have been constantly in touch with the King. In 1493 he was made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. In the same year he was appointed a member of Prince Arthur's Council in the Marches of Wales. While Bishop of Lichfield, he converted a ruinous house of Friars, known as the hospital of St. John, into an alms-house and grammar school, endowed by him, which still survive. In 1496 he was nominated Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Oxford was then situate, and four years later he was elected Chancellor of the University, an office he resigned in 1503.

After the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1502, Smyth became less absorbed in the government of Wales. 'The year 1507', says Churton, 'forms a kind of epoch in his life. In the course of this year he founded a Fellowship in Oriel College; he established a School in his native parish; he prepared a handsome benefaction for Lincoln College, and projected the endowment of a new and permanent College of his own.'[1] His gifts to Lincoln College consisted of the manors of Bushbery or Elston[2] in Staffordshire and of Sencleres in Chalgrove in Oxfordshire, a total area of 520 acres. A Fellow of Lincoln, Robert Parkinson, writing about 1570, after recording these examples of the Bishop's generosity, adds: 'Proposuerat, ut ferunt, omnia nostro Collegio praestitisse quae postea in Brasinnos egit, si voluissent Rector et Socii qui tum fuerunt ab eo propositas conditiones recipere.'[3] Churton, who repeats this story from Wood, rejects it with

[1] *Lives*, p. 231. [2] Also spelt Ailleston. Churton, *Lives*, p. 238.
[3] A. Clark, *College Histories*, Lincoln (1898), p. 33.

some warmth. What is more to the point, he shows that, whereas the conveyance to Lincoln is dated 24 October, 24 Henry VII (1508), the intention of the Bishop to build Brasenose College was mentioned by Edmund Croston, who died in Brasenose Hall, in his will dated 27 January $150\frac{7}{8}$, that is, nine months earlier. The story may, therefore, be dismissed as a tradition of disappointed expectations.

Sir Richard Sutton.

No record remains of the circumstances under which the Bishop was first brought into contact with Sutton. But there is one fact which suggests the possibility that the two were undergraduates together at Brasenose Hall. As Mr. Madan has noted,[1] William Sutton, M.A., was Principal of the Hall from 1465 to 1483, or longer. Churton conjectures that the arms borne by Sir Richard Sutton, which appear in the Divinity School, were those of the Principal of the Hall, and that the two were related. If that were so, though there is no record that Sir Richard was bred at Oxford, it is not unlikely that, if he were, he would, as a Northerner and a Sutton, make choice of the Hall of which his kinsman was the head. He was by no means a young man in 1508, and may quite possibly have been a contemporary of Bishop Smyth.

All that is known of the early life of Sir Richard Sutton is that he was the younger son of Sir William Sutton, knight, and was probably born at the family seat of Sutton, in the parish of Presbury, Cheshire. He was a barrister of the Inner Temple and is supposed to have acquired a fortune at the Bar. In 1490 he bought an estate at Somerby, in Leicestershire, with which county his family was connected, his father being Master of the well-endowed Foundation of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, and having been succeeded in that post by another of the same name. He became legal assessor to the Privy Council in 1498,[2] sitting in that capacity as a judge in the Court of Requests. He doubtless increased his fortune by the lucrative office of steward of the wealthy nunnery of Sion, and was currently distinguished from others

[1] Monograph I, p. 15.

[2] *Selected Cases in the Court of Requests* (Selden Society, 1898), p. ciii.

of the same name as 'Sutton the Steward of Sion'.[1] This association with a religious house probably coloured his views, there being reason to believe, as will hereafter be seen that, more strongly than Bishop Smyth, he was unfavourable to the New Learning and the downfall of the monastic system which it foreshadowed. In honour of the house of Sion, where he lived, he caused to be published, at his own cost, as the colophon declares, 'the reuelacyons of seynt Katheryne of Sene' in 1519, 'a most superb and curious specimen of ancient English typography,' by Wynkyn de Worde. He was, in short, one of a not unfamiliar pattern, a clerical layman. The only authentic portrait of him is at prayer.[2] It was, perhaps, his subserviency to ecclesiasticism which accounts for his passive acquiescence in the Bishop's autocratic exclusion of him from intervention in the statutes for the government of the College. The function assigned by the Bishop to Sutton was that of man of business. But he enjoys a special claim to distinction in that he was the first lay Founder of a College.

Brasenose founded.

Mr. Madan has already described the Halls out of which the College eventually emerged. The core of the whole was Brasenose Hall, situate upon the site of the Schools Street Tower. Of this Hall and Little University Hall, Sutton, on October 20, 1508, obtained a lease from University College for the term of ninety-two years at the annual rent of three pounds. A covenant was added that, within the space of a year, £40 should be expended upon buildings or repairs. This covenant suggests that University College was doubtful, perhaps on account of the age of the two Founders, whether the work would be carried through. It is an echo of the doubt expressed in Edmund Croston's will, to which reference has already been made, his bequest being of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* towards 'the building of Brasynnose in Oxford, if such works as the Bishop of Lincoln and Master Sotton intended there, went on during their life, or within twelve years after'.[3] In other respects, the terms agreed to by University College were

[1] The Duke of Norfolk to Cromwell, July 20, 1537, *L. and P. Henry VIII*, XII. ii. 291.

[2] See Monograph VII, p. 10.

[3] Churton, *Lives*, p. 242.

singularly generous. It not only engaged to renew the lease at the expiration of the term, but for a conveyance to it of lands to the value of £3 a year to release all right to the premises. This last condition, according to Churton, was fulfilled at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when William Leech, a former Fellow of Brasenose, bequeathed land for that purpose.[1]

The lessees from University College did not include the Bishop, though two of them at least, John Forneby and Roland Messynger, were his nominees, seeing that, a few years afterwards, they received preferments from him. They were 'Richard Sutton Esquire, John Port, Rauf Legh, John Sutton the elder, John Sutton the younger, gentlemen; Mr. John Haster, John Forneby, Roland Messynger, and John Legh, clerks'. By a deed dated June 1, 3 Henry VIII (1511), Sutton assigned the lease to trustees to the use of his will. It was not until shortly before his death, on May 6, 15 Henry VIII (1523), that he conveyed the premises for the rest of the term to the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College.[2]

In this way Brasenose Hall was taken over, to use a modern phrase, 'as a going concern' by Sutton. Its Principal, John Forneby, Croston's successor, had cautioned for it with the University on September 9, 1508, and was still Principal on June 27, 1510. On August 24 of that year he resigned, and his successor, Matthew Smyth, a Fellow of Oriel, became last Principal of Brasenose Hall and first Principal of Brasenose College, the Charter being dated January 15, 151½. An academic as well as a topographical continuity is thereby maintained since the thirteenth century. It has been a constant tradition that Principal Smyth was related to the Bishop, and it is known that he was born in Lancashire. He belonged to a younger generation, having taken his Bachelor's degree in 1505 and been elected a Fellow of Oriel in 1506. He was, therefore, quite a young man when the Bishop placed him at the head of his College. He was certainly an active man

[1] Churton, *Lives*, p. 272. [2] Ibid., p. 271.

of business, and having steered the College through some of the stormiest days of the Reformation, he died in 1548. He justified the Bishop's selection, but the Bishop was notorious for nepotism, and it is not improbable that to this disposition the Principal owed his preferment in the first instance.

From the inscription on the well-known stone over the doorway to the staircase leading to the original chapel, reproduced in Monograph III, the building of the College is generally taken to have been begun in the summer of 1509. Churton raises, without solving, the question whether that stone is a duplicate of a stone actually laid as a foundation, or attests that at the time of its emplacement the building had risen seven feet. If Bishop Smyth's epitaph, 'Aulaque sumptu hujus renovata est enea,' were literally pressed the former of these two alternatives would be improbable. It is more likely that the opportunity was seized, when the new part of the building had so far progressed, to commemorate a visit of the Founder in this manner, and that the building should progress rapidly was implied in the covenant entered into by Sutton.[1]

Exactly four months after the acquisition of Brasenose and Little University Halls, including those dependent Halls of which the history is to be found in Mr. Madan's monograph, Sutton and the others already named acquired by purchase from Oriel College Salesury[2] Hall and St. Mary's Entry, the last probably an open passage with a tenement over it which was an Academic Hall.[3] The area covered by

[1] This hypothesis solves a difficulty as to the provenance of the stone. The lease of the quarry at Headington to Bp. Smyth and Richard Sutton esquire is dated the Tuesday before St. John Baptist, i.e. June 18, 1 Henry VIII (1509), but Sutton had covenanted on October 20, 1508, to expend £40 within a year. Is it to be inferred that during the intervening seven months no stone had been obtained for building? This is highly improbable. Plot repeats on tradition that Brasenose was built with stone dug near Wheatley, on the Worcester Road (*Oxfordshire*, iv. § 27, p. 77; Churton, p. 273 n.). If that tradition can be trusted, the supply from Headington was after the building had made some progress, and it is obvious that a foundation stone could scarcely have been laid on June 1, of stone not obtained till June 18!

[2] Also spelt Salesurry, Salisyrry, &c. See p. 133 n. 1 *infra*.

[3] Churton, *Lives*, p. 275 n. Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., xv. 86.

these, which fronted to Schools Street, is shown on the map of the site in Monograph I. Shortly afterwards Haberdasher's Hall, also to be found on that map, was acquired from the Abbey of Osney by an exchange of land. This Hall was situate a little to the westward, facing the High Street. The corner of the High Street and Schools Street was occupied by a house, and by a garden, which had in the fifteenth century belonged to the convent of Godstow, between it and Little St. Edmund Hall. That Hall was taken on lease from the Abbey of Osney. Two more Halls, on the site of Radcliffe Square, then on the other side of Schools Street, were also rented by Sutton from the Abbey on a ninety-six years' renewable lease. They were known as Black Hall and Glass or Glasyn Hall. The rent of Little St. Edmund Hall, Black Hall and Glasyn Hall, taken together, is yearly entered in the Bursars' Rolls at 33*s.* 4*d.*, i.e. five nobles. Staple Hall belonged to Lincoln College, from which it was obtained by Brasenose on a perpetual lease at 20*s.* rent a year, on November 2, 1556. The garden mentioned was purchased by John Port, Anthony Fitzherbert, serjeant-at-law, and Thomas Port, Matthew Smyth, and William Aleyn, clerks, on July 4, 1516, from Anthony Caryswall, clerk. In 1516 it was transferred by Port to the College.[1] In this way the site for the College was gradually acquired.

II

The Charter of Foundation

It will have been observed that the new building of Smyth and Sutton must have made considerable progress before the Founders obtained a charter. Had they failed to do so, there could not have been a corporation of Fellows licensed to hold land in mortmain, nor was the position of Principal of a Hall, under compulsion to obtain an annual permit from the University, that of a corporation sole. The restoration, extension, and endowment of Brasenose Hall would have left it exposed

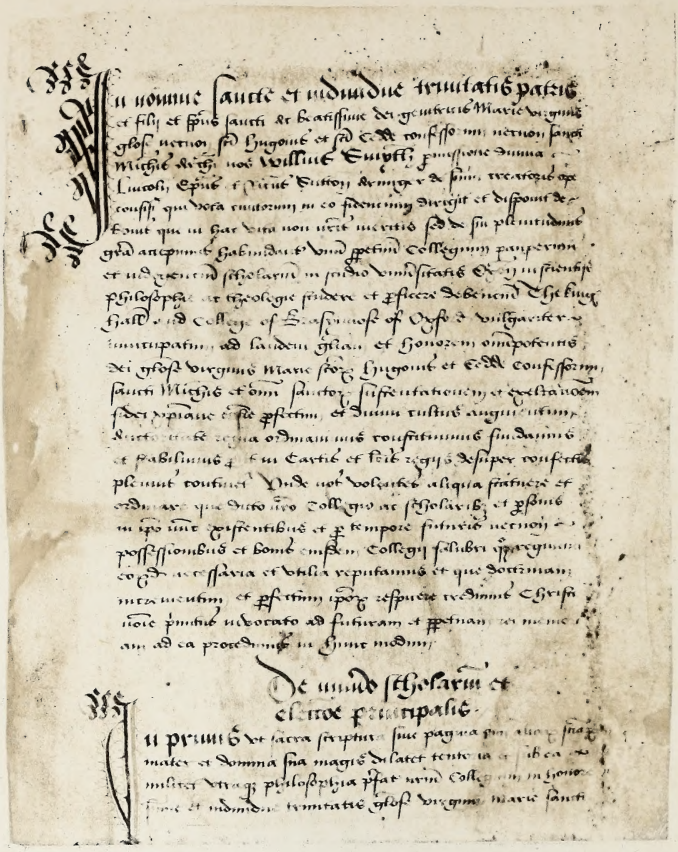
[1] Monograph IV, p. 10.

to the alienation or misappropriations of subsequent Principals, unless the cumbrous system of feoffees to uses had been resorted to, and these would scarcely have been able to evade the statutes of Mortmain. Yet from January 27, 1508, when we first hear, in Edmund Croston's will, of the projected 'building'—which may mean, rebuilding—'of Brazennose in Oxford', until January 15, 1512, when the Charter was granted, a period of four years elapsed. It may be that the difficulties attendant upon the purchase of the Cold Norton Priory estate had caused the Founders to hesitate. It may be that their original intention, as the Bishop's epitaph suggests, had been the restoration of the Hall, and that with the progress of it a larger scheme had unfolded itself. It can scarcely be that the four years were consumed in needless official delays.

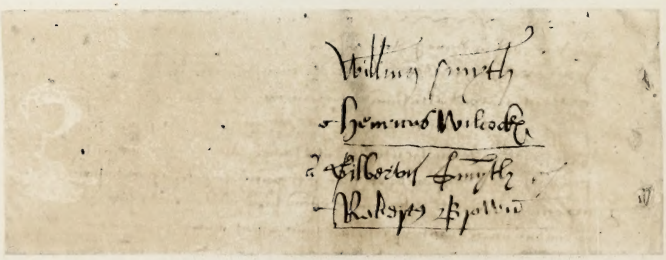
The Charter, dated at Westminster on the 15th January, 3 Henry VIII (1512), and duly enrolled in Chancery,[1] opens with a rhetorical preamble as to the conviction entertained by the king of the benefits accruing to the realm from the study of sophistry, logic, and philosophy as ancillary to theology. It then proceeds, in the customary official form, to grant to William, bishop of Lincoln, and Richard Sutton, esquire, jointly and severally, their heirs, executors and assigns, licence to found anew ('de novo fundare') 'a College of and in a messuage, hospice or tenement in the University of Oxford now commonly called Brasen Nose, to the praise, glory and honour of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary.' The College is to consist of a Principal and sixty Scholars and more, to be instructed in the branches of learning already recited. In its corporate capacity it is to use 'nomen Principalis et Scholarium Aulae Regiae et Collegii de Brasen Nose in Oxonia',[2] which in the Statutes is Englished, 'The King's Haule and College of Brasennose.' They are to be

[1] Patent Rolls, 3 Henry VIII, pt. 3, confirmed by Edward VI, P.R. 1 pt. 2. 7.

[2] I have only once found 'Eneus Nasus', and that used, not by Brasenose, but by New College. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' of 1535, under New College, is 'Redditu resoluto Aule Enei Nasi'. The adoption of the Latin rendering of the original style of the College savours of Jacobean pedantry. *Val. Eccl.* (6 vols., 1814), ii. 256.



1. The first page of the Second Statutes (*reduced*)



2. The signatures at end of the Second Statutes

governed by ordinances to be made by the Bishop and Sutton, or by either of them. They are to pray for the good estate of the King and of Queen Katherine, as well as of the Bishop and Sutton during their lives, and after their deaths for their souls and for the souls of all faithful departed. They are to be at liberty to obtain from the Pope any Bulls of confirmation or otherwise, and for that purpose are to be dispensed from the Statute of Provisors and its penalties. They are to be a perpetual corporation with a Common Seal, with capacity to acquire and hold lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, profits, advowsons, and other hereditaments, temporal and spiritual, and to prosecute and defend suits. The Bishop and Richard Sutton or any other persons are empowered to hand over to them the Hall or College when built and land or other endowments, including Priories and advowsons, to the clear annual value of £300, the statutes of Mortmain notwithstanding, without any fee payable to the Hanaper.[1]

III

The Statutes

The Statutes originally drafted for the College, in accordance with the power conferred in the Charter, by Bishop Smyth himself, as he tells us in his will, have not been preserved. It is singular that, although associated with an expert lawyer, such as Sutton was, the Bishop regarded the statutes as his own peculiar province. In his will he expresses his sense of the probable need of their occasional amendment, and commits to his executors, not to his co-Founder, the task of their revision. The opinion of the majority was to be final, and the decision of the survivor[2] was to be without appeal. After their deaths the right of exegesis was to pass to the Bishops of Lincoln.

[1] An office in Chancery, so called from the round wicker case ('hamper') in which the enrolled documents were kept.

[2] This was Gilbert Smyth, as we learn from Bawdwyn Smythe's petition to the Star Chamber in *R. O. MS., Star Ch. Proc. Henry VIII*, Bundle 19, no. 213. He remained Archdeacon of Northampton until 1548, when he resigned. Le Neve, *Fasti* (1854), ii. 58.

To what is this pointed exclusion of Sutton, even after the Bishop's own death and contrary to the express terms of the Charter, to be ascribed? The Bishop's will is dated December 26, 1513, five years after the Charter. His action is strongly suggestive of a difference of opinion with Sutton upon some point vital to the College. May it not be suspected that this was connected with Sutton's partiality for the Regular clergy, whom Smyth was determined to exclude? Had the members of a religious order obtained a foothold in the College, the Bishop's scheme of a learned secular clergy would have been extinguished. It is also not improbable that Sutton's abstention, so far, from adding to the Bishop's endowments, may have inspired his co-Founder with distrust.

Of the Bishop's six executors, four were in orders as secular clergy, William Smyth, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Gilbert Smyth, Archdeacon of Northampton, two of his nephews; Henry Wilcocks, LL.D., Chancellor and Vicar-General of Lincoln; Robert Toneys, LL.B., a canon of Lincoln. The other two were Thomas Smyth of Chester, merchant,[1] presumably a relative, and Robert Browne of Newark, the Bishop's Receiver-General, unlikely persons to offer opposition to the majority. Of these, William and Gilbert Smyth, Wilcocks, and Browne signed and sealed the earliest extant copy of the Statutes. It is inferred by Churton from the 'obviously incongruous and unconnected' series of the chapters that no very material alterations were made by them, a conclusion the opposite of which the fact adduced would seem to warrant.

In the Bursars' Roll for 1521–2 occurs the following entry (A. f. 18):

'Et solutum eciam dicto magistro principali pro expensis suis equitandi ad visitandum terras Collegii diuersis locis + + Kancie et Lincoln et apud Coldnorton et ad forsthull pro possessione habenda aceciam ad Syon pro + Col(legii) + reformand. vt similiter per billam apparet et coram Sociis examinatam xlvij^{s} x^{d}.

This entry contains more than one noteworthy item. In 1519 the manor of Genyns Court in Kent had been bought, and in

[1] Afterwards knighted.

1520 the land at Forest Hill, in Oxfordshire. But the College had as yet no estate in Lincolnshire. The progress of the Principal to that county may perhaps have been upon the business of a large benefaction which Bishop Smyth's nephew, William Smyth, Archdeacon of Lincoln, in the year 1524, conferred upon the College. This consisted of the two manors of Sutton and Wynthorpe, together with land at Skegness and Burgh, bringing in, according to the Valor of 1547, a net yearly rent of £21 15*s.* 8*d.*[1] But the item of most interest is that, unhappily mutilated, recording Principal Matthew Smyth's journey to Sion, which may perhaps be conjecturally extended 'pro statutis Collegii nostri reformandis'. This refers to the third edition of the Statutes, printed in 1853, that is, the amendment by Sir Richard Sutton of the revised version approved by the Bishop's executors. The Statutes, appropriately to their origin, begin with an invocation to the Trinity, the Virgin, Saint Hugh and Saint Chad, and St. Michael the Archangel. Saint Hugh was the patron saint of Lincoln and St. Chad of Lichfield, the Bishop's first see. The recital runs that the Bishop and Richard Sutton Esquire, with the king's authority, are the founders of a perpetual college of poor and indigent scholars for the study of the sciences of philosophy and theology, for the sustentation and exaltation of the Christian Faith, the profit of the Church, and the increase of divine worship. The charter of Foundation, it will be remembered, is somewhat more explicit as to its objects, which are therein set down as sophistry, logic, philosophy, and, above all, theology. For all of these provision is made in the Statutes.

The first chapter[2] constitutes a College of a Principal and

[1] This is the net sum total stated in the Valor, but the Bursars' Rolls for 1545–6 give £26 4*s.* 6*d.* If, however, the 'reprise' or necessary deductions, as set out in the Valor, viz. £4 8*s.* 8*d.*, are subtracted from £26 4*s.* 6*d.*, the net amount remaining is £21 15*s.* 10*d.* The system in the Rolls is to set out the gross amounts under the receipts ('Onerantur Bursarii') and deduct outgoings under 'Allocaciones'.

[2] The order in which the Statutes are taken is not that printed in 1853, but, as nearly as possible, that of the MS. book in possession of the College containing the Statutes as revised by Bishop Smyth's executors. The printed edition of 1853 is that of the Statutes as finally revised by Sutton.

twelve 'Scholars', students of the above sciences, the more precise designation of 'Scholar-Fellows' being substituted in Sutton's revision. They are to be natives of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, with a preference to those born in Lancashire and Cheshire, especially in Prescot in Lancashire and Presbury in Cheshire. An election after examination is implied in the proviso that they are to be ascertained to be fit persons in morals and knowledge. If a sufficient number of good candidates could not, at the time of the first election, be found in the University of Oxford, the number was to be made up by natives of the diocese of Lincoln, should there be any suitable; failing these, choice was to be made of the ablest to be found within the University. An addition to the prescribed number of twelve, evidently inserted after the completion of the original draft, was made at the instance of Edmund Audeley, Bishop of Salisbury. Two Masters or Bachelors of Arts of the dioceses of Salisbury or Hereford were to be elected Fellows. But this proposed benefaction never came into effect, and the clause was struck out by Sutton. The Founders take the opportunity of adding anticipatory thanks for additions to the endowments of the College, whether for the benefit of the Scholar-Fellow or of those who were not Fellows. By the Statutes of Sutton scholars were to wear surplices in chapel.

The Principal was to be a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity or, at least, a Master of Arts studying theology. He was to live in the College. His election was to be approved by the Bishop of Lincoln or, if the see should be vacant, by the official in charge of the spiritualities. Sutton's approval is tacitly dispensed with.

Within two days of a vacancy in the headship, all the resident Fellows were to be summoned by the senior Fellow to fix the day for the election of a new Principal. Twelve days were to be allowed for the return of absent Fellows, who were to be duly warned. Contumacious absence was to be punished by deprivation, a clause struck out by Sutton. After the celebration of a mass of the Holy Ghost, the seven senior Fellows, including the Vice-Principal, were sworn to an impartial choice

of a present or former Fellow. The voting papers were to be written and sealed. In case of an equal division, the senior votes were to carry the election. No Fellow might vote for himself. A letter under the College seal, conveyed by one of the senior Fellows, was to report the election to the Bishop of Lincoln. A long oath, somewhat shortened by Sutton, was to be taken by the new Principal to maintain the privileges and properties of the College, with the advice and consent of the six senior Fellows or the majority of them. In case of difficulty in maintaining discipline, he was to swear to call in the Bishops of Lincoln as referees. He was to swear not, while Principal, to act as Proctor of the University, nor to seek nor accept any dispensation from his obligations, nor to appeal to any court if expelled from office.

The election of the Vice-Principal, which was to be annual, was to be conducted by the Principal and the six Seniors, and was fenced round with similar oaths and regulations. Much of this matter was struck out by Sutton as superfluous, while clauses were inserted providing that the Vice-Principal should live in College and supply the place of the Principal in his absence. He was to supervise the discipline of all, whether Fellows, undergraduates (non Sociis), or servants, but Sutton excluded from his jurisdiction Masters of Arts, the minor faults of the 'Lector's' pupils, and cases of expulsion. By the revised statute of Sutton the Principal and two senior Fellows were to act as a court of appeal from his sentences. His stipend was fixed at 20*s.* by the original statutes, and increased by Sutton to 26*s.* 8*d.* a year in addition to his commons and other emoluments.

Fellows, who were to be, at least, Bachelors of Arts, were to be elected by the Principal and the six Seniors in term time after fifteen days' notice. Sutton lengthened this to a notice of forty days, to begin in full term. The general practice of other Colleges up to that time had been, as Churton notes, an annual election, University College being, in this respect, exceptional and affording a precedent which commended itself as more convenient for a small Foundation. In place of a simple provision that no candidate was eligible for a Fellow-

ship who was in enjoyment of a net income of £4 a year, Sutton introduced a declaration of eligibility on the score of income to be made by the candidate and a further oath that, in the event of suffering expulsion, he would make no appeal to any tribunal. Sutton also made provision for a year of probation to be spent by the newly-elected Fellow in College, during which he was to have no voice in its government, a system that continued down to the writer's own day. The oath taken by the probationer, when admitted a full Fellow, was amplified by Sutton by a declaration that he would accept no other statutes save such as were approved or hereafter should be approved by Bishop Smyth or himself, a curious provision to have been made some years after the Bishop's death. A prescription, maintained till the first Universities Commission, enjoined that the Fellow's oath should be copied out, sealed, and signed by the Fellow himself and deposited among the archives of the College. Many of these yet remain.

One chapter is devoted to the removal of Fellows. Any income or ecclesiastical preferment exceeding ten marks net (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) or a perpetual curacy or chantry outside the University, whatever might be the value, was to be a cause of forfeiture. But that the Fellows might be the better able to buy books and furnish themselves with necessaries, such preferments, up to ten marks in value, were to be tolerated if within the precincts of the University. A Fellow receiving ecclesiastical promotion in excess of these limits was by way of valediction to receive a year's commons and other emoluments, Sutton deleting a proviso of the original statutes that during this 'year of grace' the cleric preferred was no longer to act as a Fellow. Other grounds of vacating Fellowships were entering into religion, i.e. joining a monastic order, marriage—which implies that a Fellow needed not to be in orders at the time of election—the abandonment of study in the College, or removal to another society; also crime and scandalous or quarrelsome behaviour. An extraordinary retention of an obsolete system of trial is the provision for a compurgation with two other Fellows where there was a case

of suspicion only. This was a practice of the Canon Law, in cases where, as in the contemplation of this statute, there was no definite charge. But in the lay courts this procedure of the ecclesiastical courts had been treated with contempt as long before as the reign of Edward I, and even the Canon Law was beginning to look on it with disfavour as apt to encourage perjury. Compurgators swore, not to the defendant's case, but to their belief in its truth. It still survived in the manorial courts, where the number of compurgators varied between two and five;[1] it lingered, in a modified form, in the Common Law, but its introduction into statutes of this date is an anachronism. Sutton, whose clericalism was evidently more thoroughgoing than the Bishop's, was so far from feeling this, that he imported from the similar provisions of Bishop Smyth touching scholars a clause that failure to compurgate should involve expulsion. Constant misconduct was to be visited at first by private reproof from the Principal or Vice-Principal; next, by a more public reproof before two or three of the Fellows; thirdly, before the whole of the Governing Body, and finally by ejection. Sutton added contagious disease, such as leprosy, as a ground of expulsion, the ejected Fellow to be allowed a pension of 40*s.* a year conditional upon absence from the College. A member of the College not being a Fellow was to receive, under such circumstances, an annual stipend of 26*s.* 8*d.*

Nor was the Principal himself exempt from statutory terrors. Scandalous behaviour or maladministration were to be visited by deprivation, adjudged, upon a sworn declaration by the Vice-Principal and five senior Fellows, by the Bishop of Lincoln, under conditions set out in the chapter defining the visitatorial powers.

After the chapter providing for his ejection comes, oddly enough, the chapter prescribing the Principal's duties. Litigation was to be conducted not in his own name, for obvious reasons, but, as the Charter prescribed, in the name of the Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of

[1] P. and M., i. 426; W. S. Holdsworth, *Hist. of Engl. Law* (1903), i. 138.

Brasennose. In the statutes as revised by Bishop Smyth's executors, no contentious business of importance was to be entered upon without the assent of the greater part of all the Fellows present, or at least without the assent of the six Seniors. These last provisions were expunged by Sutton, for they are substantially re-enacted in the clauses that follow. The Principal's salary, in addition to his commons, was fixed from the first at a hundred shillings 'that he may with the more diligence execute his office'.

The chapter touching the absence of the Principal and Fellows attests the importance attached by the Founders to constant residence. In term-time the Principal and Fellows were never to be absent more than a month, save on the business of the College, on pain of ejection, unless a formal vote of approval were passed by the majority of the six Seniors. Eight clear weeks were allowed, either to be taken continuously during the Long Vacation, or at intervals throughout the year. There were never to be fewer than six Fellows in College, even in the Long Vacation, unless plague or other contagion prevailed, in which case, by leave of the Principal and the six Seniors, the resident Fellows might be reduced to four. These were to be attended by 'communes servientes'. A clause was added by Sutton to the effect that Fellows or Scholars when in their own country,[1] for any reason, were not

[1] The Bursars' Rolls show that this was the meaning of 'in patria'; for it is evident that the Principal and six Fellows when they left Oxford for a common refuge, presumably Cold Norton, in the time of the plague, took servants with them. For instance, in the Roll for 1522–3 (A. f. 26) we find:—

'Et solutum pro communiis sex sociorum tempore pestis ut apparet per librum mancipii coram Sociis examinatum iij^{li} iiij^{s}.

'Et solutum pro communiis trium communium servitorum dicto tempore pestis et pro vado coci pro ijbus terminis li^{s} viij^{d}.'

Now from A. f. 22 we learn that the commons of the six Senior Fellows during five weeks in time of plague amounted in cost to 25*s*., i. e. 4*s*. 2*d*. per head, during absence in the country. Applying this rate to the £3 4*s*. expended in 1522–3 and we infer an absence of over fifteen weeks. But in 1523 prices had fallen, and the absence may be taken to have extended longer, which agrees with the two terms mentioned in the case of the servants. I incline to think that, despite their high salaries and important functions, the 'communes servitores' included the Manciple, Butler, Cook and Barber, as the servants in common to the College, so distinguished from the 'servientes ex scholaribus', who were appointed weekly by the

to have with them any servant at the expense of the College. This was a question which, in those days of recurrent pestilences, had probably been forced to the front, and it was obvious that if the comforts of Collegiate life were to be enjoyed by Fellows gratuitously in their country homes, there would be a natural reluctance to return to residence in the infected area of the town. Moreover, the principle sanctioned was that they should, when driven from Oxford by the plague, live together in some suitable place and apply themselves to study. Leave of absence was to be obtained from the Principal by Fellows and Scholars alike, under penalty of fourpence. For sleeping outside the College without leave successive penalties of 2*s.*, 4*s.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* were to be exacted, a fourth offence being punishable with expulsion. Even absence from dinner on more than two successive days was to be visited by a fine of fourpence.

The chapter which follows, 'De communiis Sociorum,' opens with an admonition against indulgence at table, and of the intention of the Founders to maintain moderation of diet in the College. Twelve pence a week per head was to be the expenditure, save on the octaves of the principal Feast Days, when this sum was doubled, and during certain minor octaves, when it was increased to sixteen pence. But the Founders wisely reserved to the Principal and the majority of the Fellows the right to dispense with these limitations in time of scarcity ('in tempore caristiae'), defined as indicated by the price of twelve shillings a quarter for wheat. How high a price this was may be seen from a comparison of Rogers's *Tables*, which show an average of 6*s.* 0¼*d.* for 1522, falling to 5*s.* 6*d.* for 1523.[1] Nor does a single quotation as high as

Vice-Principal to wait at meals (Stats., chap. xxvii). In the Accounts for 1524–5 (B. f. 18) we have :—

'Et solutum pro communiis Lectoris biblie mancipii promi Coci et barbitonsoris tempore pestis dicto anno iij[l] iiij[s] ij[d].'

I take this to be when they accompanied the Fellows from Oxford. The provision that the Fellows remaining were to be attended by 'communes servientes' I interpret as meaning that a sufficient number of College servants was to be left to wait on them.

[1] *History of Agriculture and Prices*, iv. 288.

12*s.* occur from the beginning of the sixteenth century until 1520–1, when it reached 12*s.* 10*d.* at Sion, and 1522, when it was 13*s.* 4*d.* at Cambridge. These, however, were temporary and exceptional prices.[1]

Fellows, as such, received no stipends. Their washing, shaving, commons and chambers were free, and no charge was to be made for servants. But for special duties, such as those devolving on the College officers, payment was to be made. The Vice-Principal was to receive 20*s.* yearly, raised by Sutton to 26*s.* 8*d.*; each of the two Bursars, 13*s.* 4*d.* A Bible-clerk was to be attached to the Principal, as in monasteries, to read aloud during meals, for which he was to receive his commons and chambers, his shaving and washing free. To these duties Sutton added the custody of the chapel and its vestments, subject to the surpervision of a Fellow, who was to be paid 6*s.* 8*d.* The first entry of this payment occurs in the Roll for 1524–5 (B. f. 19) 'pro stipendio supervisoris Capelle—vj^{s} viij^{d}.'

The educational system is divided into two chapters. Of these, the first, entitled *De disputationibus*, dealt with the post-graduate courses. Readers of Dr. Rashdall's work on *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* will remember how large a part post-graduate courses played in Oxford teaching. They were, no less, an integral part of the Founders' scheme. Every week during Term time and twice a week during the first part of the Long Vacation, the last three weeks of July, all Bachelors of Arts, whether Fellows or not, were bound to take part in disputations in the Chapel on problems of Natural and Moral Philosophy. But as in Lent incepting Bachelors were by the rules of the University obliged to preside over disputations ('determinare quaestionem'), they were at that time 'propter labores in scholis publicis' excused from more than one weekly disputation in College; attendance in the Schools on each day of determination being strictly enjoined on them. If their number were below six,

[1] *History of Agriculture and Prices*, iii. 91, 92.

their place was to be taken by junior Regent Masters. Masters of Arts and the Lecturer ('Lector') were also to attend. The onl textbook prescribed was the *Physics* of Aristotle. Masters of Arts studying Theology were also to dispute in the Chapel once a week during Term on theological topics. Absence from any of these exercises was punishable by a fine of twelve, reduced by Sutton to eight, pence. Transgression of the rules of disputation was more severely visited by a fine of twenty pence.

By additional statutes of Sutton, Masters of Arts studying Theology were to be admitted to theological lectures after the first year of regency, and after the third were to be allowed to take part in the disputations in the Schools, at which all Bachelors of the College were bound to be present. All Fellows who were Regent Masters were bound to dispute in the Schools. Bachelors might be called upon to lecture to the Scholars of the College.

After the post-graduate courses come the provisions for the education of the Scholars. They are to give diligent attendance upon lectures. If late, the scholar is to be fined a farthing; if he miss more than half the lecture, a halfpenny; if the whole, a penny. The rod is an alternative, and, upon a special report by the Lecturer to the Principal and Vice-Principal, followed by three warnings, continual delinquency shall be punished by expulsion. Sutton added disorderly conduct at lectures to these offences, which he made punishable by the Lecturer with fine or with the rod.

As revised by Sutton, the statutes prescribed more definitely the undergraduate's course of study. Every scholar, after having attended half his course of lectures on sophistry, was to be present at the Parvise, or porch of St. Mary's, there to listen to the disputations. These answered to the modern Examination, being conducted before the Magistri Scholarum between the examinee and a senior scholar. The subjects were grammar and logic, and an undergraduate was qualified to dispute in his ninth term. It was necessary by the regulations of the University to have disputed for a year *in Parviso* before a Bachelor's degree could be taken. Sutton required

from the Scholars of his College a course of three years' study of sophistry and logic before becoming Bachelors,[1] and of three years in philosophy before taking the Master's degree, though a licence relaxing this requirement might be granted by the Principal and any one of the six Seniors for a cause reasonable. This regulation was to prevent the presentation for degrees of men unequal to the presentees of other Colleges. The excessive expenditure of money upon the attainment of promotion, belauded by Fortescue [2] in the case of the serjeants-at-law, had made its way into University life. Sutton, familiar with this reckless prodigality at the Inns of Court, restricted the expenditure upon a supper by a freshly made Bachelor to five shillings, and upon the dinner given by a Master on the occasion of putting on his gown to twenty shillings.

By those acquainted with the history of University education it will be seen that the Founders of Brasenose contemplated standing upon the ancient ways. A comparison of these statutes with those drafted by Bishop Foxe for his contemporary College of Corpus exhibits the contrast of mediaeval and modern scholarship. At Corpus, the study is enjoined of the Greek orators and poets in the original, the acquirement of the wealth of New Learning imported by the Renaissance; at Brasenose, the Scholars and Fellows are still to mumble the dry bones of scholastic philosophy and to turn their backs upon the new ideas which were about to regenerate a decadent civilization. If Bishop Oldham, like Smyth, no friend of the monks, at one time intended to take a share in the foundation of Brasenose, as Anthony Wood tells us,[3] it is not improbable that his benevolence was diverted to Corpus

[1] I take this to mean after admission to the Parvise. Cf. Holinshed, *Chron.* i. 252 (ed. 1807), 'The first degree is that of the General Sophisters, from whence when they have learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike and rhetorike and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher into the estate of Batchelors of Art, after four years of their entrance into their sophistrie.'

[2] Fortescue, *De Laudibus* (ed. A. Amos, 1825), p. 91.

[3] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O.H.S., xv. 542.

by a preference for a scheme of education in marked contrast with that favoured by Smyth and Sutton.

Elaborate regulations were drawn up for behaviour during dinner in hall. During the reading of the Bible, or other appointed book, silence was to be maintained. No one was, without permission, to leave the hall before grace had been said, nor to loiter there afterwards. In Hall and Chapel Latin was to be talked. Birds and dogs were not to be kept. To these prohibitions Sutton added musical instruments and noise generally. He also forbade any one to go out of College alone, except to lecture [1] and the Schools. It is said that the practice of leaving College in pairs survived until recent times. On the other hand, while by the earlier edition of the statutes knuckle-bones, dice, cards, and balls were forbidden, Sutton allowed cards or any other honest game ('ludum honestum') at the discretion of the Principal, to be played in hall at Christmas.

The number of Fellows was to be twelve, but in the event of financial pressure it might be reduced without limit. The Founders, however, record that it is reported that some Colleges in the University reduce the number of their Fellowships in order that existing Fellows may live the more sumptuously. They, therefore, enjoin, under pain of anathema, that if the number should be reduced owing to temporary exigencies, it should, as soon as possible, be restored to twelve.

A series of minute regulations was drawn up for the custody of the jewels and vestments, and for the Library. Of these it may be briefly said that neither valuables nor books were to be taken out of College except for purposes of repair. Such books as were not required, by the wish of the donor or of the Principal, to be kept chained [2] might be lent to the Fellows.

[1] Out-College lectures were a recognized institution. The statutes of Magdalen (1482) granted gratuitous teaching by the establishment of three public chairs, two of philosophy and one of theology. In 1538 John Claymond, the first President of Corpus, in his benefaction to Brasenose, of which an account is to be found in Monograph IV, provided that the Claymond scholars should attend the Humanity and Greek Readers at Corpus.

[2] The earliest surviving entry in the Bursars' Rolls which mentions the Library

A Fellow who borrowed a book was bound to acknowledge its receipt in the form of a small indenture, the counterpart of which was to be kept by the Principal. As a book might be borrowed for a year, this was a judicious regulation. The indenture was to contain a copy of the beginning of the second leaf of the book borrowed. This, as Churton observes, was probably in order to preserve the illuminations on the first page of manuscripts and to identify the copy. 'It will rarely happen that two copyists shall fill their page precisely with the same number of words, whence the initials of the second leaf of a manuscript will mark that individual copy, and no other.'[1] It is characteristic of the minuteness with which mediaeval Founders endeavoured to anticipate every contingency that rules of management now left to the discretion of librarians find a place as integral parts of statutes which, by the concluding chapter of Sutton's revision, were to be fundamental for all time. By the earlier edition, an annual inspection was to take place within the octave of All Saints of all vestments, jewels, books, or other ornaments lent to Fellows, at which time they were at liberty to select books for another year. This regulation Sutton varied. The inspection was to be after the audit. Books lost were to be replaced on pain of forfeiture of commons till their value had been made good.

The two Bursars and their duties occupy a separate chapter. Their accounts were to be made out in 'large indentures', one to be held by the Principal, the other by the Bursars. It is to be observed that this prescription was not literally followed, probably because the duplication of accounts was found troublesome, and none of the surviving Bursars' Rolls is in the form of an indenture. Money received by them was to be deposited in a chest with three keys, in the

is a mutilated account of an expenditure in 1520–1 of £7 10*s.* 1*d.* for glass, bolts and iron furnished for it (A. f. 17). This is followed by an item of 20*s.*, a final instalment for desks ('pro lectris') and other necessaries. In 1521–2 (A. f. 21) is an entry 'Et solutum pro Cathenacione librorum in librariam et aliis necessariis circa dictam Librariam vt per billam examinatam apparet . . xxx^{s} vj^{d}.'

[1] *Lives*, p. 320.

sight of the Principal and Vice-Principal or some other Senior Fellow. One of the keys was to be kept by the Principal, the two others by the two Bursars. Though this provision formed part of the statutes as revised by Bishop Smyth's executors, it is doubtful whether it was to be found in the bishop's lost edition, for the chest was apparently fitted with two extra bolts and locks in 1516. In the accounts made up at Michaelmas 1516, occurs the following entry:

'Et solutum pro ij^{bus} seris et clavibus pro quadam cista . . x^{s}'.[1]

An examination of the ancient Bursars' chest preserved in the Treasury of the College reveals the fact that two of the lock shields are the same, the third being different, which suggests that the two side locks were additions. But since the list of Bursars goes back as far as 1512–13, when Roland Messenger and John Formby or Forneby were Bursars, it follows that down to 1516 the College chest had probably but one lock. In this chest were to be kept the current moneys received or expended upon weekly needs. In the absence of one of the Bursars, his key was to be left in charge of a Fellow, for whose conduct the Bursar was to be held responsible. The Bursars were to be sworn to render a just account at the appointed times of audit.

Once a year a Fellow was to be appointed by the Principal and six Seniors to make a 'circuit and progress' through all the estates of the College, accompanied by the Accountant (clericus computi). Receipts were to be by indenture, and all moneys collected by these two were to be handed over to the Bursars in the presence of four of the Fellows. Collectors of rents were to receive due notice of the date in November at which they were to come to Oxford to render their accounts. A final computus of the expenses of commons and all other expenses was then to be made up by the Bursars and audited by the Principal and six seniors. All documents were to be kept in a chest. After the computus, an inspection was to be held as well of the jewels of the College as of money in the Treasury. Upon this occasion, all officials, except the Prin-

[1] Bursars' Rolls, A. f. 3.

cipal, were to vacate office. No Fellow might, under pain of expulsion, decline an office to which he should be elected. Under the same penalty, every Fellow was to be present at the audit, unless released by the Principal—an additional obligation imposed by Sutton's revision.

The rules of seniority are now defined. After the Principal, the Vice-Principal is to rank, whatever his degree or standing. Next to him, graduates in order of academic dignity —Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, Masters and Bachelors of Arts; lastly, the Scholars. Among graduates of the same order, the date of the degree is to determine relative precedence.

By the committal of the government of the College to the Principal and the six Seniors, Sutton effected the most important of his changes. The original statutes or, at any rate, the statutes promulgated by Bishop Smyth's executors, prescribed the summoning of all and singular of the Fellows ('omnes et singuli socii') to discuss with the Principal, in the chapel or elsewhere, any important business. The statute 'On the authority & office of the Principal' repeated that, in order to strengthen the decisions of the Governing Body, it was desirable that all the Fellows should meet to deliberate, but the next edition, perhaps, added, 'or the majority, or the six Seniors.' It is evident from the Bursars' Rolls that this minimum very early established itself as the acting quorum. For instance, in 1516–17 (A. f. 7) it is recorded, in a mutilated entry, that a sum of £14 9*s*.[1] . . . ¼*d*. was deposited in the common chest 'in presencia principalis et sex sociorum seniorum tunc presentium'. There were, at any rate, in the statutes approved by Bishop Smyth's executors, clauses expressly restricting power to six Seniors, sometimes to seven, as, for instance, in the election of a Principal and Vice-Principal. But elsewhere, as in the chapter concerning the absence of the Principal and Fellows, the 'major pars' of the Fellows are to exercise their judgement. For the more popular suffrage, where it had survived, Sutton substituted

[1] The pence mutilated.

the oligarchy of the six Seniors—sometimes, as in the chapter on the duties of the Bursar, further narrowing it to four, sometimes, as in the case of the election of Fellows, increasing it from six to seven in the absence of the Principal, doubtless with the object of preventing a deadlock. This government by the six Seniors continued down to the First University Commission, when a return was made to the more popular form of government which Churton supposes Bishop Smyth to have designed.

A long chapter, inculcating the duty of repairing the chapel and the other buildings of the College, was struck out by Sutton, presumably as unnecessary. The revenues of the College had more than doubled since 1516, the year of the earliest extant Bursars' Roll. Bishop Smyth, anticipating the possibility of deficit arising, as he suggests, from murrains, scarcity, fire, negligences, or other mischances, had provided that, if necessary, a penny or two pence a week should be deducted from every man's commons for expenditure on repairs of chapel or hall. The net balance in favour of the College at Michaelmas, 1521, was sufficient—following, as it probably did, upon surpluses since 1517, to set the Governing Body at ease in this respect. The servants of the College are next provided for. A manciple or 'dispensator' followed next after the Bible-clerk. His business was, under the supervision of the Bursars and Steward ('senescalli') to purchase the victuals. An addition to his duties was made by Sutton, whose statute ordered him, together with the Steward and Bible-clerk, to wait at dinner and supper. They were to be assisted by two or more undergraduate scholars, chosen weekly by the Vice-Principal. A butler was to preside over the buttery ('promptuario'), and to be assisted by the manciple in the apportionment of commons. The head cook was to accompany the manciple when he purchased the victuals. Under him were to be employed as many cooks as seemed good to the Principal and the Bursars. The porter was to act as barber to the whole College, and to attend upon the Principal in his spare time. No woman, except a laundress, discreet of age and condition, was to be employed, nor was she

to be allowed beyond the gates. The wages of the servants were to be fixed by the Principal, Vice-Principal, and senior Bursar.[1]

Twice in the year the statutes were to be solemnly read in Chapel, at a meeting to be attended by all the Fellows, under a penalty of two shillings upon absentees. On each occasion they were to be read through twice, if convenient. It is not probable—since the bishop qualified this rule by the words, 'or, at least, once,' that the College often performed this work of supererogation! Sutton added a clause that the Vice-Principal was, thrice a year, to read the statutes to the scholars, so far as they concerned them. Obligation to be present was to be enforced upon them by a fine of twelve pence.

The Steward (senescallus) was an officer of sufficient importance to monopolize a whole chapter, with the designation of 'steward of the common hall'. His business was, under the supervision of one of the Bursars, to keep a record of the purchases made. He was to be a graduate of the College, nominated every week; but the Vice-Principal and graduates in divinity were exempt from serving the office. Once a week, on a Wednesday or a Saturday, he was to render an account.

Until the Act 13 Elizabeth c. 10, no restriction existed upon the alienation of land by corporations aggregate.[2] It became, therefore, necessary for this contingency to be dealt with by the College statutes. Sales and mortgages were forbidden, though sales submitted to the bishops of Lincoln by the Principal and six Seniors might be made, if not disadvantageous to the College.[3] Leases of manors might not be

[1] The earliest entries of servants' wages are in 1524–5 (B. f. 19), when the 'stipendium' of the manciple is set down at 40*s.* and that of the cook at 36*s.* 8*d.*, raised in 1525–6 to 40*s.* (B. f. 25). The barber, who was also the porter, received 30*s.* in 1525–6, which was raised to 33*s.* 4*d.* in 1526–7 (C. 9). He also received varying sums 'pro necessariis expensis' which at a minimum of 17*d.* in 1527–8 ran up to 21*s.* 6*d.* in the following year (D. f. 7). From 1528–9 onwards the wages of the manciple, cook, and barber are grouped together at £6.

[2] See upon this Dr. C. L. Shadwell on *The Universities and College Estates Acts* (Oxford, 1898), p. 4.

[3] There appears to be a case of a sale by the College in 1526–7 (C. f. 4), to John Legh, clerk, presumably the Bursar of 1515–8, of some land at Headington, bought for £5 in 1525–6 (B. f. 25). John Legh paid £5 for it and the land ceases

granted for more than thirty years, nor of appropriated tithe for more than twelve. Annual pensions, perpetual chantries and corrodies were not to be granted, nor was the College to be burdened with any obligations to extend to a term of forty years unless sufficient endowment were made. Neither the Principal nor any Fellow was to become a tenant under the College.

Fellows dispatched to a distance upon College business were to be paid their necessary expenses and no more. The amount of these was to be adjudged by the Principal, Vice-Principal, two Bursars, and two senior Fellows. Entries of such expenses occur in every Bursars' Roll. For instance, in 1523–4 (B. f. 9)—

'Et solutum pro expensis magistri Ricardi Shirewood magistri Simonis Starky magistri Ricardi Baker et magistri Ricardi Rydge ac aliorum equitantium ad London et ad diuersa loca ac diuersis temporibus circa negocia Collegii vt eciam per billam' . . . . . xvij^{li} xiiij^{d}.

It may be said, parenthetically, that these 'billae', constantly referred to for details, are unfortunately lost.

Of these four, Shirewood had been Bursar in 1514–15 and 1517–18, and he and Starky were probably the two Bursars for this year, 1523–4. Richard Barker is not on record as a Bursar. Rydge or Ridge was Junior Bursar in 1526–7. The other persons were probably the servants ('famuli') frequently mentioned as accompanying the Principal on his progresses. The expenses were larger than usual, which may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that in 1524 the College acquired its Leicestershire and Lincolnshire estates. Its law expenses during the same year were exceptionally heavy, amounting to £10 18*s*. 6½*d*., the highest recorded down to that date, and more than double those—up to that time the highest—for the previous year.

It seems that these allowances at times occasioned disputes. Cases are numerous in which arrears are debited not to tenants, but to Bursars. For instance, John Formby or Forneby was Junior Bursar in 1512–14. In the earliest surviving Bursars' Roll, that for 1515–16, there is an account of

to appear in the Bursars' Rolls. There is a deed in the possession of the College, dated 18 December, 17 Henry VIII (1525), describing it.

£9 15*s.*, of which the items are set down, being of rent received by him, since 1513. This account is carried on year after year, the money due still entered as 'in manibus Johannis Forneby'. At last, in the Roll for 1524–5, a settlement is arrived at, from which it appears that he claimed this sum and had stopped it out of the rents: 'Et solutum magistro Johanni Forneby pro laboribus suis in negociis Collegii diversis temporibus et pro quodam vase emdo (*qu.* emendo) ix^{li} xv^{s}.' This delay took place despite the Bishop's statute that money received should be handed over within thirty days of receipt. Another example is the case of arrears due from Richard Rydge, carried over to the amount of £7 7*s.* 6½*d.* in the Bursars' Rolls yearly from 1528 to 1533, and perhaps later.[1] Hugh Charnock, Bursar in 1515–16 and probably later, is entered on the Roll for 1523–4 as £9 in arrears.[2] This he reduced by instalments, until in 1529–30 it fell to £3 13*s.* 4*d.*[3]

Male strangers might be entertained by Fellows or Scholars with permission of the Principal, but not for more than three days. No stranger, other than a former Fellow or Scholar and his servants, might sleep in College, under a penalty, on successive breaches of this rule, of 6*d.*, 12*d.*, or 20*d.* A stranger, other than these, might be entertained by the Principal, but not for longer than three nights.

There was, however, one exception to this general exclusion of strangers. Sons of noblemen or of influential (*valentium*) personages, friends of the College, to the number of six, might be received at their own expense, as Bishop Smyth phrased it, 'sub tutela et regimine creditorum vulgariter "creansers" nuncupatorum.' This is an early instance of recognition of the undergraduate unattached to a Foundation. This statute was considerably altered by Sutton. He contemplated the admission as Scholars into the College of the sons and cousins ('consanguinei') of noblemen, who were to be on the same footing as the others, but were not to be

[1] As Richard Rydge is believed to have become Abbot of Notley, Bucks, it is to be presumed that there was no imputation upon his honesty. It will be remembered that, upon joining a monastic order, he forfeited his Fellowship.

[2] B. R., B. f. 6.

[3] Ibid., C. f. 5, D. f. 5.

bound by the clause excluding Scholars with more than twelve marks a year (£8). They were each to have a 'Tutor', selected from the Governing Body, responsible for their expenses and fines. Smyth's 'sons of noblemen' were 'extranei', maintained at their own expense. Sutton's were Scholars maintained, like other Scholars, at the expense of the College. Sutton's indulgence was carried a step further. Though, like the rest of the Scholars, they were to be sworn to the observance of the statutes, the Principal and Vice-Principal were accorded a dispensing power for their particular benefit, a concession, it may be surmised, not without peril for discipline.

It may be conjectured that the change introduced by Sutton was the consequence of the failure of Bishop Smyth's concession to attract the class in question. It was a grasping age. Noblemen sought to increase their incomes by becoming stewards of monasteries.[1] Henry VII did not even disdain to provide for his son Henry, Duke of York, afterwards King, by quartering him in an official capacity on the monastery of Byland.[2] Sutton regarded the extension to the sons of noblemen of the benefactions hitherto reserved for poor Scholars as likely to add to the influence of the College in the great world.[3] These Scholars were, however, to be limited, as by Bishop Smyth's statutes, to the number of six.

The gates of the College were to be shut from 9 p. m. to 5 a. m., and the keys to be carried to the Principal. Sutton, however, recognized the frailty of suppers out, and added that any scholar knocking at the gate after hours and it may be inferred, being let in, should be fined twopence.

The religious exercises of the College were minutely regulated. All the members were to hear Mass daily in the Chapel, and to pray for the souls of Founders and Benefactors and for the souls of those for whom the Founders desired their intercessions. Every priest among them was to say

[1] Thomas West, 9th Lord de la Warr, was steward of Bruton, Somerset, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Sir Thomas Lovell, K.G., was steward of Peterborough, *Star Chamber Cases* (Selden Society, 1909).

[2] *Star Chamber Cases* (Selden Society, 1902), p. cviii.

[3] Churton misses this point (p. 329), but Sutton's statute is explicit—'modo predicto.'

Mass at least thrice a week. Fines and even chastisement with the rod, as might seem good to the Principal, were the penalties upon those who came late or went out before the service was over. On the greater festivals the Principal was to celebrate, on the less the Vice-Principal. Both of them could grant leave of absence from services.

At dinner and supper all present in Hall were to say grace with 'De Profundis', 'Deus qui inter Apostolicos' and 'Inclina' for the souls above mentioned. The exequies of the Founders were to be celebrated by the Principal and the whole College on the days of their deaths. Absence from this function was to be penalized by a fine of two shillings, while ten shillings were to be distributed among the Fellows and Scholars present for the increase of their commons during that week. The *Valor* reveals that this was interpreted by the College as being an addition to the extra allowance of 13*s.* 4*d.* under Sutton's Composition 'to increase theire fare that daye.' To this Sutton added a bequest of fivepence each for twenty-five priests present, to be supplemented, should those belonging to Brasenose be fewer in number, by others in the University.

The Anniversary of Bishop Smyth was celebrated by the College on January 3,[1] that of Sutton on the first Sunday after Michaelmas. During the lifetime of Sutton, the College, strangely enough, either failed to carry out the Bishop's directions or else to disclose its expenditure in the Rolls. A minimum expenditure of ten shillings was stipulated for. Nevertheless, though the balance sheets present no case for retrenchment, the actual expenditure was as follows:—

		s.	*d.*
1521–2	Bp. Smyth's Anniversary	3	$4\frac{1}{2}$
1522–3	„ „	3	3
1523–4	„ „	6	11

Sutton died soon after Michaelmas, 1524, and the cost of his first Anniversary is entered in the Rolls for 1524–5 at 20*s.* 5*d.* This is consistent with his bequest of 5*d.* each for

[1] According to Churton, he died on January 2, 1574; according to the Reg. Warham f. 284 (see id. 343 n. g.) on January 5.

twenty-five priests, and the Bishop's provision of 10*s.*, a total of 20*s.* 5*d.* In the same Roll, the Bishop's Anniversary costs 20*s.* 8*d.* From this time the expenditure on the two Anniversaries was approximately equal, as follows :—

	Bp. Smyth's Anniversary.		*Sir R. Sutton's Anniversary.*	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
1524–5	20	8	20	5
1525–6	20	5	20	5
1526–7	20	5	20	5
1527–8	19	9	19	5½
1528–9	14	5½	20	5
1529–30	20	9½	20	5
1530–1	20	5	20	5
1531–2	20	5	20	5
1532–3	20	5	18	10
1543–4	23	5¼	20	9½

The cause of the diminished expenditures in 1527–9 is not far to seek. The years 1526, 1527, and 1528 are all entered in the Bursars' Rolls as years of plague (*tempore pestis*), as also are the years 1522 and 1523. It will be observed that the fall in the expenditure is less at Michaelmas, when the College was newly returned from the Long Vacation, than in January. The same feature reproduces itself in the Roll (J.) for 1545–6. Upon the Anniversary of Bishop Smyth 20*s.* 1½d. was spent; upon that of Sutton 24*s.* 5½*d.* In the *Valor* of 1547 a remarkable change occurs. At a time when it may be presumed that the College was not solicitous to minimize its expenditure, it returns the expenditure on the exequies of the two Founders at 10*s.* 5*d.* in each instance. The increment of 10*s.* was suppressed, and the 10*s.* 5*d.* represents the 5*d.* to be paid to the twenty-five poor priests. But the College returns 13*s.* 4*d.* as the additional expenditure upon each of the Founders' Days, being apparently conscious that the fine distinction between the 'week' of the Statutes and the 'daye' of the 'Composition' by which it enjoyed the expenditure of both sums was unlikely to be received with favour. As the College returned a deficit to the King's commissioners, it would not incur the criticism that it was guilty of an unauthorized expenditure of 20*s.* upon feasting.

The distribution of 5*d.* each to twenty-five poor priests on both Anniversaries continued in the form of a distribution to the Fellows present in Chapel, down to the time of the last Commission, and was supplemented by a Gaudy at the expense of the Domus, a revival, no doubt, of the expenditure of 10*s.* temporarily dropped for reasons of policy.

In framing his statutes, Bishop Smyth, in this particular at one with the Parliamentary draughtsmen of his day, exhibited a liking for a preamble containing philosophical, moral, and Scriptural reflections. Sutton, on the other hand, as a man of business, was of opinion that recitals of this sort were superfluous. He ruthlessly deleted the allusions to authors (*auctores*) unnamed with which the Bishop prefaced his chapter on the maintenance of the Chapel and Hall and other College buildings. Similarly, the chapter on the clothes of the Fellows had been adorned with references, which he expunged, to the sayings of 'the wise man' and the parable of the wedding garment. Nor did he follow the Bishop in his prohibition of red or white boots and peaked shoes (*calciamentis rostratis*). But, being a layman, he cherished a dislike for a piece of 'ecclesiastical millinery' which had been spared by the Bishop. No member of the College, he ordained, was to wear a 'liripipe[1] called a Tippet', unless promoted to a benefice of greater value than was compatible with the statutes, an exception which can only have applied to the case of a newly-beneficed clergyman during his year of grace. The concession was, however, made by him that the tippet might be worn when travelling to and from Oxford, as if to enhance the dignity of the Fellows of Brasenose in the eyes of the outside world.[2] While in the University, long gowns sewn up in front—presumably a kind of cassock—were to be worn. Expensive furs were forbidden, sables and martin-skins by

[1] The liripipe was originally the elongation of the hood.

[2] History repeats itself. The *Spectator* (no. 609, 20 October, 1714) complains that young clergymen are parading the Town in the scarves of Doctors of Divinity, a fashion ridiculed by Richard Savage in his poem 'The Progress of a Divine'. The fashion, nevertheless, prevailed, and the Doctor's scarf became part of the customary clerical dress during divine service until, in the time of the Oxford Movement, it made way for the innovation of the Roman stole.

name, as well as cloth of velvet, damask, satin, and 'chamblet'[1]. Eightpence was to be the fine for a first offence and, as throughout the statutes, contumacy was to be visited by expulsion. A clause was added by Sutton giving the Principal and Vice-Principal plenary powers as to the dress of the scholars. A proviso by Bishop Smyth that, save in case of illness, no one was to wear a mantle outside the College, and then only by consent of the Principal, was retained. This was perhaps a precaution against concealing arms, the wearing of which was forbidden in the same chapter of the Bishop's statutes, except when travelling to or from the University. In Sutton's revision, the wearing of arms forms no part of the chapter on dress, but is classed with dice, dogs, and musical instruments among general nuisances and distractions to study. Both Founders agree that Fellows are not to let their hair grow long either before or behind, but are to wear the tonsure appropriate to their ecclesiastical grade.[2]

The chapter on the allotment of rooms (*De dispositione camerarum*) suffered no material alteration. Fellows and Scholars were to share rooms together—three being apportioned to upper, that is, first floor, four to lower rooms. A Fellow was to have a bed to himself. Scholars could sleep together or separately, as the Principal might decide. The six sons of noblemen who were to be admitted into the College were to be accommodated with the upper and lower rooms at the east end of the Hall.

The Lecturer, or lecturers, if more than one was required, called by Bishop Smyth 'informator' and by both Smyth and Sutton 'Lector', is to be appointed, according to the Bishop's statutes, for the benefit of both Fellows and Scholars, according to Sutton's, of Scholars only. He is to be one of the Fellows and to have a salary of £4 a year, ordered by Sutton

[1] Or 'camlet' originally supposed to be made of a mixture of silk and camel's hair.

[2] The tonsure became wider as the cleric advanced in the ministry. The rule of the Founders was a common ecclesiastical regulation. Cp. the Constitutions of Bp. Walter de Cantilupe in 1240: 'Decenter et circulariter tondeantur (cleri), coronam habentes decentis amplitudinis secundum quod exegerit ordo.' Wilkins *Concilia*, i. 670.

to be paid quarterly. By the Bishop's statutes this sum was never to be exceeded. Sutton, however, added to it the fees paid to the College by Bachelors and Scholars on taking their degrees. He, the Principal and Vice-Principal, were also empowered to call upon any Bachelor to lecture in Hall or to take any other part in the instruction of the Scholars, and for this the assistant-lecturer was to be paid at the Principal's discretion. The Lecturer was to be elected, according to the Bishop's statutes, by the Principal and one of the Bursars; according to Sutton's edition, by the Principal and the six Seniors. He was also to take a part in the Disputations of the graduates held in the Chapel.

A chapter in both editions sets out the powers or functions of the Bishops of Lincoln, as Visitors. They were to be patrons and 'protectors' of the College, a word familiar in this connexion to ecclesiastics. Whenever called upon by the Principal and six Seniors and, in any case, triennially, they were to visit the College, assembling all its members together. If unable to discharge this duty themselves, they were at liberty to nominate spiritual persons as their commissaries, but five classes of persons were excepted. Of these, the first was the Chancellor of the University; the second, the Proctors; the third, the Principal himself; the fourth, the resident members of any College; the fifth, Regular Clergy. To the Visitor was assigned plenary power of interpreting and deciding any questions arising upon the statutes. He was to act by the inquisitorial process of the ecclesiastical courts in requiring admissions upon oath, and it is expressly provided that if charges are brought against the Principal, the defendant is neither to be furnished with a copy of them, nor with the name of the informer. It was this method of inquisition upon delation and the extortion of confessions which rendered the ecclesiastical courts odious during the persecutions of Queen Mary's time. As it was an importation from Rome and contrary to the principles of English law, it is surprising that Sutton retained such provisions after the death of Bishop Smyth. One protection was conceded to the unfortunate Head. If deprived by the Bishop or his commissaries,

he was at liberty to appeal to the law, a reservation in his favour which the first two Principals may have been glad to have had as a moral support during the troubled years of religious change that were so soon to follow. On the occasion of each Visitation, the Bishop was to receive £3, his commissaries thirty shillings.

The first Visitation of which any record is preserved is in the Bursars' Roll for 1523–24 (B. f. 9).

'Et solutum pro expensis Domini Lincolniensis Episcopi Visitatoris huius Collegii pro visitacione sua vt per billam examinatam apparet'
iij^{li} xvij^{d}

Of this sum 17*s.* 5*d.* was, presumably, for the cost of entertainment.

In 1531–2 the Visitation was made by the Bishop's commissary and the statutory fee, with no allowance for entertainment, was paid (D. f. 19).

'Et solutum magistro Iohanni Frankes pro visitacione domini Episcopi Lincolniensis hoc anno' xxx^{s}.

In the Bursars' Roll for 1545–6 (J. f. 17) the same sum is entered for a visitation of the Bishop 'per cancellarium suum'.[1] In the *Valor* of 1547 (f. 100), the College enters the expense of the Bishop's visitation at 20*s.* per annum, explaining that this is an average calculated from 60*s.* paid on a visitation every three years.

The manners of the period were rude, and precautionary regulations were needed to conserve the peace. At a period when undergraduates went up to Oxford while still mere boys, untrained by the preliminary discipline of a public school,[2] when their juvenile spirits were allowed no sufficient outlet in out-of-door games, and when their elders, in all classes of society, set an example of brawling and violence, personal encounters might be anticipated.[3] The chapter dealing with

[1] His name was John Pope. He was Chancellor, 1543–54. Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 93.

[2] Only Winchester and Eton existed as public schools of any importance, and of these, Winchester sent its scholars to New College and Eton to King's College, Cambridge.

[3] There is one record of an assault, committed presumably upon a person not

these is intituled 'De pace inter Socios et non Socios observanda', and is the longest of the five new chapters introduced by Sutton. The title is of an ambiguity more ominous than is warranted by its contents, since it does not contemplate a standing feud between Dons and undergraduates, but deals with assaults by undergraduates upon each other, as well as upon Fellows, and by Fellows upon undergraduates. The case of an assault by one Fellow upon another is provided for in the chapter on the removal of Fellows. In the spirit of an Anglo-Saxon code, assaults are priced according to the rank of the person who was the victim, their severity, and the weapon with which they were inflicted. An attack by one undergraduate upon another might be enjoyed for 3*s.* 4*d.*, provided it were not made with other than natural weapons. If a stick or stone or other instrument were used, or even threatened, though no blood were shed, it cost double. Six and eightpence was also the charge for the most moderate form of assault by an undergraduate upon a Fellow, and blood drawn from a Fellow cost twenty shillings, but from an undergraduate thirteen and fourpence. Provocative language by any person was punished by a fine of eightpence or more, according to the discretion of the Principal and Vice-Principal. Scholars could be sent down for idleness, offences against the civil or moral law, or for scandalous or quarrelsome conduct of any kind, the language affecting them being a repetition of that touching the removal of Fellows. In the case of Scholars involved in a suspicion short of proof, the method of compurgation might be employed, the compurgators being in their case two scholars like themselves. For failure to comply with a summons by the Principal to a compurgation, the Scholar might be expelled. The graduated system of private and public reprimand devised for peccant Fellows was applied

a member of the College, which found its way into the Vice-Chancellor's Court. On December 15, 1545, Clement Purst, having been assaulted by John Ratclyff of Brasenose, in Brasenose College Kitchen, asked that Ratclyff should be bound over to keep the peace. On December 17, Ratclyff was fined 4*s.* for the assault (Proceedings in Vice-Chancellor's Court, 1545–6, extracted from *Reg. Cur. Cancell. G. G.*, by A. Clark). For Ratclyff see sub Radcliffe, John, Principal's *Register*, anno 1549.

totidem verbis, to the case of Scholars, with the same penalty of expulsion for contumacy. Lastly, in the statute setting forth the religious duties of the Scholars occurs a clause[1] marking the introduction into the educational system of the practice of corporal chastisement which thenceforth flourished in schools for more than three hundred years. 'Et volumus quod illa particula, silicet "vel virga corrigatur" conformiter intelligatur in omnibus aliis statutis poenalibus poena pecuniaria!'

The chapter added by Sutton on the agreement of Fellows and non-Fellows in the election of officers of the University, seems to show that experience had taught the utility of electioneering tactics, if the influence of the College were to assert itself in the University. A method was devised, and approved by Sutton, for securing the vote of the College *en bloc*. Where the majority, both of Fellows and scholars, presumably graduates, were agreed, the minorities were to vote with them. Where the majority of the Scholars, that is, presumably, of Scholar graduates, were agreed with a minority of the Fellows, the Principal and majority of the six Seniors were to determine the choice, and by their decision the rest were to be bound.

The difficulty of ensuring College discipline among undergraduates resident in Halls attached to the College, perhaps inspired the next addition made by Sutton to the statutes. Little St. Edmund Hall, which must have been a very small house, was to be let to a priest in enjoyment of a benefice incompatible with a place on the Foundation, save in the excepted cases of sons of noblemen. In accordance with this arrangement, we find in the Bursars' Roll for 1526–7 (C. f. 3):

'Onerantur dicti Bursarii pro quadam Camera Rogeri Dyngley Doctoris[2] infra Aulam vocatam litill Edmund Hall' vj^{s} viij^{d}.

[1] On this, as the opening of a new era, see H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii. 622.

[2] Roger Dyngley or Dingley was a Fellow of All Souls in 1511 and had been Proctor in 1518. He was made D.D. July 2, 1526. Boase, *Reg.*, O. H. S., i. 46; Churton, pp. 335–6. But he must, if Sutton's statute, which speaks of the contingency of his expulsion from the College, was observed, have been a member of it.

being the first surviving entry of a tenant of any of the halls. Sutton's statutes conclude with an injunction against the enactment of any statutes repugnant to them, with the exclusion of Roland Messynger, and with the date of 1 February, 13 Henry VIII (1522).

Sutton's Statutes.

The changes introduced by Sutton may now be summarized under three heads.[1] Of these, the first were constitutional changes, the most fundamental and far-reaching being that which definitely transferred the government of the College from the Principal and twelve Fellows to the Principal and six Seniors. One result of this, certainly not foreseen by Sutton, was that when the system had grown up of attaching stipends to Fellowships as such, the six Seniors absorbed the greater part of the surplus corporate income, leaving the junior Fellows so poorly endowed that they were forced to seek employment outside—in modern phrase to go down, pending their arrival at a seniority which would enable them to subsist comfortably in College. In Churton's judgement, this removal of junior Fellows from contact with the undergraduates was favourable to the 'vigour of discipline and the salutary coercions of good order'. But this was not in Sutton's contemplation, since he introduced the requirement of a year's residence by a probationary Fellow. The influence of seniority was increased by Sutton's provision that the senior Fellow should act in the Vice-Principal's absence, and that the two senior Fellows should, with the Principal, act as a court of appeal from the Vice-Principal.

A constitutional change of less moment was that by which Sutton threw open the endowments of the College to six sons of noblemen whom Bishop Smyth had apparently intended to occupy the position of the commoners of to-day, and to be as members of the College, at their own charges, but not on the Foundation, nor entitled to its eleemosynary advantages. They were to be 'sub tutela et regimine creditorum vulgariter "creansers"[2] nuncupatorum', an old-fashioned word for persons

[1] In the printed Statutes, chapters xii, xxii, xxiv, xxxvii and xxxviii, with a great part of viii and xxiii are to be assigned to Sutton's revision.

[2] Creanser, creancer, *c.* 1500, G. Vernon in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* i. 16, 'Mr. Grove,



Binding of first Vice-Principal's Register, A.D. 1540, bearing an Oxford stamp dated 1537

to whose care pupils were entrusted, but for discipline rather than instruction. Dr. Rashdall[1] has noted that Sutton, in his substitution of the word 'Tutor' in the same sense, introduced into Brasenose and into the University the word which, with the added connotation of teaching, finally established its supremacy.

Still more remarkable is Sutton's concession in their favour of the privilege to be entrusted to the Principal and Vice-Principal, 'dispensandi cum eisdem pro observatione statutorum quae ab ipsis convenienter observari non possunt.' In the same spirit was his permission for a priest beneficed beyond the statutory limits to live in St. Edmund Hall. Like Principal Hodgson, he had no fancy for 'a college of paupers'. Another series of changes introduced by Sutton affected the discipline both of Fellows and Scholars. These seem to have been less inspired by any dominating principle than rearrangements of detail which experience commended as desirable. Controversies may be conjectured to have arisen as to the powers of the Vice-Principal, for Sutton directs that they are not to be exercised over Masters of Arts, nor in cases of expulsion, nor is the Vice-Principal to interfere between 'Lector' and pupil. On the other hand, the discipline is slightly tightened upon Fellows. In the changes made in that of the Scholars, the enforcement of order, both during lectures and at other times, occupies much of Sutton's care; towards which the reading by the Vice-Principal thrice a year of so much of the statutes as affected undergraduates was designed to contribute. Musical instruments and noise generally were put under interdict; on the other hand, Saturnalia were tolerated at Christmas and cards allowed for the first time, but only in the Hall. To cards might be added any 'ludus honestus', of which the Principal was to be judge, but the context shows that neither knuckle-bones, dice, nor ball, were to be included in this category. The undergraduate was no longer to be locked out for the night who returned to College after nine o'clock.

Pryncipall of Mawdelen Hall, the which is creanser to me and my brother.' J. A. H. Murray, *Oxf. Engl. Dict.*, *s.v.* creancer.

[1] H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii. 515, n.

There was a greater precision of regulations as to the course of instruction, especially for graduates. Education was not thought to be complete with the attainment of a Bachelor's degree. That was the crown of a three years' study of sophistry and logic, to be followed by three years of philosophy and disputations prior to a Mastership in Arts. Even Masters, if resident, were to attend theological lectures and disputations, though the penalty for absence was reduced by Sutton from 12*d.* to 8*d.* It is plain that the intention of the Founders was to turn out a body of clergy thoroughly equipped with orthodox weapons for the controversies of the day. The graduates of Brasenose were to be the Jesuits of Oxford.

The concluding chapter of the statutes is of importance. A few years earlier, the statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge, had been drawn up by John Fisher, afterwards Cardinal. Fisher, in this following the precedent of William of Wykeham, was determined to guard against the innovations threatening the Universities (J. B. Mullinger, *History of the University of Cambridge* (1873), p. 471). Sutton in this statute follows Fisher's lead. Any changes in the spirit of his statutes, the object of which, to those who were reading the signs of the times, was patently resistance to the new learning, were peremptorily banned. It is not without significance as interpreting the part played by Roland Messynger that it is in association with this prohibition that his name finds a place.

It may have occurred to the reader to ask how it is that, having been jealously excluded by Bishop Smyth from intervention with the statutes, Sutton nevertheless undertook their final revision. A document among the records of the Star Chamber supplies the answer. It is[1] a petition by one Bawdwyn Smythe, citizen and haberdasher of London, probably a nephew of the Bishop. In it he states that all Bishop Smyth's executors had renounced. It was undoubtedly this in the first place and the provision of the Charter in the next which brought the Principal and Fellows to Sir Richard

[1] *R. O. MS., Star Chamber Proceedings*, Henry VIII, Bundle 19, no. 213.

Sutton. The journey to Syon is recorded in the Bursars' Roll made up at Michaelmas, 1521. The date of the sealing of Sutton's revised statutes is February 1, 1522, which shows that he had the changes some months under consideration. In 1520–1 the College spent 9*s.* 8*d.* on transcripts of documents and of the statutes at different times ('pro transcriptione Statutorum diuersis temporibus') (A. f. 18), doubtless the original and second editions for submission to Sutton. In the following year, after Sutton's revision, there is another entry (A. f. 22).

'Et solutum pro transcriptione Statutorum diuersis temporibus et aliis scriptis concernentibus Collegium ac pro pargamino et papiro pro Statutis scribendis et aliis necessariis dicti Collegii (ut) similiter apparet per billam li^{s} i^{d} ob.'

Roland Messynger.

Mention has been made of the clause at the end of the statutes of 1522 enjoining that Roland Messynger shall not be a Fellow, nor remain in the College, nor have a chamber there for more than one night. The exact reason for this ordinance of exclusion ranks, though as one of the minor mysteries of history, with the Man in the Iron Mask and the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. Down to the time of the first Universities Commission every newly-elected Fellow, in swearing to maintain the statutes, swore to maintain Roland Messynger's exclusion.

The industry of Churton has disinterred many details of Messynger's career. He appears to have belonged to the diocese of Carlisle, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Smyth's suffragan at Buckden, in 1496, and priest, by the same suffragan, in the following year. It may be taken that he had been educated at Oxford, for he proceeded Master of Arts in 1505, and on May 11, 1508, was elected Northern Proctor of the University. In the same year he was Principal of Little University Hall, and in 1511 of Black Hall, which stood at the west end of St. Mary's Church. He was also a beneficed pluralist, being presented by the Abbey of Godstow to the vicarage of High Wycombe on March 12, 1511,[1] and by Bishop Smyth to the rectory of Winwick, in

[1] Lipscomb, *History of Bucks*, iii. 649.

Northamptonshire,[1] in December, 1512. That to the last he stood well with Bishop Smyth is evident from the fact that on July 31, 1513, some five months before the Bishop's death, he was collated by him to the prebend of St. Botolph's in Lincoln Cathedral. At Michaelmas, 1512, he was Bursar of the new College, signing as 'Bursar of the King's College of Brasen Nose' on 15 January, 4 Henry VIII, $151\frac{2}{3}$. As Bursar, he was deputed to take livery of seisin of the Bishop's great endowment of the estates of the Priory of Cold Norton on July 20th of the same year. The Bishop's friend and the College's earliest benefactor, Edmund Croston, another prebendary of Lincoln, left to Roland Messenger, by his will dated January 23, $150\frac{7}{8}$, the use of all his books, while he should continue in Oxford,[2] and after that to the library of Brasenose, if any should be made within twelve years. Failing this, his three executors, of whom Roland 'Messenger' was named first, were to divide the bequest between them. He was third of the four who first became Fellows of the new College, John Haster, John Forneby, Roland Messynger, and John Legh, clerks. These, on October 20, 1508, with Richard Sutton, John Port, afterwards a benefactor, Ralph Legh, probably one of Sutton's nephews,[3] John Sutton, the elder, and John Sutton the younger, the Founder's brother and nephew, were lessees from University College of Brasenose and Little University Halls. A stronger proof of the confidence at this time reposed in him by the Founder Sutton is to be seen in the fact that he was a feoffee to the use of Sutton's will of the estates in Leicestershire and Middlesex destined for the College. The date of this was July 15, 1508.

[1] This connexion with Northamptonshire furnishes a link, though a slight one, in the identification of the Comptroller of Wolsey's buildings with the ex-Fellow of Brasenose. In a survey of Christ Church property taken in 1526 occurs the following: 'Town of Northampton. A mese near the sign of the Swan and two tenements claimed by Rowland Messenger, parson of Wenlock, from which it may be inferred that he held a third benefice.' *Letters and Papers* IV. i. p. 986.

[2] Monograph I, 15.

[3] See Churton, *Lives*, p. 455.

One further instance of Roland Messenger's position in the counsels of both the Founders remains to be mentioned. When the two were about to begin to build, they obtained a lease of a stone-quarry at Headington for the joint lives of themselves and Roland Messenger. Since Messenger had only been ordained deacon in 1496, he was, as compared to themselves, a young man and likely to survive as sole lessee.[1]

Such are the principal incidents in the life of Messenger so far as known from Churton and from the College muniments. They afford no suspicion of distrust entertained towards him by either of the Founders, but the reverse. The writer has recently discovered documents among the Archives of the Court of Requests which, while they throw no light upon Messenger's relations to the College, give some glimpses into his character. Of these the first belongs to the year 1519,[2] when he was defendant in a suit brought by four persons 'with the hole company ot Burgesys and Foryners of the town and borough of Gret Wycombe', that is, the entire population, both those free of the borough and the rest. This assumption on the part of the plaintiffs turns out not to have been justified, for, as the depositions prove and as Messenger retorted, 'this complaynt is contrare to the myndes of Master Maire and his breder(en) and many other sadde and discrete burges of the sayd town.' The grievance was that the defendant had put two kine to pasture on the common called the Rye. They were impounded by the inhabitants, but the pound was broken open by order of the mayor, Thomas Frere, and the cattle re-delivered to their owner's servant, he being 'at Oxford all this tyme'. Upon a second similar occasion the cattle were recovered by a replevin, and the vicar sued his adversaries at Common Law, with what result does not appear. The general conclusion from the depositions is that, as vicar, he had no right ot pasturage on the Rye, but that a licence had been accorded by courtesy to a former vicar, and had been offered to Messenger on condition

[1] But the grantor being only tenant for life, the grant was 'vivente domino

[2] *R. O. MS., Court of Requests*, Mr. Hurst's Calendar, Bundle 6, no. 227.

that he signed a document to the effect that the privilege was not to be drawn into a precedent for his successor, to which he had declined to assent. Unfortunately, the judgements of the Court of Requests are, to a considerable extent, lost, and the issue of the dispute is unknown.

About the year 1530 Roland Messenger was involved as defendant in two other litigations, both in the same court. Of these the first, *Harrison* v. *Messenger*, was a suit by a plaintiff who describes himself as 'a power servyng man', this being doubtless by way of apology for his appearance in the Court for 'Poor Men's Causes'. He was, according to his own account, sufficiently well off to be freeholder 'of and in certain landes and tenements to the nomebre of xvj or xvij acrez in Chepyngwikham'. The vicar, nine years before, had endeavoured to induce him to let this land at 6*d*. an acre, exactly half its value, and, having failed to do so, had 'with force and extort power expulsed and put oute' the petitioner. The vicar's answer has a certain air of improbability about it. It is to the effect that he was the owner of twenty-seven acres of inclosed land, 'within whiche close the said compleynount hathe by estymacon thre acres of lande or there abowtes.' He traverses the allegation that the land in dispute was the plaintiff's freehold, and apparently sets up that the plaintiff only had a 'profit à prendre', though he does not use the phrase, when the land was sown with corn every four or five years. Here, again, we are unfortunate in being ignorant of the judgement. All that can be said is that in both of these cases the Vicar of Wycombe is in the unfortunate position of being charged by his parishioners with aggressions upon their rights.

The third litigation, also before the same court, is a strong indication that Messenger was both high-handed and unscrupulous. It is the case of *Straunge* v. *Messenger*.[1] The complainant, John Straunge, sets out that he 'of late tyme was possessed at Cirencester of a salt of sylver parcell gilt to the value of vj^{li} xiii^{s}. iiij^{d}'. This splendid piece of plate was stolen from his house by 'straungers called Egipcions which ot

[1] *R. O. MS., Court of Requests*, Mr. Hurst's Calendar, Bundle 5, no. 322.

late travelyd in this fair realme ot England'.[1] The gipsies were arrested with it in their possession at Henley-on-Thames. When they were brought before Sir Walter Stoner, a magistrate for Oxfordshire, Roland Messenger appeared and complained that twelve months previously his vicarage at Wycombe had been robbed of 'certen plate and other goodes to the value of viij^{li} or more'. The gipsies denied any knowledge of this theft, but their 'cheif master . . . seid to master Walter Stoner knyght he was content to recompense the seid Sir Rowland for his seid plate and other stuff'. This audacious fiction was plainly invented to anticipate any possible charge that Messenger and the magistrate had conspired to rob the gipsies, who were not only, by their own sworn testimony, innocent of the theft from Messenger's house, but according to his own case, set up against the claim ot Straunge, had bought the salt-cellar 'of certen persons ot Reading as the seide master of the seid Egipcioons by a Byll of Sale then shewed . . . dyd afferme'. In short, Messenger persuaded the magistrate to hand over the salt-cellar to one John Arden, of Henley, to hold as a pledge. If within fourteen days the gipsies returned Messenger his stolen property, knowledge of which they persisted in denying, the salt-cellar was to be delivered up to him; otherwise it was to be restored to the gipsies. The end of this nefarious transaction was that Messenger secured, according to the defrauded owner, John Straunge, both the 'salt and other plate', for the restitution of which Straunge invoked the Court, it can scarcely be doubted, with success.[2] Whether this were so or not, the story, even as told by Messenger himself, shows that he was not a person troubled by nice scruples.

It has been suggested by Churton that the exclusion of Roland Messenger from the College may have been due to disapproval on the part of Sutton of his retention of his Fellowship in conjunction with at least three ecclesiastical

[1] This clearly alludes to the 'Acte concernyng Egypcyans' of 1530 (22 Henry VIII, c. 10) expelling them the realm upon sixteen days' notice.

[2] The Court of Requests, being a Court of Conscience, would not hold itselt bound by technical difficulties of the Common Law as to sales in market overt, if any such there were.

preferments. But, as Churton remarks, 'the terms and manner of his dismission rather seem to indicate somewhat of warmth and displeasure.' It is, indeed, possible that between him and Sutton a clash of opinion had made itself felt. In 1525, three years after Sutton's revision of the College statutes, and after Messenger's ejection from his Fellowship, we find him employed by Wolsey as one of two surveyors of his works at Christ Church.[1] His conduct as Bursar during the building of Brasenose had, doubtless, proved his qualifications for this post. It is probable, too, that he had been acquainted with Wolsey during residence at Oxford. Wolsey had come forward as a favourer of the new learning, while Smyth and Sutton had erected their College as a fortress of conservative orthodoxy. Six months before Sutton's death, Wolsey had obtained from Pope Clement VII a bill authorizing him to suppress St. Fridewide's for the purpose of converting it into a College representing the spirit of scholarship and inquiry which the partisans of obscurantism were assailing with riot and ridicule. It is probable that the Cardinal's intentions were already known, and Sutton, the steward of Sion, to which house he bequeathed £20 and some houses at Brentford, must have been strongly out of sympathy with this ruthless despoiler of twenty-nine monasteries. His favourite lament, as the Duke of Norfolk tells us,[2] was 'Non est amplius fides super terram', the cause of the degeneracy of the times. If, as Churton notes, there was 'warmth and displeasure' in Sutton's attitude to Messenger, what more likely than that it should have been provoked by Messenger's open alliance with this powerful propagator of heretical[3] and subversive innovation? In the event of Sutton's death, such a patron's irresistible influence might force him upon the College once more, and speedily render abortive the object for which it had been called into being.

[1] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, IV. i. 1499, 26. In 1530 he was Comptroller of the works, ibid., p. 986.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XII. ii. 291. 20 July, 1537. Norfolk to Cromwell.

[3] 'Cave ne hereticus fias' was Sir John More's warning to his son Thomas against the Greek learning.

Croston's contingent bequest is evidence that Messenger was a lover of books. It may have included the Greek grammar and Greek authors to be found in the earliest list of the books in the library. If so, Messenger was probably no 'Trojan'. Against the danger of his intrusion Sutton may have devised the astute precaution of making his exclusion an integral part of the College statutes and exacting an oath to their observance from every member of the House.

IV

Basset's Fee

The estate first purchased to form, it may be presumed, an endowment for the contemplated College, was Basset's Fee, acquired by Bishop Smyth on February 3, 1505, through the medium of Edmund Bury, Thomas Kay, clerk, and John Bustard, acting as feoffees in trust. In the following Michaelmas term a fine and recovery were levied by the bishop, Charles Bothe (chaplain to the Council of the Marches of Wales, over which Bishop Smyth presided, and in 1516 Bishop of Hereford), Robert Brudenel and William Grevill, serjeants-at-law, Edward Tyrell, esquire, Robert Toneys, Edmund Bury, and John Daland. The deforciant was Thomas Bulkeley of Eyton, Cheshire, of whom the estate had been purchased for £150. It is described as consisting of twenty acres of meadow, one hundred and eighteen shillings and ninepence in various quit-rents, and the keep of a horse and a greyhound in Rewley Abbey, valued in the 'Rentale' at 5*s*. It was doubtless a part of the grant made by King John to Thomas Basset, son of one of the justices of Henry II, of the lordship of Hedendon (Headington), together with the Hundred of Bolendon and the Hundred lying without the North gate of the City of Oxford, called the Hundred of North Gate, which belonged to the manor of Headington.[1] In his will Bishop Smyth mentions the annual value of the estate as

[1] See the Inquisitio de Hundredo de Bolendon ot Edward I (1279). Wood's *City of Oxford* (O. H. S. 1889), i. 336, 337.

£7 6*s.* 8*d.* net ('ultra reprisas'). This was in December, 1513. The Bursars' Rolls for 1515–16 enter it somewhat higher, at £7 8*s.* 4½*d.* A 'Rentale de Bassett's Fee pro anno integro',[1] probably not much later than 1524, gives it at £7 8*s.* 8½*d.*; though the items set out give a total of £7 2*s.* 8½*d.* In the Valor of 1547 the total suddenly falls to £5 8*s.* 4½*d.*, which approaches Churton's figures; but this is to be accounted for by the omission of 'Northam', which brought in a rental of £2. Northam was one of three meadows of 60 acres in all, viz., Bradmore, Northam, and Linches, belonging to the manor of Headington,[2] and as such presumably to be reckoned as part of the Fee.

The 'rentale' of Basset's Fee above mentioned attests the piety of the great house of Basset, large landowners in Oxfordshire and founders and benefactors[3] of the Priory of Bicester. The word 'fee' originally 'carried about with it a sense of military or noble tenure.'[4] As used in the Bursars' Rolls, it may be taken as equivalent to a manor. Its revenues were all derived from rents paid by the freeholders of the fee. What immediately attracts notice in the list of these is that, with four exceptions, they are all, if we may include the Colleges, religious houses. The rent paid by the abbey of Osney is 26*s.* 8½*d.*; by that of Rewley, 5*s.*; by the Priory of St. Frideswide's, 16*s.* 8*d.*; by the abbess of Godstow, 8*s.*; by the Priory of Littlemore, 5*s.*; by that of Studley, 1*s.*; by New College, 2*s.* 2*d.*; by University College, 3*s.* 8*d.*; by the wardens of Hynkesey, 20*s.*, this last item being set out in the *Valor* of 1547 as 'de terris nuper monasterii de Abyngdon vocatis Hynxhey medowe xx*s.*'[5]

[1] Cold Norton, 32.

[2] Inq. supr. cit.

[3] Dugd. *Monast.* vi. 432. Wood's *City of Oxford*, ii. 24.

[4] P. & M. *Hist. of Eng. Law*, i. 213.

[5] In the Bursars' Rolls this rent is described as from the 'Gardiani de Hynkesey', and in a rental of 4 Henry VIII (1512–13) in Principal Yate's *Register*, f. 65, as from 'the wardens of the king's meadow by Botley'. I have not been able to trace the history of these wardens. Quaere whether a Basset constructed 'Botley causeway' and charged a toll farmed by the abbey of Abingdon. See Wood's *Oxford*, i. 319. The Computus of the Abbey of Abingdon in Dugd. *Monast.* i. 526, throws no light upon it.

Since land could not be devised by will, the Bishop gave the estate to the College during his lifetime. His will, dated December 26, 1513, refers to this. 'Item volo quod Principalis et scolares Aulae Regie et Collegii de Brasen Nose in Oxonia et eorum ibidem successores pro tempore existentes . . . habent et tenent ex donatione et concessione meis terras in eorum proprios usus perpetuo possidendas vocatas Basset's Fee in comitatu Oxonie.' The Bursars' Rolls indicate that the College entered into possession at Michaelmas, 1513, more than three months before the Bishop's death. The earliest Roll, that for 1515–16, reckons against most of the tenants arrears of two years due at Michaelmas, 1515. No less a sum than £3 11*s.* 6*d.* was in arrear. Arrears were a constant feature. In 1530 the wardens of Hynkesey owed £3 for the three years last past[1]; St. Frideswide's at Michaelmas, 1526, owed 11*s.* 8*d.* a year for three years, a total of 35*s.* St. Frideswide's during these years was undergoing transformation from a monastery, which was suppressed in 1524, to a college which was suppressed in 1530. It is not surprising that at Michaelmas, 1529, St. Frideswide's was six years in arrear—the sum due being £3 10*s.* At Michaelmas, 1523, the Prioress of Studley owed nine years' rent, a total of 18*s.* If the religious houses themselves were slack in payment, so were the lay grantees who succeeded to their lands at the dissolution. The rent due from the 'occupator' of Studley to Basset's Fee was five years in arrear at Michaelmas, 1544, the Priory having been dissolved with the smaller houses in 1536. The arrears of the Priory of Littlemore are elsewhere recorded. University College appears to have paid its rent of 3*s.* 8*d.*[2] with commendable punctuality after 1516, when it owed for two years to Michaelmas, 1515, perhaps assisted to this virtuousness by the annual payment

[1] It may be suspected that the sum of £1 paid by the Wardens of Hynkesey represents the £1 0*s.* 6*d.* now paid to the College by Mr. Harcourt for land at that place, though the odd sixpence has to be accounted for. See Monograph VI, p. 10.

[2] This is stated in Monograph VI (p. 10) as 13*s.* 8*d.* But two years' arrears in 1516 are reckoned as 7*s.* 4*d.* and it is 3*s.* 8*d.* in the *Valor* of 1547.

of £3 from Brasenose College, due tor Brasenose and Little University Halls.[1] But it is surprising to find, in 1517, a wealthy foundation like New College four years in arrear for its trivial 2*s.* 2*d.* due to Basset's Fee. New College, it is to be hoped, has now emerged from debt, but the quit-rents from the religious houses have disappeared altogether. 'Payments and quit-rents charged on particular estates attached to the property and were still recoverable (after the dissolution); but rents payable out of the estates general of an Abbey, when the Abbey was suppressed and the estates divided, were commonly lost.'[2]

V

The Estates of the Priory of Cold Norton

A priory of canons of the order of St. Augustine was ounded at Cold Norton early in the reign of Henry II. If reliance can be placed upon a deed dated May 18, 1269,[3] the spelling at that time was Cholde, i.e. Chaulde or Warm Nordton, though another deed, probably not many years later, grants land 'Domui hosspitali Frigide Nortune'.[4] This hospital is called the hospital of the brothers of the hospital of Oxford,[5] in another deed of about the same date to which Henry the Doctor' (Henrico Medico) appears as an attesting witness. If the recital of a deed of the fourteenth century is to be trusted, which makes a grant of land 'to the Church of St. John, apostle and evangelist, of the hospital of Norton and to the canons there',[6] the hospital had by that time become absorbed in the Priory.

The extinction of the Priory illustrates the distaste for the monastic life which, with the return of civil peace, had come upon Englishmen. The Act passed in 1536 for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries[7] speaks in its preamble of

[1] See Monograph VI, p. 8.
[2] Churton, p. 347, n.
[3] Muniments, Cold Norton, 4.
[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] 'Inter portam meam & curiam fratrum ospitalis Oxon.,' ibid., 12.
[6] Ibid., 22.
[7] 28 Henry VIII, c. 28.

religious houses with fewer than twelve inmates.[1] Notwithstanding that it enjoyed endowments to the amount of £50 annually, the Priory of Cold Norton, in 1496, was reduced to a Prior only, by name John Wotton, who died in that year. Not a single canon survived, and there existed, as a consequence, no capitular body to elect a new Prior. The house became derelict.[2]

The fate of Cold Norton Priory and of its possessions during the eleven years which followed escaped the researches of the indefatigable Churton. It has been, however, partly divulged by the discovery at the Record Office, in 1896, of a number of unsorted documents relating to the commission for inquiring into agricultural inclosures issued in 1517.[3] From one of these, to which more particular reference will presently be made, it appears that the notorious Sir Richard Empson obtained a grant of the monastery, suffered its buildings to fall into decay, converted some of its arable land to pasture, and evicted twenty persons from their holdings. By the Act of 4 Henry VII, c. 19 (1489), 'agaynst pullyng down of Tounes', this was an offence, punishable not by forfeiture of the freehold, but of half the resulting profits. Except, therefore, by the sheer force of superior rapacity, it is unknown by what process Henry VII compelled Empson to relinquish his prey. All that is known is that on April 24, 22 Henry VII (1507), a jury was summoned at Dorchester by William Yong, the King's Escheator for Oxfordshire;[4] that they found that John Wotton, late Prior of Coldenorton had been seised in fee of the possessions of the Priory, that he had died on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, 11 Henry VII (1496);[5] that

[1] Cf. also Henry VIII's proclamation to the Lincolnshire rebels in 1536, *Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII, xi. 780, 'Many or most (of the religious houses suppressed) have not more than four or five religious persons in them and divers but one.'

[2] In the Chancery Proceedings of February 23, 9 Henry VIII (1518), consequent upon the alleged inclosure by the College at Cold Norton, the date of the dissolution of the Monastery is stated to have been March 6, 22 Henry VII (1507).

[3] These documents are now sorted under 'Depopulation', and published by the writer in the *Domesday of Inclosures*, 1517 (2 vols., 1897).

[4] On the royal revenue derived from escheats of ecclesiastical lands see T. Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (1711), chap. x, § iii, p. 207.

[5] March 26.

for want of canons to elect a new Prior the monastery was dissolved, and reverted as an escheat to the king, having been as they alleged, without regard to its history, founded by, or at least under the patronage of, the kings his progenitors.[1] Another jury at Northampton, on April 30, following the Inquisition for Oxfordshire, sworn before Lambert Lancktre, the royal escheator for Northamptonshire, returned a similar verdict.[2]

In these Inquisitions the property of the Priory in the respective counties is set out. In Cold Norton there were the monastic buildings, the Church of the Priory, the manor, six messuages, 200 acres of arable, 1,000 acres of pasture, 60 acres of meadow, 20 acres of wood, and 40*s.* in rents. In the other parishes enumerated on p. 6 of the Bursar's monograph on 'The College Estates' there were 40 messuages, 4 mills, 40 acres of arable, 2,000 acres of pasture, 100 acres of meadow, 60 acres of wood, with rents of £9 13*s.* 4*d.*

On a comparison of the places enumerated by this Inquisition with those of the Bursar's monograph there are a few differences observable. The Inquisition enumerates, without specifying areas, land at Little Tew (parua Tua), Shipton, Dadyngton (Deddington), and Therne. Among the deeds in Principal Yate's *Register* relating to Little Tew, grants amounting to 63 acres are to be found, made to the Priory of Cold Norton at various times. But Little Tew is not mentioned in the Terrier of the Priory lands in the possession of the College drawn up not long after 1524,[3] nor in the *Valor* of 1547. Nevertheless, a lease of October 10, 1 Elizabeth (1559), reckons Great and Little Tew as part of the Cold Norton Priory estate, to which they were apparently contiguous.

[1] Though their history was unsound, their law was good, for on the previous February 21 (1507), Hugh Croft, Esquire, probably heir at law of the founders, had released all his title to the king. Cold Norton, 37.

[2] The above is from an Exemplification dated February 17, 2 Henry VIII (1511), granted at the request of John Castell. Cold Norton, 40.

[3] Cold Norton, 32. Conjectured by Mr. Hurst to be of c. 1440, but a comparison of the Tenants' names with those on the Bursars' Rolls for 1524–5 shows it to belong to the later date. Moreover, the dorse contains a terrier of Bassett's Fee, which never belonged to the Priory, but to the College.

This and the others are, perhaps, examples of Dr. Butler's remark on p. 3 of his monograph that 'the occurrence of totally distinct estate names in respect of the same property' proves a stumbling-block to researches. Shipton is recorded in the *Valor* of 1547 as bringing in £6 a year, but this represents an estate bought there in 1536. Nor do Dadyngton nor Therne occur in any list or terrier. To these possessions the jurors added the Rectory and advowson of Stepylaston.[1] The annual value of the total possessions of the Priory in Oxfordshire was £50, clear of outgoings. The escheator and jurors for Northants on April 30, 22 Henry VII (1507), returned two rentcharges as owned by the Priory in Thenford of the clear yearly values of 40*s.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* respectively; also a messuage, a virgate[2] of arable, ten acres of meadow and pasture and a croft[3] there of the clear yearly value of 13*s.* 4*d.*—a total of 55*s.* They added that since the death of the late Prior neither the Rector of Thenford, who was liable in respect of a rentcharge, nor the occupiers of the virgate had paid any rent. The total clear income due to the Priory from Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire amounted to £52 15*s.*

King Henry VII, having thus acquired the possessions of the Priory, characteristically disposed of them to the best advantage. By a deed dated July 6, 22 Henry VII (1507),

[1] The manner in which the Priory of Cold Norton obtained this property is of interest as illustrating the effects of the wars and of the great pestilences of the reign of Edward III. The Prior and Canons petitioned the Bishop of Lincoln for help. They complained that their Priory was situate in a barren place adjoining two of the king's highways leading to London, and that they were consequently the victims of demands for hospitality on the part of intolerable crowds of wayfarers. The lands of the Priory lay untilled for want of agricultural labourers, its houses ruined by storms, and the Priory's resources were too slender to allow of their being rebuilt. As a consequence, the Priory was so overwhelmed with indigence and debt that, unless some provision were speedily made for them, the Canons would be obliged to wander into the world to seek food and clothing. Upon this representation the Bishop on May 25, 1377, granted them the Rectory of Steeple Aston at the next vacancy, which grant was confirmed by the Dean and Canons of Lincoln. The conditions were that the Priory should serve the Church, either by a Canon or a secular priest, and should pay the Bishop of Lincoln for the time being 13*s.* 4*d.* every Michaelmas, and, in the event of the see being vacant, should pay it to the Dean and Chapter.

[2] The virgate was an indeterminate area, generally about thirty acres.

[3] Cattle shed, Spelman.

he granted the whole of them to Thomas Hobbys 'Decano libere Capelle Regie beate Marie Virginis sancti Stephani protomartyris infra Palacium Regis Westmonasterii et Canonicis ibidem'.[1] Of this wealthy Collegiate Church, entirely distinct from the Abbey of Westminster, of which last Abbot John Islip was at this time the head, Bishop Smyth had been Dean, and, through the intimacy he must necessarily have enjoyed with its Canons, his attention was perhaps attracted to its new possessions as advantageously situate within convenient distance of the College which he was intending to found. The King's grant purported to be 'in liberam et puram eleemosinam imperpetuum'. Churton humorously remarks upon this deed that 'what from Henry was "free" was not always gratuitous'.[2] At any rate, the Dean and Chapter paid 700 marks (£466 13*s.* 4*d.*), in two instalments, one to the King himself on February 15 following, the other to Edmund Dudley, the colleague of Empson in extortion, on October 7, 1508.[3]

The grant to the Dean and Chapter ot St. Stephen's enumerates the possessions of the Priory of Cold Norton with one addition. After reciting Thenford as one of them it adds 'et in Wydeforde in comitatu Glocestrie seu alibi infra regnum Anglie'.

In the hands ot St. Stephen's the Cold Norton estate remained until March 14, 4 Henry VIII (1513). Negotiations had been going on for its acquisition by Bishop Smyth, to whom the Charter of foundation of his new College had been granted on January 15, 3 Henry VIII (1512). These negotiations appear to have been protracted by 'variaunces, stryves, discordes, debates and demaundes', for a draft indenture,[4]

[1] Yate, f. 10.

[2] The real significance of *liberam et puram* is not exemption from service and therefore from payment (Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 224–30).

[3] The acquittances are not among the College muniments, but had been seen by Yate (*Register*, f. 11). The former date, as transcribed by Yate, may have been intended for 'XXII' as the year of Henry VII, but a comparison with the dates of the Inquisitions makes it evident that, if not so written, it should have been 'XXIII'.

[4] Cold Norton, 38.

undated and unsigned, exists among the muniments by which a settlement of these is recited to have been at last arrived at through the mediation of Richard (Foxe), Bishop of Winchester, and Robert Brudenell, Humfrey Conyngesby, William Grevell, and William Fairfax, then Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. The indenture proceeds to convey all the possessions of Cold Norton, which it enumerates, including Wydeford, to Bishop Smyth for 1,150 marks (£766 13*s.* 4*d.*). For causes unknown the conveyance did not finally take this form. On March 19, 4 Henry VIII (1513), the Dean and Canons executed a charter of feoffment to William, Bishop of Lincoln, John Daland, and Richard Sparchford, clerk. The entire possessions of Cold Norton were confirmed to the feoffees, the recital including Wydeford, as granted to the Dean and Chapter by Henry VII's Letters Patent. On July 20, livery of seisin was made to the Bishop's attorney, Richard Wade, in the presence of various witnesses. Meanwhile, on May 8, 1513, Bishop Smyth and his two co-feoffees, in the same wide terms, conveyed the entire possessions of the Priory of Cold Norton, corporeal and incorporeal, to the 'Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of Brasen-Nose',[1] and the College on the same date deputed Roland Messenger and John Forneby, clerk, to enter into possession.[2] The recital, as before, included Wydeford. On July 20 livery of seisin was given by Richard Wade to John Forneby and Rolande Messinger, clerks, as 'proctors' for the College.[3]

Although the history of the estates of the Priory at Shipton, Dadyngton, and Therne, has escaped the research of the writer, the mystery of Wydeford is easily solved. It will have been noticed that the Inquisitions, being for Oxfordshire and Northants, do not mention Wydeford, and there is no sign of an Inquisition having been taken of any estates of the Priory in Gloucestershire. The lists of the Priory's lands in Dugdale's *Monasticon VI*, i. 420-2, omit it. Nor is there any mention of Wydeford in the Bursars' Rolls, nor in the *Valor* of 1547,

[1] Cold Norton, 41. [2] Ibid., 42.
[3] Indorsed on Cold Norton, 41.

nor in Principal Yate's *Register*. But among the muniments there exists a deed[1] which explains the mystery why a property conveyed to the College yielded no return. By that deed, Simon, Prior of Cold Norton (between 1235 and 1283), granted all the lands and tenements of the convent in Wydeford and the advowson in fee simple in perpetuity at the yearly rent of a clove of gillyflower for homage and service. Such a grant was a subinfeudation, being prior to the Statute of 1290 known as 'Quia Emptores'. Wydeford, therefore, though it brought nothing to the chest of the Priory, could still be reckoned by lawyers among its possessions, the Priory retaining its seignorial rights, among which that of escheat might become a valuable property.

Among the muniments of the College is an agreement between the Abbot and Convent of Osney and the Prior of Cold Norton, dated March 20, 18 Richard II (1394), relating to the tithes of Thenford in Northamptonshire.[2] It recites that Osney Abbey had two parts [3] of all species of tithes arising from the parish of Thenford, which of old belonged to the Church of St. George in the Castle of Oxford. Osney was of the same order as Cold Norton, that of Augustinian or Austin Canons. The Canons of Osney, as the recital of the deed tells us, found that 'difficilis erat collectio decimarum supradictarum, materiaque dubitacionis et contumelie multociens exinde oriebatur'. Cold Norton, therefore, having already an interest in the tithes of Thenford, purchased the abbey's share in the tithe at a fixed rate of 26*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

The claim of the Priory of Cold Norton to a moiety of the remainder of the tithes of Thenford had been in dispute since the middle of the fourteenth century. On April 8, 1344, the commissary of the Bishop of Lincoln had held the claim of the Priory good, and had ordered a fence to be thrown across the middle of the Rectorial Glebe to mark off the Prior's from

[1] Wydeford, 17. [2] Thenford, 6.

[3] The 'two parts', as will presently appear, refer to the two portions other than the portion belonging to the Rector and the equivalent portion already belonging to Cold Norton Priory. The whole tithe was divided into four portions, of which the Abbey owned two.

the Rector's share.[1] The Prior's rights were confirmed by the Bishop in the same year.[2] In 1441 the Prior granted the Priory's half to the Rector at a rent of four marks (53*s.* 4*d.*) per annum.[3] The Rector's successor repudiated this arrangement, and, on the intervention of the Bishop in 1452, it was reduced to 40*s.* with a rent of 20*d.* to be paid by the Rector in respect of certain tenements.[4] When Thenford passed into the hands of the dean and canons of the chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, in 1507, a return was made to the old rent of 53*s.* 4*d.*[5] But the Rector of Thenford, Thomas le Mere, adhered to his practice of paying no rent to any one. Year after year, when the tithes of Thenford had in law passed to the College, the Rector's liabilities accumulated undischarged. The College, however, when times were good, paid up its arrears to Osney.[6] Nevertheless, in the Bursars' Roll for 1546–7 the Rector appears as owing for twenty-three years, £62 13*s.* 4*d.* It was but a poor compromise that on September 24, 1551, Principal John Hawarden succeeded in effecting with the next Rector, Thomas Nelle or Nele, who agreed to pay £5 in instalments of 20*s.* yearly.[7] Nele, or Nelle, as he signed himself, we learn from later documents,[8] died about 1553. Perhaps as a consequence of religious distractions, the living remained void for some nine years, the parsonage became dilapidated, and the tithes were unpaid. The College then entered into possession, converted the parsonage into two houses, and occupied the whole of the Rectorial Glebe by way of distraint. From this time a long legal struggle was carried on between the College and successive Rectors, the College having put a lay tenant into possession of the better half of the buildings and tithes.[9] Laurence Bould, or Boule, the next incumbent, early in Elizabeth's reign, began a suit against the College but died, and it was continued in 1606 by the next

[1] Thenford, 3. [2] Ibid., 4. [3] Ibid., 10. [4] Ibid., 11, 12.
[5] Ibid., 15.
[6] Thus, in 1531–2, when receipts reached the unprecedented amount of £155, the College paid up seven years' arrears, £9 6*s.* 8*d.* The entry in 1532–3 is 'pro decimis duarum parcium', which is only intelligible on the assumption that this tithe was divided into four parts.
[7] Thenford, 18. [8] Ibid., 30, 48. [9] Ibid., 30.

Rector, William Osborne, who was presented to the living by Lord Chancellor Ellesmere.[1] The suit dragged on in the Court of Chancery till 1623, when judgement was pronounced by which, while the right of the College to the moiety of the Rectory was confirmed, the compromise of 1452 for 40*s.* and 20*d.* was declared binding.[2]

From what has been said it will have been apparent that in the interval between the escheat of the Cold Norton Priory estates and their conveyance to the College there had been a 'leakage', which had possibly been the subject of the disputes between Bishop Smyth and the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen's. The Bursars' Rolls, quite apart from the possibility of a confusion consequent upon variations of nomenclature, attest this. The Inquisitions taken upon the escheat had certified the clear income arising from the estates of the Priory in Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire as £52 15*s.*[3] If the 55*s.* represented by the moiety of the tithe and the houses and land at Thenford owned by the Priory be deducted, the net rental value would be £50. But the earliest extant Bursars' Roll, that for 1515–16, returns the rent received from Cold Norton at £35 5*s.* 3¾*d.*, while the Inquisition of 1517, to be considered presently, rates it at forty marks (£26 13*s.* 4*d.*). By 1524 it had improved to £36 6*s.* 7¾*d.* But the entry in that and the following year is eloquent of the Bursars' sense of loss. 'Iidem Bursarii onerantur pro terris dominicalibus prioratus de Coldnorton necnon pro omnibus aliis Terris et tenementis eidem prioratui modo pertinentibus vt per Rentale in pergamino similiter apparet particulariter xxxvi^{li} vj^{s} vij ob. qns' (£36 6*s.* 7¾*d.*). The same rent was received year after year, according to the Bursars' Rolls[4]. The entry in the *Valor* of 1547, 'Firma

[1] Thenford, 39.

[2] For the sale of the land and tithe at Thenford see the Bursar's monograph on 'The College Estates', p. 46.

[3] This was probably only a rough estimate, and the commission did not explicitly command such a return.

[4] e.g. in 1525–6, C. f. 3; in 1532–3, D. i. 21; in 1543–4, H. f. 1. There is a loose paper (Cold Norton, 32) headed 'Rentale de Coldnorton pro anno integro', shown by internal evidence to belong to a year not much later than 1524, which gives the total at £36 6*s.* 8*d.*

Manerii de Coldnorton cum omnibus pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissis Lucas (*sic*) Longland per Indenturam datam primo die Maii Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xx^{o} pro termino xxx^{ta} annorum reddendo inde per annum xiiij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}' (£14 3*s.* 4*d.*), evidently refers to the demesne lands only, of which the net profits are returned at £13 7*s.* 6*d.*[1] Despite the large terms of the covenants by the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen's it would appear that there were outstanding liabilities which the College found itself compelled to pay. In the Bursars' Roll D for 1529-30, f. 6, occurs the following entry:—

'Et etiam solutum ad Scaccarium domini Regis apud Westmynster pro decimis perditis exeuntibus de Coldnorton xlv^{s} vj^{d}.'

This entry suggests that the tithes had not been collected in some of the years during which the Priory lands had been an escheat, and that, on the principle 'nullum tempus occurrit regi', the College was made responsible for them. A like entry for 1530-1 (D. f. 13) is expressed to be 'pro decimis exeuntibus de Coldnorton pro anno vij^{o} Regis Henrici viij', i.e. for 1515–16. The amount then paid is xxii^{s} viij^{d}, which suggests that the payment in 1530 was for two years, that is, as from 1513, the date at which the College acquired the property. As, however, the Crown had parted with the lands in 1507, the claim must have been in respect of a prior date and must have been liquidated by the College in annual instalments. From what we know happened in the case of Thenford, unpaid tithe was likely enough to accrue upon a derelict estate.

Tithes were, indeed, then and long after a fertile source of disputes. In the Bursars' Rolls for 1520-1 (A. f. 17) occurs the entry:

'Et solutum Abbatie Gloucestriensi pro decimis exeuntibus de Coldnorton debitis dicto xij anno Regis Henrici viij x^{s}.'

This entry marks the settlement of a wrangle that had gone on for 132 years. The documents in the possession of the

[1] In the Rentale above referred to 'Pro manerio de Coldnorton per annum £14 3*s.* 4*d.*

College show that the Priory laid claim to the appropriation of the tithe upon its lands in the parish of Chipping Norton. The case was heard before an ecclesiastical court and judgement given in favour of the Priory on May 7, 1376.[1] Upon this an amicable settlement was arrived at, the Priory agreeing to pay five shillings a year to the parish church out of the tithes.[2] This settlement endured till 1516,[3] when the College, as representing the Priory, was cited to appear in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The plaintiff was the Abbot of Gloucester, whose house had appropriated the rectory of Chipping Norton. Bishop Smyth's successor in the see of Lincoln, Bishop William Atwater, was upon March 1, 1518, agreed upon as arbitrator.[4] On April 12, 1519, he selected four assessors, two to represent either party to the controversy. These were Peter Lyngham, Doctor of Canon Law, and James More, B.D., Provost of Oriel, on one side; on the other, John Hygdon, D.D., President of Magdalen, and Edmund Hoor, LL.D. There is no direct clue as to which of the parties these respectively represented. The connexion of the Principal of Brasenose, Matthew Smyth, with Oriel, and the circumstance that Lyngham was the name in 1541 of a graduate of Brasenose, afford a faint presumption that the first pair were retained for the College. The Bishop decided that the College should make payment to the Abbey of ten shillings on February 24 of each year. The entry of 1520–1 was the first of these.[5]

Among other outgoings from the estate of Cold Norton appears a payment yearly of 10*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.* or in 1531–2 and 1543–4 of 10*s.* 5*d.*, which is also the sum returned in the *Valor* of 1547. In the Bursars' Rolls this is stated to be 'Dominiis de Chepyngnorton'; but in the *Valor* it is entered, 'Redditu resoluto ad capitale Manerium de Chepyngnorton.' This implies that Cold Norton, which was undoubtedly a manor and was returned as such in the *Valor*, was a subinfeudation of one or

[1] Cold Norton, 27. [2] Ibid., 22.
[3] Ibid., 31. [4] Ibid., 33.
[5] In the Computus of the Abbey of Gloucester at the Dissolution this payment does not appear. Dugdale, *Monast.* i. 565. Nor is it in the *Valor*. Did the College compound for it?

more manors at Chipping Norton. From one of the College muniments,[1] it appears that in 1528 the manor of Chipping Norton was held by Sir William Compton, and there was also a contiguous manor of Overnorton, otherwise called the manor of Barkeleyes. With these two manors the Priory shared the right of pasturage upon the heath of Overnorton, and it may be that the words 'capitale manerium' in the *Valor* imply that one of these was a subinfeudation of the other. To both of them, if two only there were, it may be inferred that this quit-rent was due from lands belonging to the Priory. Other quit-rents paid out of the Cold Norton estate were 17*d.* and 2*s.* to the Bailiffs of the Hundreds of Chadlyngton and Wotton respectively as a composition in lieu of feudal dues.[2] The manor of Chipping Norton, as we know by the Inquisition already cited, was held of the king 'as of his Hundred of Chadlington'. There is not in the Bursars' Rolls any more precise indication whether the manor of Cold Norton was also held, as to a portion, of this Hundred, and, as to another portion, of the other.

Another outgoing from the Cold Norton estate was an annual payment to the Abbey of Bruerne in Oxfordshire. This appears in the earliest account in which it is preserved, that for Michaelmas, 1522, as a quit-rent ('redditus quietus') 'de terris in Dunthir(pe)' 16*d.* In the Roll for 1523–4, the entry takes another form: 'Et solutum Abbati de Bruera pro j libra piperis de redditu quieto exeunte de terris in Dunthrop' 16*d.* If the entries are accurate, it must be inferred that between 1524 and 1533 the College had built at Dunthrop, for the Roll of Michaelmas, 1533, enters the same item as 'pro j libra piperis exeunte de cotagio nostro in Dunthrop'. The fact of the dissolution of the monasteries is discernible in the entry for Michaelmas, 1544, 'Solutum occupatori nuper Abbatie de Bruera,' &c., and in the *Valor* of 1547 the 16*d.* is

[1] Estates, 2. Inquisition of 21 December, 20 Henry VIII (1528).

[2] This is set out in the *Valor* of 1534 of the Abbey of Bruerne in Dugdale, *Monast.* v. 500. 'Item resolutum est annuatim ballivo dicti domini Regis hundredi sui de Wotton pro capitali redditu, forinseco servicio et secta curie de manerio de Dunthorp predicto annuatim £1.'

stated to have been paid to Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College. The abbot was lord of the manor and was also, on a small scale, a tenant of the College in the same place. The *Valor Ecclesiaticus* of 1534 for the Abbey returns,

'Item resolutum annuatim magistro et sociis regalis Collegii nuncupati Brasynnose in universitate Oxoniensi annuatim exeuntes de et pro terris et tenementis in Dunthorp x^{s}.'[1]

These are described in the *Valor* of 1547 as arable, meadow, and pasture, with appurtenances, and no mention is made of buildings. At that time the Abbot had been replaced by Humfrey Assheffeld, who had in 1536 been granted a lease of thirty years, the Abbey having fallen with the smaller monasteries under the Act of that year.[2] The valuation of 1 lb. of pepper at 16*d.*, while approximately fair for the years 1501–20, was below the market price of the decade 1521–30, which was about 1*s.* 9*d.*, and of all subsequent years of the century.[3] In this instance, as throughout the Rolls, the fact is borne in upon the reader that custom still prevailed over the commercial spirit, and that rents and dues, adjusted in bygone years, did not respond to the variations of prices and markets.[4]

The Priory, and, in succession to the Priory, the College yearly paid to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire 'pro redditu quieto vocato Castell Rent ii^{s}'. Two questions arise upon this. Firstly, To what Castle was this quit-rent paid, and secondly, How comes such a liability to attach to land granted by King Henry VII 'in free, pure, and perpetual alms'? About the answer to the first of these questions there cannot be much doubt. We know from Anthony Wood that the Castle of Oxford remained a royal castle from the days of Stephen, and that 'the disbursement of moneys in the reparations or addition thereof was made by the Sheriffs'.[5] The writer has

[1] Dugdale, *Monast.* v. 500. But no return is made of the 16*d.* for the lb. of pepper.

[2] 28 Henry VIII, c. 28.

[3] J. E. T. Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, iv. 688, 690.

[4] The Abbey of Bruerne also received a pound of pepper, in addition to a money rent, at Swaclyf, in Oxfordshire. Dugdale, *Monast.* v. 500.

[5] Wood's *City of Oxford* (ed. A. Clark, 1889), I. xiv. 272.

not been able to trace the transmission of the manor of Cold Norton. It may be inferred that it came to the Priory, burdened with this service, known as 'castle guard',[1] which Fitzherbert held to be tenure by knight service.[2] The mere fact that it became ecclesiastical land would not necessarily relieve it from this liability.[3]

It has been seen that the king's grant of the Priory and its possessions to the dean and chapter of St. Stephen's had been in 'free, pure, and perpetual alms'. The reservation of a service was not inconsistent with such a gift, though there seems to have been doubt as to its consistency with a rent pure and simple. A 'castle-rent', however, being a rent in lieu of service, may be supposed to have been a continuing liability and, at any rate, neither King Henry VII nor his successor were persons with whom it was desirable to engage in a legal conflict. The annual *2s.* was still paid at the time of the *Valor* of 1547.

Another outgoing from the Cold Norton Priory estate was the sum of *4s.* annually paid to Sir John Hungerford, and after 1523 to his heir, Sir Anthony Hungerford, 'pro redditu quieto exeunte de terris et tenementis in Rollandright.' Among the muniments of the College is a licence in mortmain dated May 1, 44 Edward III (1370), granted to Ralph, Earl of Stafford, to assign 'manerium de Magna Rowlandryght' to the Prior and Convent of Cold Norton,[4] which manor it expressly recites 'de nobis non tenetur'. It was, therefore, held of a mesne lord and, consistently with this, there is the usual clause 'salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodi illius serviciis inde debitis et consuetis'. The 'redditus quietus', so called 'because thereby the tenant goes quit and free of all

[1] Though the Bursars enter it as a 'rent', and so it is termed in a receipt by Walter Mauntell, Esquire, late sheriff of Oxfordshire, dated Oct. 24, 37 Henry VI (1458), a receipt of 1564 is for 'castleward' (Cold Norton, 33, 48).

[2] See a learned note in Hargrave and Butler's edition (19th) of Coke's *First Institute* (Coke upon Littleton), f. 87 a.

[3] P. and M., *Hist. of English Law*, i. 223. See also A. Wood, *City of Oxford*, p. 276, from which we learn that the Abbey of Eynsham paid *36s. 10d.* to the use of the Castle of Oxford and *22s.* to that of Cambridge.

[4] Rollright, 54.

other services',[1] points to this superior manor as being at that time in the hands of the Hungerfords. Consistently with this, the *Valor* of 1547 speaks of this as a 'redditus resolutus' issuing 'de manerio'.[2]

This quit-rent of 4*s.* was not the sole rent to a superior manor issuing from the estate of the College at Rollright. By a deed printed in the Cartulary of St. Frideswide's, dated October 29, 1248, the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide's devised to the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton 'totam terram nostram quam habuimus in hamello in Rollright', together with a virgate (a customary area of twenty or thirty acres), in Churchill, in fee farm, paying 27*s.* 6*d.* a year 'pro omni servicio et exaccione ad nos pertinente'.[3] The land held by St. Frideswide's in Rollright appears to have been three virgates, a cotland of an acre, and a cottage.[4] With the estates of the Priory, the College took over the liability to this quit-rent. But in 1522 St. Frideswide's was dissolved and the indisposition to pay dues to a dissolved house, apparent at Thenford, was felt even in Brasenose. The Rolls show that a payment was made of the 27*s.* 6*d.* in 1522–3 'pro anno fenito[5] in festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli Anno xiiij Regis Henrici viij', i.e. to Michaelmas, 1522. At Michaelmas, 1528, six years' arrears were due, a total of £8 5*s.* The College paid five years' arrears, as appears from the Roll of Michaelmas, 1530, showing it to be then three years in arrears. Five years' arrears of 27*s.* 6*d.* amount to £6 17*s.* 6*d.* There was therefore left at Michaelmas, 1528, a balance against the College of £1 7*s.* 6*d.* By Michaelmas, 1530, the arrears, including this, would amount at 27*s.* 6*d.* to £4 2*s.* 6*d.* The College, however, pays £4 1*s.* for three years' arrears, that is, at the rate of 27*s.* a year.[6]

[1] H. Spelman, Glossary, 'Manerii domino annuatim persolvitur.' See also Blackstone, *Commentaries*, ii. 42. As will presently be seen, however, the use of the phrase by the Bursars is not always in the strict legal sense, but rather of any fixed rent.

[2] In the *Valor* the Bursars use the phrase 'Redditus resolutus' of any rent paid to a manor, distinguishing it as issuing 'de terris et tenementis' or 'de manerio'.

[3] *Oxford Historical Society*, 1896, ii. 239.

[4] See ibid., i. 43; ii. 237–9; Dugdale, *Monast.*, ii. 148.

[5] *Sic.*

[6] The entry runs 'ad xxxvij^{s} per annum pro 3bus annis,' an uncommon instance

The solution of this puzzle, the disappearance of the sixpence from the payments of the College to St. Frideswide's, may possibly be found in the relations to the College of the Priory of Littlemore and of that Priory to St. Frideswide's. Throughout the Rolls, 1515–30, the Priory of Littlemore is entered as paying the College 5*s.* a year for land held of it in Bassett's Fee. The Priory was dissolved in 1524 to found 'St. Frideswide's College'. The sign of its dissolution first appears in the Roll for 1525–6 (B. f. 20)[1] when arrears are charged 'super occupatorem de Litilmore'. At Michaelmas, 1528, five years' arrears due are carried over at 25*s.* But neither at Michaelmas, 1529, nor in subsequent years, are arrears debited to Littlemore, though the 5*s.* continued to be paid to the College, as appears from the *Valor* of 1547. It may be inferred, therefore, that the 25*s.* arrears had been paid. Is it possible that an adjustment had been effected between the College and St. Frideswide's? There was due to the College from St. Frideswide's as representing Littlemore, at Michaelmas, 1528, 25*s.* There was due from the College to St. Frideswide's at the same date 27*s.* 6*d.* The arrears of 25*s.* are wiped out and the 27*s.* 6*d.* is reduced to 27*s.* Are these incidents connected? If so, the College redeemed sixpence of the rent-charge due to St. Frideswide's at the exorbitant rate of fifty years' purchase, but it may be that the liability of St. Frideswide's was disputed and that the College made the best bargain it could.

The financial relations between the College and St. Frideswide's were not confined to Littlemore. St. Frideswide's owed annually, though it rarely paid with punctuality, 11*s.* 8*d.* for land held of the College in right of Bassett's Fee. The entry of 1526–7 runs :—

'Et de manerio siue dominio sancte Frideswyde virginis pro eodem redditu de Bassettes Fee ad xi^{s} viij^{d} per annum pro iij^{bus} annis', &c., 'xxxv^{s}.'

in the Rolls of the use of an Arabic numeral. That 'xxxvij^{s}' is a blunder for 'xxvij^{s}' is obvious from the fact that thrice 27*s.* is £4 1*s.*

[1] Three years' arrears are entered, but the figure xv^{s} has been altered to x^{s} as if a year had been paid and the rest of the entry inadvertently left unaltered.

from which it would appear that the manor of St. Frideswide's was a subinfeudation. There is no system of separate accounts of St. Frideswide's with the College. The entries regard the estates, their income and issues, so that there is nothing to show that a general review of the financial relations of the two houses took place. At Michaelmas, 1530, St. Frideswide's was six years in arrears with its rent due from Bassett's Fee, amounting to £3 10*s*. No arrears are shown in the *Valor* of 1547, either from St. Frideswide's or other debtors. The interpretation of this omission, so foreign to the Bursars' Rolls, is doubtful. It may be that the College was not solicitous to increase its apparent resources by a statement of its potential assets. It is less likely that the fear of confiscation operated as an inducement to prefer creditors who were neighbours to the officials of a rapacious treasury.

In the opening of the year 1489 an Act was passed (4 Henry VII, c. 19) 'agaynst pullyng doun of Tounes'. It was the first of a series of measures intended to check the growing practice of converting arable to pasture, consolidating farms and, by eviction of the tenants, depopulating the countryside. The statute provided that in such a case, the king, or the lords of the fees, should 'resceyve yerely halfe the value of thyssues and profytes of ony suche Londes, wherof the house or houses ben not soo mayntaned and susteyned', &c. Had this measure been effectively enforced, the profits of the operation would have been so reduced as to prevent its inception. But it was not. A proclamation against ingrossing forms, issued in 1514, imputed the prevalent scarcity of grain and victuals to these causes.[1] All persons holding, as owners or occupiers, more farms than one were ordered to put into tillage all lands which had been arable in the first year of Henry VII.[2] Such houses as were occupied by agricultural labourers at that date were again to be tenanted. The proclamation proving ineffective, a temporary Act was passed early in 1515 'concernyng the pulling doune of Tounes',[3] made permanent by a similar Act passed in the following

[1] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, i. 5727, 2.

[2] August 22, 1485—August 21, 1486.

[3] 6 Henry VIII, c. 5.

November.[1] By the last Act, 'all touns, villages, borowes, and hamlettes, tythyng houses and other enhabitations . . . whereof the more part the first day of this present parliament[2] was or were used and occupied to tillage and husbandrye', were ordered to be rebuilt within one year. All lands turned to pasture since the same date were to be restored to tillage. Where a lord abstained from availing himself of the forfeitures imposed by the Act of 1489, his rights passed to the next superior lord. Two years later, the Government became aware that this measure was but another failure. A royal commission was accordingly appointed by Wolsey on May 28, 1517. Its business was to obtain returns of inclosures to pastures, destruction of dwellings, and eviction of inhabitants throughout the greater part of England since Michaelmas, 1488. The Commission for Oxfordshire sat at Culham (Culneham, Culnam) on August, 3, 1517, and reported as follows[3]:—

'Et quod sexto die Marcii anno regni predicti nuper Regis (Henrici Septimi) vicesimo secundo[4] quoddam Monasterium de Coldnorton in Coldnorton in Comitatu predicto et quadraginta acre terre arrabilis[5] in Coldnorton predicta ad monasterium illud pertinentes dissolutum fuit et postea scilicet sextodecimo die Junii anno supradicto Ricardus Empson Miles in Monasterium illud intravit et inde fuit seisitus ut de feodo et sic inde seisitus Monasterium illud et domus et edificia eorundem in decasum et ruinam fore permisit et que sic adhuc existunt ita quod iconomia que ibidem manutenere[5] solet et debet vlterius manutenere[5] non potest per quod vnum aratrum deponitur et viginti persone habitacionibus et occupacionibus depriuantur et tenementa illa valent per annum quadraginta marcas et Manaster[5] et Solares[5] hospicii siue domus de Brasenose in Oxonia tenementa illa modo habent et tenent in proprios vsus eis et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Et de quo vel de quibus tenementa illa tenentur Juratores predicti ignorant etc.'

From the Inquisitions held by the royal escheators it will be seen that the date, assigned by the jury sworn before the commission on inclosures, is wrong. The jury or the commissioners, familiar with the precedents of dissolving monas-

[1] 7 Henry VIII, c. 1. [2] i.e. February 5, 1515.
[3] For full details of these Commissions see the *Domesday of Inclosures*, 1517, 2 vols., 1897, by the writer.
[4] 1507. [5] *Sic.*

teries to found Colleges, associated the two events in this case. That there is no mistake in the date assigned by Henry VII's escheators is assured by an Inspeximus of Henry VIII of their inquisitions, which repeats the date of the death of Prior Wotton as having occurred 'die Sabbati proximo ante diem dominicam in ramis Palmarum anno regni domini regis nunc vndecimo'.[1] What the jurors and commissioners of 1517 knew, was that in 1507 it had been granted by the Crown, and they inferred the grantee to be the holder in 1517, viz. Brasenose College.

By the terms of the commission certificated returns were to be lodged in Chancery within three weeks after Michaelmas, 1517. On February 23, 1518, a writ of 'scire facias' issued to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire to summon 'magistro et Scolaribus' to put in an appearance in Chancery within three weeks of the following Easter, to show cause why half the profits, &c., of the lands and tenements in question, since Empson entered into possession and so long as the ruined houses and buildings should remain unrepaired, ought not to pass to the Crown in accordance with the statute of 1489.[2] On this writ an answer was indorsed by the sheriff, Sir Edward Chamberleyn, knight, to the effect that the summons had been duly served. Below this indorsement is another stating that the 'magister et Scolares' had been thrice duly called in Trinity Term, on the quindene of Trinity (June 14) and the 23 and 26 June to appear before the Chancellor at Westminster, that they had not appeared, but made default. This is struck through with the note 'vacat per mandatum domini Cancellarii'.

The explanation of this procedure is to be found in a parchment slip attached by a parchment ligature to the writ of Scire Facias, showing that the College had not taken up an attitude of contumacy. This was a petition to the King

[1] Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi. 420.

[2] This demand shows that Empson was a grantee and not, as Dugdale assumed, only acting as escheator, for the Crown would, in that case, have helped itself to the whole profits. Further, the recital of the Inquisition of 1517 expressly states him to have been owner in fee.

by 'Mathewe Smyth' and the 'scholars' of the College 'that they may enioy the benefice and advauntage of hys graces fre pardon att hys late high Court of parliament graunted'. This refers to the General Pardon of 1515[1] which in wide terms protected the subject against processes by the Crown, as well as against 'contempts'. In this case they had, prima facie, acted in contempt of the Acts of 1489 and 1515. They went on to petition that they 'be admytted to bryng in proves that suche howses as be decayed and in Ruyne in their maner of Coldnorton ... were in such decay and Ruyne before they came to the hondes and possession of our late sovereign lord Kyng Henry the vij^te.', and further that they may 'bryng in plegges to be ferther ordered' by the court of Chancery.

On July 12, 1518, Wolsey, as Chancellor, issued a decree[2] that all who had pleaded the King's pardon or submitted to his mercy for inclosures should, within forty days, 'pull down and lay abroad' all inclosures and ditches made since 1 Henry VII (1485) under a penalty of £100. This was enforced by compelling those returned as inclosers by the commissioners to enter into recognizances to restore the houses and reconvert the inclosed pasture to arable within a fixed time. Accordingly, 'Matheus Smyth magister domus siue hospicii de Brasennose', appeared in Chancery on November 24, 1518 and entered into recognizances to the amount of a hundred marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) to rebuild before Michaelmas, 1519, certain messuages at Cold Norton, upon which further proceedings were arrested by a writ of supersedeas.[3]

It is unfortunate that no record has survived of the cost of

[1] 7 Henry VIII, c. 11. [2] Printed in *Domesday of Inclosures*, ii. 477.

[3] *R. O. MS.*, K. R. Exch. Mem. Roll, 11 Henry VIII, Mich. Term, m. xxxvii. The Acts against inclosure were failures and there are signs that, at a later date, the College was a party to inclosures elsewhere. The manor of 'Genyns in Ealding and Westbramlyng', the last corrupted to 'Barmilyng and thence to Parmigent', in Kent (see Monograph VI, p. 20), was let for £4 4*s.* 2¾*d.* a year in 1523–4 (B. R., vol. B. f. 3, ep. D. f. 9). In the Roll for 1527–8 are allowances 'pro decasu certe terre et tenementorum' there, and also at Faryngdon, and at Burow and Somerby in Leicestershire (C. f. 11). As 'terra' means 'arable land', this points to a 'decay of tillage' and of houses. A stronger case is in the Rolls for 1529–31. In the Roll for 1529–30 (D. f. 5) is an allowance of 8*s.* 'pro decasu certe terre in Cudlyngton' in 1530. In the next Roll (D. f. 11) is an allowance of vi^s viii^d 'pro decasu vnius cotagii in Cudlyngton' in 1531.

legal proceedings during these troubled years. But there is some evidence that the College fulfilled the obligation laid upon it to reconstruct the ruined houses at Cold Norton. If the letter of the bond were strictly observed, some of the cost of this perhaps appeared in the Roll for 1518–19, or, at latest, in that for 1519–20. The earliest entry of expenditure on repairs at Cold Norton, and that, unhappily, mutilated, is in the Roll for 1520–1 (A. f. 17).

'*[1] (so)lut. pro *[1] *[1] domorum apud prioratum de Coldnorton ac pro necessariis reparacionibus circa eundem xlix^{li} xiij^{s} vj ^{ob}.'

The conclusion points to 'reedificatione' as one of the missing words. It was a great sum in those days, and probably only a second instalment. In 1521–2 it is reduced to £8 14*s.* 11*d.*, still a considerable amount, after which for some years £3 12*s.* 9*d.* in 1524–5 is the highest expenditure. Nor does the general summary of the finances of the College[2] throw much light. Here, too, the years 1518–20 are blank; but the item 'Payments and Allowances' for 1520–1 has tripled since Michaelmas, 1518, having risen from a triennial average of slightly more than £50 to £183 13*s.* 0¾*d.*, a sum never exceeded till 1543–4, an incontrovertible evidence of an expenditure on special objects.

The form of the entry quoted deserves attention. It is not the usual form, which is 'pro diuersis reparacionibus factis apud Coldnorton'. It specifies the Priory. But the Priory was not 'a house necessary for tillage' within the Act of 1489, nor a 'tenement of husbandry' within the proclamation of 1514 or the Acts of 1515. This heavy expenditure upon its repairs was, therefore, not to satisfy the law but for some other reason. This reason may be inferred from a lease by Principal John Hawarden[3] for twenty-nine years from Michaelmas, 1 Elizabeth (1559). By this the College let

'all that their farme place syȝht[4] of the manor and mese place of Coldnorton and all other ther howses and byldinges there'... 'excepted alwaies the lodgings and chambers adioininge to the Quadrant there, the pryncipall his chambre joyninge to the garden with the same garden, the

[1] Mutilated. [2] See p. 175 [3] Cold Norton, 47. [4] Site.

chamber over the gate, the hall, kychin, butterie with all other aesments occupied to the said principall and schollars and also a little stable, namyd parcell of the old byldinge there, all which . . . shalbe reserued and kept for the conveniant vse and occupation of the principall and schollars of the said colledge for the time beinge at all times & as often as the pryncipall of the said hall and colledge or anie of the schollers of the same shall resort or come to Coldnorton aforesaid duringe the time comprised in this indenture.'

The tenant is to spend £20 within six years and to pay ten shillings yearly to the Dean and Canons of Gloucester.

Since there was no thought of finding in Cold Norton a second Stamford, what was the significance of these provisions for the reception there of the College, with its quadrant, or quadrangle, its buttery, and its kitchen? The answer is to be found in the statutes, cap. xxv, and in the Bursars' Rolls. By the statutes, there were never to be fewer than six Fellows in College, even in the Long Vacation, unless the plague or some other contagious sickness was in the place. In that case the number of Fellows remaining might be reduced to four, to be nominated by the six Senior Fellows. By cap. xvii, in time of plague, an allowance might be made for their commons to the absent Principal and Fellows. The plague was, indeed, an ever present terror. The words 'tempore pestis' are to be found in the Bursars' Rolls for 1522, 1523, 1525, 1526, 1527, and 1528. That the six Seniors were true to natural instincts and took good care of themselves, as of men whose ripe experience was indispensable to the College, appears from the Roll of 1521–2 (A. f. 22):

'Et solutum pro communiis sex Sociorum per spacium quinque septimanarum tempore pestis . . . . . xxv$^{s.}$'

a total of 4*s.* 2*d.* a week for their commons during absence from Oxford. Upon this computation the £3 4*s.* expended for the commons of the six Senior Fellows 'tempore pestis' in 1522–3 points to an absence of something over fifteen weeks. The next entry in this roll runs:

'Et solutum pro communiis trium communium servitorum dicto tempore pestis et pro vado coci pro ij^{bus} terminis . . . . . lj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$'

It was natural that the refugees should take servants with

them, but the language of the statutes was ambiguous upon the point. By cap. xxv, after enacting that even in time of plague, at least four discreet Fellows shall remain in College 'pro rebus et bonis ipsius Collegii conservandis' it is laid down 'pro quorum communiis parandis et aliis necessariis, etiam communes[1] servientes in ipso Collegio remanere volumus.' The six Seniors apparently interpreted this as meaning that enough servants and not more than enough were to be left for the service of those that remained, and that the rest were at their own disposal. And, subject to an appeal to the Visitor, the word of the six Seniors was law.

At Cold Norton, besides the Church attached to the Priory, there was a chapel, as Churton tells us, 'for the neighbouring laity'. The chapel is described in the lease by Principal Hawarden, already mentioned, as the 'chapell on the Hethe'. Both Church and chapel were at first served by a priest, 'Sacerdos', as he is described in the two earlier rolls in which mention of him occurs, viz. those for 1517–18 and 1521–2. Apparently a fresh appointment was made in 1525–6. In the Roll of that year he is described as chaplain, 'capellanus', and for three-quarters of a year's stipend received £4, whereas for a whole year £5 6*s*. 8*d*. was the stipend regularly paid throughout the period.[2] In the *Valor* of 1547 the minister is described as 'capellano celebranti et ministranti in Ecclesia parochiale de Colnorton', and the average annual expenditure by the College on consecrated bread and on wax used in the Church is set down at 11*s*. 8*d*. No mention is made of the chapel, yet we know from the Rolls that money had been occasionally, though not annually, laid out upon it. For instance, in 1526–7 is an entry of 6*s*. 8*d*. expended on wax, bread, wine, and other things; and in 1543–4 6*s*. on wax, bread, wine, and the purchase and repair of vestments. Now both these years were years of pestilence. It may be sus-

[1] Probably as distinct from the 'servientes ex scholaribus', who were appointed weekly by the Vice-Principal to wait at meals.

[2] In 1532–3 £4 13*s*. 4*d*. was paid; but it is not expressed, as is usual, to be 'pro anno integro', only 'hoc anno'. It may be inferred, therefore, that it was again a case of a new appointment, for in 1543–4 and in the *Valor* of 1547 the stipend remains at £5 6*s*. 8*d*.

pected that the exceptional expenditure on the Chapel was not unconnected with a migration of the College to Cold Norton. Six clerical Fellows in residence would naturally lend their services in the ministrations of religion, and the chapel, the absence of expenditure upon which suggests that it was neglected, would cease to be neglected. That there was a tendency towards neglect is discernible in the lease of 1559, which included the chapel on the heath and provided that the lessee should discharge the College 'of the findinge of a prest at Coldnorton' during his term. This can only refer to the chapel, which was already dismantled, the bells having been sold in 1540 for £10 1*s*. 8½*d*. On the other side of the account were the offerings to the pyx at Cold Norton Church appropriated by the College. The pyx was a vase in which the Host was reserved. Henry VII ordered pyxes to be made of silver-gilt, value £4 each, for every parish church in the realm not having one already.[1] Offerings were made to it. Those recorded in the Bursars' Rolls as forming part of the income of the College amounted to 12*s*. 4*d*. in 1524–5, rising to 21*s*. 2*d*. in 1531–2. Towards the latter end of Henry VIII's reign these offerings dwindled rapidly, and they are not mentioned at all in the *Valor* of 1547.

VI

The Benefaction of Mrs. Elizabeth Morley

The first person after the two Founders to confer upon the College the substantial benefaction of an estate in land was Elizabeth Morley, the widow of Robert Morley, citizen and draper of London, who died probably in 1508, his will being proved by his widow and executrix on May 27 in that year. Morley's house in London, it may be interesting to

[1] Churton, p. 307, n. b.

note, was a 'wyne taverne in the which he dwelt called the bell in the king's strete at Westminster'. Probably, therefore, he exercised a privilege of the citizens of London of following two trades, both lucrative, that of draper or cloth merchant and vintner or tavern-keeper. He was a north-countryman. His parents, according to Churton, were buried at Guisbourn (the modern Gisburn), which is in the West Riding; but the provisions of his will—among them a legacy of twenty nobles apiece to 'xx maydens in Cleveland, of his kin or alye'—indicate that this is a mistake for Guisboro or Guisborough, the principal town of the Cleveland district. He was a man of piety, since he left provision for 'a lowe masse of requiem' at St. Michael's, Cornhill, to be continued for thirty-two years, as well as an estate in Cambridgeshire in trust for an 'obit'. He appreciated the value of a University education, for he bequeathed to William Bate, son of William Bate, 'citizen and paynter stayner, towarde his fynde to scole at Oxford xx^{s}.'

Such being the bent of her husband's mind, it was not unnatural that his widow, who was his sole executrix and herself childless, should turn her eyes towards Oxford as a place of piety and learning upon which her wealth might be suitably disposed. She was herself pious, for her seal represents the Virgin in Glory, and was also probably illiterate, for, where other parties to a deed both signed and sealed, she sealed only. She was, perhaps, by birth a Sutton, for her husband left to his 'servant and cousyn Johane Sutton x marks sterling when she ys married', and readers of the *Paston Letters* or of Samuel Pepys's *Diary* will be familiar with the completeness of the adoption, in common parlance, as in Canon law, by each of a married couple of the relations of the other. The possibility, for it is no more, becomes a probability when we find her turning to Richard Sutton to advise her in her contemplated action.

Richard Sutton, it may be presumed, recommended his infant College, then some three years old, as a fit recipient for her bounty. Its resources were, indeed, exiguous. The earliest Bursars' Roll is that for Michaelmas, 1515, to Michael-

mas, 1516, the total receipts being £56 8*s.* 4¼*d.* But this sum includes £2 13*s.* 4*d.* arising from Mrs. Morley's benefaction, and it must, therefore, be deducted from the income at the time that she consulted Sutton, probably in 1511 or 1512, as must also £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, or ten marks, a casual gift by Sir Thomas Blount, entered in the later Roll. The total income, at the time of Elizabeth Morley's benevolent intervention, is thus reduced to £47 1*s.* 8¼*d.*

Commissioned to look out for a suitable estate, Richard Sutton entered into negotiations with William Fermour, and, as much of what follows concerns William Fermour's personal character, it may be as well to introduce him formally to the reader. He is generally described as of Somerton, Oxfordshire, though in the conveyance to 'Richard Sutton of London Esquyer', dated 12th July, 4 Henry VIII (1512), he is styled 'Willyam Fermour of London Gentylman'. The difference between the styles of Fermour and Sutton may be accounted for by the fact that William Fermour was a younger son and, as such, not entitled to the style of 'Esquire', whereas Richard Sutton, though a younger son also, was one of those ranked by Camden in the fifth order of esquires 'quicumque aliquo superiori publico in Republica munere funguntur', being a legal assessor of the Privy Council. He was proud of his dignity, being described in the missal possessed by the College as 'Richard Sutton the Squier,[1] Stuerd of Sion'. It is probable, also, since a second 'R. Sutton' attests a declaration of a Use or Trust on the dorse of the conveyance above mentioned, as well as the Founder 'Ric. Sutton', that it was insisted on to distinguish him from a cadet of the family of the same names, who would be 'Richard Sutton Gentleman'.[2] Like Sutton, William Fermour was trained to the law and held a minor official position as 'coroner and attorney in the King's Bench', to which he had been appointed on June 1 1509. He was the second son of Thomas Ricards, but, like

[1] The comma is not in the original.

[2] Either a nephew or a great-nephew (R. Churton, *Lives of the Founders of Brasenose* (Oxford, 1800), p. 431). At this date probably a nephew.

his elder brother Richard Fermour, bore the name of his mother, an heiress, probably as inheriting her estates. He was in 1511 and 1512 in the commission of the peace for Oxfordshire, and in 1512 also for the town of Oxford.[1] His brother 'Richard Fermour' indorsed the same conveyance. Since the Fermours were both closely connected with the business transactions of the College at this time, it is of interest to know that Richard Fermour was a merchant of the Staple of Calais, a wealthy trading monopoly, that, according to Churton, he 'raised a noble fortune and was the common progenitor of the Earls of Pomfret and the Fermors of Tusmore in the county of Oxford'. Richard Fermour, at any rate, shared the conservative views of the two Founders in matters of religion, for which he subsequently suffered Cromwell's displeasure. His history does not further concern the College, and may be read at length in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The coat of arms of his family, which Anthony Wood describes as formerly adorning the hall of Brasenose, is more likely to have been his than that of his brother, both as the wealthier of the two, as the one more avowedly attached to conservative institutions, and the one against whom the College could have no cause of complaint.

Richard Sutton's negotiations with William Fermour terminated in a contract of sale called a 'bargain and sale', now before the writer, dated 12th July, 4 Henry VIII (1512).[2] As a good deal turns upon this deed, it is desirable to set out some parts of it at large. It runs as follows: 'This endenture made the xiith day of July the fourth yere of the Reigne of Kyng Henry the eight Bytwen Rychard Sutton of London Esquyer on the one partie and Willyam Fermour of London Gentylman on the oder partie,' and proceeds to record a bargain and sale by 'William Fermour for the somme of an hundreth powndes sterling to hym by the forsaid Rychard in hand well & truly content & paid wherof he knowlegith

[1] The rest of his biography may be seen in the writer's *Select Cases in the Court of Requests* (Selden Society, 1898), p. 173, n. 4.

[2] Muniments, Faringdon, 41.

hym self by theis presentes to be Content & satisfied', and the purchase by Richard Sutton of 'all that his landes & tenementes manors, Rentes Reuersions seruycez and heredytamentes withe their appurtynaunces sett & lying in gret Faryngdon Westbroke and Fernham within the Countie of Berks, wiche the said William late bought & pourchasyd of Edmund Bury Gent. & Johane his wiff' in fee simple 'with all Euydences mynymentes Charters and Courtrolles wiche the said Willyam or any person to his vse hathe or conveniently may have concernyng the premisses or any parcell thereof And also the said William Covenauntyth & grauntyth to the said Richard by theis presentes to make or cause to be made before the Fest of the Natyvitie of our lord next commyng to the said Richard Sutton . . . a sure sufficient & laufull estate in Fee symple with a clause of Warantize of all the landes tenementes manors Rentes Reuercions seruycez & heredytamentes' discharged of all obligations . . . 'And Furthermore the said William covenauntes & grauntes vnto the said Richard that the sayd Laundes Tenementes & heredytamentes be of the yerly value of v^{li} xv^{s} Except Ten shillynges Rent Wiche the abbott of Bewley makith clayme to haue yerely out of the said Laundes and hathe not bene payd vnto hym by the space of Trytty yeres & more.' The indenture is signed 'Per me William Fermour'. It was followed by a bond of the same date to the amount of 200 marks (£133 6*s*. 8*d*.), which William Fermour was bound to pay to Sutton at the following Michaelmas in the event of his failure to fulfil the conditions of sale. An indorsement upon the indenture of bargain and sale runs as follows:—

'Memorandum that the within namyd Richard Sotton declarythe & knowlegithe a fore vs William Fermour Richard Fermour & William Bolcombe that all covenauntes within this present Indenture contayned be only to the vse of Elizabeth Morley wydow & of her heires & assignes.

R Sutton Willm. Fermour Ric. Sutton
Richard Fermer
Wyllam. Bolcom
Wyllm. Geyffrey.'

It will have been observed that the whole of the lands in question are recited to have been recently bought by Fermour

from Edmund Bury and his wife Johane or Joan. The stipulation of Sutton for the delivery of all muniments and evidences enables us to see of what that purchase consisted, and also, which is relevant to the history of the College, introduces us to Edmund Bury and his wife. Edmund Bury is described in deeds of 1503 and in one of 1507 as of Windrush (in a variety of spellings), Gloucestershire, gentleman. In 1506 he is of Brightwell, Oxfordshire, an indication that he had property at both places. He is mentioned in 1507 by Oriel College, in a letter of thanks to Bishop Smyth for a contemplated endowment as 'Edmundus Bury tuus famulus diligentissimus' (Churton, p. 232). He had been selected by Bishop Smyth in 1505 as one of the Trustees of his newly-acquired estate of Bassett's Fee, intended for the College. His fortune had been amplified, if not acquired, by his marriage, at some date prior to November, 1464, with Johanna, Joan, or Jane, daughter and heir of Thomas Pynchepole, who at that time was probably dead. This is attested by a lease of 23rd September, 2 Henry VII (1486), cited by Churton (p. 424, n. p.), from Principal Yate's book which, unfortunately, is no longer to be found among the muniments of the College.

After the conveyance of July 12, 1512, an interval elapsed of more than a year. It is not improbable, for reasons which will presently appear, that this interval was spent in litigation between Sutton and Mrs. Morley on the one side and William Fermour on the other.

It will be remembered that William Fermour had parted with all his interest to Sutton to the use of Mrs. Morley; he had warranted to make an estate discharged of all obligations, and he had averred that, in effect, the estate conveyed was so, notwithstanding a legendary claim on the part of the Abbot of Beaulieu. It is also to be noticed that the common form is used, 'lands & tenementes manors rents,' &c., and a manor is implied in the words 'Euydences mynymentes Charters and Courtrolles'. This recital was suggestive and was intended to be so. The suggestion becomes explicit in the next document in the College archives. This is a lease dated 20th August, 7 Henry VIII (1515), for a term

of five years at £5 per annum to 'Mathewe Smyth Principall of the Kynges Hall & College of Brasynnose in Oxford & the scolers of the same'. The estate leased purports to be the lessors' 'manour of Pynchepollys in Chepyngfaryngdon & all theire laundes tenements & hereditamentes in Chepyngfaryngdon Westbroke & Farnham within the Countie of Berkshire wiche late were Edmond Bury & Jane his wiff or any of theym'. The lessors are Elizabeth Morley and William and Richard Fermour. This deed was followed up by another between the same parties, dated 20th May, 9 Henry VIII (1517), by which, in the form of a release, the estate was conveyed to the College in fee simple with a separate warranty of title by William Fermour.[1] This document, a deed poll in Latin, was originally drafted as releasing all the interest of the grantors 'de & in manerio de Chepynfaryngdon'. Interlined before 'Chepyngfaryngdon' in another ink, and perhaps in another hand, are the words 'pynchpollys in'.

What was this manor of Pynchepolys or Pynchpollys with its charters and court rolls, not one of which ever reached the College? Richard Sutton's stipulation that the muniments should be handed over was duly carried out, and they enable us to trace, with a tolerable amount of certainty, the history of Fermour's bargain. The land or manor, which he sold to Sutton, acting on behalf of Elizabeth Morley, on July 12, 1512, had all of it, as the recital says, truly enough, been 'late bought of Edmund Bury Gent. & Johane his wiff'. It becomes then material to ascertain what it was that Bury and his wife had to sell.

The evidence that this manor of Pynchepolys was an invention of the astute Bury is both negative and positive. The negative evidence consists in the fact that the date of the earliest document in which the 'manerium de Pynchepolys' occurs—its conveyance by Bury on 30th May, 3 Henry VIII[2] (1511), is the thirty-seventh in chronological order among the

[1] Enrolled in the Close Rolls, 10 Henry VIII, no. 1.

[2] Part of the recital in the document presently to be described, numbered among the College muniments, Faringdon, 37.

documents delivered over to Richard Sutton by William Fermour as the muniments of the manor, and yet in not one of these is the existence of such a manor positively stated. The very name of Pynchepolys, attached by Bury to his manor, had not been long associated with the lands in question. The muniments date back as far as about 1220. The name 'Thomas Pynchpole and Katherine his wife' first appears in a fine of November 24, 1420, by which they convey land in 'Westbroke near Faryndon' to one Thomas Cokerell. An undated Terrier of Thomas Pynchepole, for the name is variously spelt, gives a list of twenty-six tenancies in Faringdon and Westbroke, most of them of one acre, purchased, probably in trust for his wife, through William Gylott, Thomas Faryngdon, and John Reder.[1] His estate, therefore, could not even claim to be that legal myth a 'customary manor'.[2] A reference to Dugdale's *Monasticon*, v. 603, shows that the lord of Westbroke was the abbot of Beaulieu ('de Bello Loco Regis'), probably as part of his manor of Faringdon.

There is, however, one small roll which at first sight appears to imply a manor of Pynchepolys, and which perhaps first suggested the existence of such a manor. It runs—

'Scilicet Faryndon m.[3]

'Curia Thome Pynchepole & Katerine vxoris sue tenta ibidem die Veneris proximo post festum sancti Andree apostoli anno regni regis Henrici sexti nono.'

'Homagium presentat,' &c., as is usual in court rolls.

The earlier lines of the document consist of a series of presentments by the homage, the latter of a 'rentale'. It winds up—

'Summa totalis cv^{s} ob.
De quibus in defectu redditus vt patet xxxv^{s} viij^{d}.'

It is endorsed 'Rentale Thome Pynchpole, Faryndon Magna'. The first observation to make upon this document is that the history of the manor of Faringdon is perfectly well

[1] Faringdon, 28.

[2] A manor in Ancient Demesne could not be either sub-infeudated or granted out as a 'customary manor'. See Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 107.

[3] Mr. F. Madan, Reader in Palaeography to the University, interprets this as either for *manerium* or for *magna*.

known. It was 'Terra Regis Edwardi' in Domesday, which made it a manor of Ancient Demesne. It next belonged to King Harold. It passed to the Conqueror and remained in the Crown till King John gave it to his new monastery of Beaulieu in the New Forest. (Dugd. *Monast.*, v. 683.) If this badly written and slovenly roll were part of the rolls of the manor of Faryngdon, it must represent the tenants on the estate of Thomas Pynchepole and his wife whose services are due not to him, but to the lord of the manor, viz. the abbot of Beaulieu. In that case, the significance of 'Thome Pynchepole et Katerine vxoris sue' must be topographical, like the 'Curia Ferie', the court of the Fair of St. Ives in the court-rolls of the abbot of Ramsey,[1] employed because the Pynchepole estate was in a ring fence and could be dealt with best in a single roll. Even if the words should be taken in their apparent sense, 'we hardly dare say that a person who has villein or customary tenants must have a manor.'[2]

There is no room for the interpretation that more than one manor may have existed at Faringdon. The manor of the abbots of Beaulieu at Faringdon included both Great and Little Faringdon,[3] and, as will presently be seen, Pynchepole, so far from being lord of a manor, was not even a freeholder. The College has another document that belonged to him, a list not scrawled in haste, like the last-mentioned, but penned with care and at leisure. It begins as follows:–

'Faryndon

Westbroke &

Rentale Pynchepole de terris & tenementis Faryndon renovatis vltimo die Decembris anno regni regis Henrici vj^ti^ post conquestum Anglie tricesimo quinto.'[4]

In this document the word 'manor' does not occur. One tenant, a woman, holds a messuage, a columbary, and a barn in Westbroke 'per fidelitatem & redditum per annum ij s. ob.' But the use of the word 'fidelitas' proves nothing, for, as

[1] See F. W. Maitland, *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts* (Selden Society, 1888), ii. 154, &c.

[2] Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (1895), i. 590.

[3] Dugd., *Monast.*, v. 683.

[4] i.e. December 31, 1456. Muniments, Faringdon, 23.

Spelman tells us, 'Fideles ministeriales sunt qui nullo accepto feudo, nullo praedio, servire tam ex pacto se obligarunt . . . alii in familia domini, alii etc.' Nor is the 'dominus' spoken of necessarily the lord of the manor.[1] When we read that 'Dame Capes lande' is 'ad voluntatem domini', she may have been simply a tenant at will, not a customary tenant 'ad voluntatem domini secundum consuetudinem manerii'. It is, however, quite possible that the heading 'Faryndon' does refer to the manor of the abbot, for Westbroke and Faryndon are different places, and Westbroke, whether a manor by itself or, as the first roll described suggests, a part of the manor of Faringdon, undoubtedly belonged to the abbot of Beaulieu.

Fortunately for the solution of the problem of the 'manor of Pynchepolys', feoffment and seisin were not adequate conveyances and the purchasers, Fermour's trustees, were compelled to seek assurance by fine. Whatever the nature of the estate named the 'manor of Pynchepolis', it had come to Edmund Bury in right of his wife. A feoffment by him could give no longer estate, at most, than his own life should last. By the statute of Gloucester of 6 Edward I (1278), and the statute or rule of court known as 'modus levandi fines' of ancient though uncertain date, a fine levied in the king's court was the only process by which to convey the wife's estate and to bar her right to dower. It became necessary, therefore, to levy a fine. The procedure had recently been revised by a statute of 1489 (4 Henry VII, c. 24) intituled 'An Acte for proclamacions to be made uppon Fynes'. By this Act it was ordained 'that after the ingrosyng of every fyne to be levied' (after 1490) 'in the Kyngis Court afore his Justices of the Comen Place of any Landes Tenementes or other Hereditamentes, the same fyne be openly and solempny redde and proclaymed in the same Court the same terme and in the termes thenne next folowyng the same ingrosyng in the same Court at iiij severall dayes in every terme', &c.

There has been one possible interpretation of Edmund

[1] Cp. the loose use of the word 'feud'; P. and M., i. 214.

Bury's 'manerium de Pynchepolys' which has been reserved to this place in my argument. It might be suggested that it was a case of sub-infeudation. It is not enough to answer that, if so, the sub-infeudation must have taken place prior to the statute 'Quia Emptores', passed in 1290, because after that statute a freeholder in fee could no longer make himself a mesne lord. The conclusive answer is to be found in the document in the College muniments already referred to, which shows how the conveyance was effected and demonstrates that the 'manor of Pynchepolys', so far from being a manor in the sense understood in the sixteenth century, was not even a freehold. Had the 'manor of Pynchepolys' been a freehold, whether a manor or not, the document of conveyance would have been simply the record of an ordinary fine levied in the Court of Common Pleas before what were called, as has been seen, the Justices of the 'Comen Place' or of 'the Bench', 'de Banco' or of the 'Common Bench', 'de Communi Banco', by which titles they were distinguished from the justices of the King's Bench, 'de Banco Regis.' Instead of this proceeding, the document which sets out what took place, dated 11th July, 3 Henry VIII (1511), is a long and elaborate parchment, an Exemplification under the Great Seal of England of a record of the Court of Common Pleas which is itself primarily a record of the levying of the fine already mentioned in the court of the abbot of Beaulieu at Faringdon.

What this document discloses is that the 'manor of Pynchepolys', while not a freehold was not an ordinary copyhold. Had it been a transfer of copyhold, conveyance would have taken the form of a surrender to the lord to the use of the purchasers according to the custom of the manor. But, as has been seen, the manor of Faringdon was a manor in Ancient Demesne. Now 'it is only the freeholders who are tenants in Ancient Demesne, and their land passes by common law conveyances without the instrumentality of the lord'.[1] The 'manor of Pinchepolys' was neither freehold nor copyhold. It occupied an intermediate position. It was a

[1] C. J. Elton, *Law of Copyhold*, p. 8.

'customary freehold'; in other words, 'land of base though privileged tenure.'[1]

The 'Exemplification' which proves this contention recites the enrolment of the levying of the fine of 'the manor of Pinchpolys' in the rolls of the Bench, that is, the Common Pleas, in Trinity Term, 3 Henry VIII (1511). The process as enrolled and exemplified was as follows. The first step had been the appearance before the court of the abbot of Beaulieu in Great Faryngdon, of William Grevell, Edward Chamberleyn, William Fermour, Richard Fermour, John Bustard, Robert Spencer and John Spencer, clerk, who, as appears by another document, were trustees of William Fermour, on 30th May, 3 Henry VIII (1511). A fine was then levied in the usual form of a collusive action, Edmund Bury and Joanna his wife being the deforciants, in fact, the vendors, 'de manerio de Pynchepolys cum pertinentiis,' and three messuages, 200 acres (arable), ten acres of meadow, sixty acres of pasture, and a rent of ten shillings a year. A complaint was supposed to have been lodged by the vendors against the abbot's court 'falsum esse iudicium'. That this complaint was, like the rest of the procedure, a legal fiction is evident from the fact that the writ to redress the alleged wrong was dated 20th May, 3 Henry VIII (1511), that is, ten days before the fine was levied. This writ was addressed to the bailiffs of the abbot of Beaulieu at Great Faryngdon, and directed them to do full right ('plenum rectum teneatis') to Fermour and his trustees according to the custom of the manor, that is, the manor of Faringdon. The writ was called 'quoddam breve domini Regis, nunc de recto clauso', in common parlance, the 'Little Writ of Right Close', and was the peculiar privilege of Ancient Demesne. But, while a privilege, it only concerned land of base tenure. It derived its name from the fact that it was addressed to the bailiffs of the manor. The writ of a freeholder would have been a 'Writ of Right Patent' addressed to the justices.[2] The object of this writ was to provide a means by which the fine levied could be made

[1] See Prof. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England* (1892), p. 94.
[2] Vinogradoff, p. 95.

'of record' in the King's court and, therefore, in itself evidence and valid against all adverse claims.

In order that this writ might be effectively obeyed by the bailiffs of the abbot, a writ issued from the Court of Common Pleas directing the sheriff to watch the proceedings and to bring the record before the Court by the quinzaine of St. John Baptist, that is, July 8. Meanwhile another court of the abbot was fixed for June 20, at which the plaintiffs, the purchasers, by another legal fiction, were suffered to accept overtures from the vendors, who had in fiction deforced them from their estate.[1] Leave having been granted, half a mark (6*s.* 8*d.*) was paid as a fine to the lord, and Edmund and Joanna Bury recognized that the manor was the right of W. Fermour and his friends, who paid them 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*).

This was the record which the sheriff returned to the Court of Common Pleas, before whom the attorneys of both parties appeared on July 11. The vendors appealed (collusively) against the procedure of May 30 in the abbot's court on the ground that there was a technical irregularity in the form of summons to the court. They demanded a declaration by the Court of Common Pleas that the proceedings were void and that the manor should be restored to them. The justices of Common Pleas having decided against their contention, 'ideo recordum predictum affirmatur.' The record which included this fine was ordered to be enrolled among the proceedings of the Court of Common Pleas and exemplified under the Great Seal. By means of this maze of legal fictions William Fermour had at length secured an indefeasible title as against the Burys, the vendors. It was a *res judicata.*

It may here be objected that since the roll of the court of the abbot of Beaulieu at Faringdon described the land conveyed by the fine levied as 'manerium de Pynchepolys', a manor it must be taken to be. But the issue before the court at Faringdon, as before the Court of Common Pleas, was not as to the legal nature of the land conveyed. That, as has been shown, was assumed on all sides as being a base tenure

[1] This amusing series of fictions is set out in Blackstone, *Commentaries* (ed. 1766), bk. ii, ch. 21, p. 350.

which, though sometimes called 'customary freehold, is also described by Bracton and the early writers on law as privileged villeinage'. The theory of this privilege of these tenants in Ancient Demesne was that they were personally free sokemen who were the tillers of the king's soil.[1] The incompatibility of this idea with that of their being lords of manors within the Ancient Demesne need not be insisted upon. The reason why the bailiffs of the abbot at Faringdon raised no demur to the description of the Pynchepolys property as a 'manor' is because estates so described had probably figured on their rolls from time immemorial. 'In the thirteenth century the term *manerium* seems to have been no more precise than the term "estate" (as commonly used by laymen) is at the present day.'[2] But, though there was probably plenty of precedent for enrolling as a *manerium* what was no manor, yet when the issue of manor or no manor was plainly raised, the sixteenth century would demand, as William Fermour shrewdly foresaw, the alleged manor's court-rolls. On the day that the fine was levied in the abbot's court at Faringdon, May 30, 'possession and season was delyuered to William Fermour yn his owne persone according to thys dede yn Faryngdon and Westbroke by Edmond Bury yn his owne persone.' This is written in Edmund Bury's hand upon a strip of parchment attached to 'thys dede', a Latin deed poll dated 21st June, 3 Henry VIII (1511), beautifully written and apparently a holograph. 'Thys dede' is a deed of feoffment by which Edmund Bury grants to William Fermour and the trustees[3] recited in the fine of May 30, 'manerium meum de Pynchepolys in magna Faryngdon . . . ad opus et vsum ipsius Willelmi Fermour heredum et assignatorum suorum imperpetuum.' It is sealed with a seal bearing in a monogram T.P. which, it cannot be doubted, had belonged to Bury's father-in-law, Thomas Pynchepole. The document, which is subscribed, 'per me Edmundum Bury manu propria,' strongly suggests that Bishop Smyth's

[1] Britton, ii. p. 13. Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, i. 367.

[2] P. and M., i. 584.

[3] The deed, like the fine of May 30, recites the feoffees presumably in order of their rank, William Fermour, though the real grantee, being placed third.

man of business was, as might be expected, a trained lawyer.[1] It may be well to explain that a 'livery of seisin' was absolutely essential after a fine, unless the purchaser were already in possession. The deed of feoffment, which begins 'Noverint universi &c.', was 'an evidentiary, not a dispositive document'.[2]

There yet remains the puzzle as to the source of the original suggestion to Edmund Bury of the imposition of which he, at any rate, was undoubtedly guilty. It is perhaps to be found in the warranty clauses contained in two of his deeds of conveyance, the one the Exemplification,[3] the other the deed poll of 21st June, 3 Henry VIII (1511).[4] The warranty in the Exemplification runs as follows:—

'Et preterea iidem Edmundus et Johanna concesserunt pro se et heredibus ipsius Edmundi quod ipsi warantizabunt predictis Willelmo Grevell, Edwardo Chamberleyn, Willelmo Fermour, Ricardo Fermour, Johanni Bustard, Roberto Spencer, et John Spencer clerico heredibus &c. predictum manerium &c. contra Johannem Abbatem monasterii beati Petri Westmonasteriensis et successores suos imperpetuum.'

The warranty of the deed poll was in similar terms.[5]

'The common form anciently,' remarks Churton,[6] 'was to warrant an estate against the Jews. This alteration in the mode and terms of conveyancing seems to countenance a suspicion that the fraternities of monks, particularly of this affluent convent in the metropolis of the kingdom, were as formidable in this age to proprietors of land as the Jews had been formerly.' It happens, however, strangely enough, that a manor of Pinchpoles actually did exist, as well as an adjacent Farnham, and that both had but recently passed into the hands of John Islip, abbot of Westminster.

Henry VII, having laid the foundation of his chapel at

[1] It is numbered among the College muniments, Faringdon, 36.

[2] P. and M., *History of English Law*, ii. 82; J. Williams, *Law of Real Property* (18th ed.), p. 154.

[3] Far., 37. [4] Ibid., 36.

[5] A like warranty occurs in later deeds relating to other acquisitions by the College, and was perhaps transcribed by conveyancers unacquainted with the reasons for a warranty in this form, but adopted by them *ex majori cautela*. See Churton's *Lives*, pp. 381, 434.

[6] Ibid., 434.

Westminster Abbey (January, 1502), proceeded to grant it lavish endowments, of which the trustees were the abbot and convent. In addition to numerous estates, he presented the Abbey for this purpose with £5,150 in money for the purchase of lands.[1] The Harleian MS. in the British Museum,[2] which records this, runs: 'Also (the Abbot) purchased with the said money of John Cutte the maners of Pynchpole . . . with divers lands and tenements in . . . Fernam in the county of Essex.' This manor is situate less than a mile to the north of Manuden, and, according to the historian of Essex, gave its name to an ancient family.[3] It does not, however, appear that that family then held the manor, unless as equitable owners, since John Cutt and Edmund Dudley, probably as trustees, obtained a conveyance of it by fine in 1499.[4] Fernam or Farnham lies a mile and a half south of Manuden and was itself a manor, at this time in the Crown. It may be that Thomas Pynchpole had in the middle of the fifteenth century held the manor of Pynchpole and land at Farnham, and that the deed conveying his former estate was couched in language so wide as to suggest a claim, or a possible claim, by the abbot upon his lands in Berkshire. The association of Pynchpole, Farnham and the abbot in two counties can scarcely have been a fortuitous coincidence and may very well have suggested to Edmund Bury the promotion of his base tenure to manorial dignity.

At Michaelmas, 1511, William Fermour, Richard Fermour, and Richard Wenman, who was probably their half-brother,[5] purchased by way of fine 4 messuages, 4 gardens, 100 acres of arable, 20 acres of meadow, 40 acres of pasture 'in magna Faryngdon Westbrok iuxta Faryngdon & Farneham'. The fact that the conveyance was by fine and that the deforciants were Edmund Bury and his wife Johanna, prove that the estate alienated was part of her inheritance, and Faryngdon and Westbrok indicate that it had belonged to Thomas Pynch-

[1] By an indenture dated 16th July, 19 Henry VII (1504). See next note.
[2] No. 1498, f. 52 b. Printed in Dugdale, *Monast.*, i. 277, note d.
[3] P. Morant, *History of Essex* (1768), ii. 662. [4] Ibid.
[5] Churton, p. 443, n. m.

pole. No mention is made of a manor. It is particularly to be noted that this is the first time in the series of documents in which Farneham or Fernham is mentioned. It is not to be found in the 'Tenura Thome Pynchepole in campis de Faryngdon et Westbroke',[1] nor in his 'Rentale' of 1456.[2] For this purchase the Fermours and Wenman paid £40. At the close of 1511 William Fermour was legally or equitably owner of the two estates conveyed to him by Edmund Bury and his wife Joan, the one the so-called 'manor of Pynchepolys' with its 3 messuages, 200 acres arable, 10 acres meadow, 60 acres pasture, and 10*s.* rent; the other the lands in Great Faryngdon, Westbrok, and Farnham, consisting of 4 messuages, 4 gardens, 100 acres arable, 20 acres meadow, 40 acres pasture, and 10*s.* rent alienated by the same vendors. For the first he had paid £66 13*s.* 4*d.*; for the second, £40. The total area and tenements consisted of 7 messuages, 4 gardens, 300 acres arable, 30 acres of meadow, 100 acres pasture, and a rental of 20*s.* a year, and the total cost £106 13*s.* 4*d.* I have stated these details because I have failed to find among the College muniments any survey of the estate as originally acquired. The recital in the bargain and sale to Sutton in July, 1512, of Farnham as one of the places in which the lands and tenements alienated by him lay, proves that the land purchased from the Burys at the previous Michaelmas was included in the sale.[3] A bargain and sale with the covenant to stand seised to Sutton, his heirs and assigns being at this time a contract to convey and not a conveyance itself, and Sutton having indorsed his declaration of trust for Elizabeth Morley, she transferred it to the College by the two deeds of lease and release of 1515 and 1517 already mentioned. To these William Fermour and Richard, as his fellow cognizee, were parties with herself. Wenman was presumably dead, or had perhaps never received livery of seisin.

The 'manor of Pynchepolys', it is now clear, was a fiction, and the motive for inventing it is not far to seek. A manor with its feudal casualties, its fines, its heriots, its reliefs, its

[1] Muniments, Faringdon, 38. [2] Ibid., Far., 28.
[3] Ibid., Far., 23.

escheats, and the dignity attaching to a manorial lord, was a more tempting property than a mere estate, to use the term with the connotation attached to it by auctioneers. Bury, a shrewd man of business employed by Bishop Smyth in the acquisition of land for his College, knew this well enough. It had been in his hands for many years, and it may be that at the time he effected his sales to William Fermour he had already offered it as a manor to other speculators and thereby procured for it current acceptance as such. But it is impossible to believe that he succeeded in deceiving William Fermour, himself a lawyer and a party to the proceedings in the manorial court of Faringdon. The question then suggests itself, Did Fermour deceive Richard Sutton? Practised lawyer though Sutton was, there are some indications that he did, though the point is by no means clear from doubt.

The obvious objection to the belief that Sutton was hoodwinked arises upon a review of the financial history of these transactions. Bury, it will be remembered, sold the 'manor of Pynchepolys' for £66 13*s*. 4*d*., and the rest of the property included in the lease and release to the College as part of the manor for £40. The total purchase money paid by William Fermour was, therefore, £106 13*s*. 4*d*. His concluding purchase was at Michaelmas, 1511. Yet on July 12, 1512, he sells the whole to Richard Sutton for £100.[1]

Three solutions of this mystery are conceivable. The first is that Fermour was a bad man of business, glad to be rid of a poor bargain for the best terms he could secure. This is negatived by all that we know of his career. He amassed a great estate. He was in 1530 appointed a commissioner to inquire into Wolsey's possessions in Oxfordshire. Two years later he sold land at Shelswell, in the same county,[2] to John Claymond, President of Corpus, which formed part of Clay-

[1] It would appear that there was a burgage tenement in Faringdon, which had been bought by Edmund Bury with his own money for £3 6*s*. 8*d*. on May 6, 1503 (Far. 30), subject to a quit rent of 13½*d*. to the abbot of Beaulieu. It is doubtful if this was included in either of these conveyances, but either through them or by some independent conveyance it passed into the hands of William Fermour, and from him to the College.

[2] See Monograph VI, p. 24.

mond's benefaction to Brasenose. In short, he was throughout his life thoroughly familiar with dealings in landed property.

Nor is it easy to believe that Fermour abated his price in order, at a loss to himself, to gratify Mrs. Elizabeth Morley, the widow of a London vintner. The third solution is that the £100, the receipt of which was acknowledged by Fermour in the deed of bargain and sale of 12th July, 4 Henry VIII (1512), was a conventional sum, like the consideration of five shillings received in a modern transfer of shares. It will be remembered that a contract of bargain and sale was in itself imperfect as a conveyance, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a balance of the purchase money would be withheld, to be paid over upon the completion of the transaction.

I have omitted from the solutions possible the suggestion that Richard Sutton had taken the trouble to examine the title and had abated William Fermour's demand of a larger sum. *Prima facie*, that solution is the most obvious of all, but there are strong indications adverse to it. It is tolerably certain that Sutton was overreached. He was deceived upon three points, as to the incumbrances on the property, as to its annual value, and as to the ownership of one of the parcels.

The deed of bargain and sale of July 12, 1512, enumerated, as will be remembered, with all the exuberant redundancies of common form, every possible kind of legal incumbrance of which William Fermour covenanted his estate to be free and discharged 'except the Rentes due to the Chiff lordes of the Fee'. At the end of the deed, after covenanting that the estate was 'of the yerly value of v$^{li.}$ xv$^{s.}$', he adds, 'except Ten schillynges Rent wiche the abbott of Bewley makith clayme to haue yerely out of the said laundes and hathe not bene payed vnto hym by the space of Trytty yeres & more.'

The chief lord of the fee[1] was undoubtedly the abbot of Beaulieu.[2] It is amazing to find, in the face of this explicit

[1] Among the sokemen of the Ancient Demesne we find seisin 'in fee' freely asserted. P. and M., i. 213, n. 3.

[2] The *Valor* of 1547 returns 'Redditu Resoluto exeunte de terris et tenementis predictis ("Faryngton") annuatim soluto domino Regi ad possessiones suas nuper Monasterii de Bewley per annum xxx$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$' But here, as elsewhere, it dis-

declaration, no fewer than five receipts, in years immediately prior to the date of William Fermour's bargain and sale, signed by the bailiff of the abbot of Beaulieu, for 'qwyte rent due vnto the said abbot'. The receipt immediately previous to July 12, 1512, is here set out as showing that it contains no acknowledgement of any manor held by Bury and as explaining the amount of the quit-rent which the College subsequently found itself called upon to pay.

'Memorandum that the xiith day of October in the second yere of the Reigne of King Harry the viiith I Robert Draper Bailly of the Reverend fadre in god Thabbot of Beauley in the Countie of Southampton of his manor or lordshipp of Grett Faryngdon in the Countie of Berkes haue resceyued of Edmund Bury of Brightwell in the Countie of Oxford Gentilman & Jane his Wif doughter & heir of John Pynchepole xii^{s} of quwyte rent due vnto the said abbot for oone hooll yere endid at the fest of Saint michell tharchangell last past for all such landes & tenementes as the said Edmund & Jane as in the right of the same Jane holden of the same abbot within the said lordship of Faryngdon And also xiij^{d} ob. of qwyte rent for oone hooll yere endid at the said fest of saint Michell last past for a burgage in Faryngdon aforesaid which the said Edmund purchasid of Sir William Boner prest.[1] In wittnesse wherof to this present bill I the said Robert Draper haue sett my seall & subscribed my name the day & yere abouesaid

Robart Draper.'[2]

From this it appears that whereas on July 12, 1512, William Fermour affirmed that no rent had been paid the abbot for thirty years, it had, as a fact, been paid regularly down to October, 1510, and in September, 1511, when Fermour had completed his purchases, was only one year overdue. That Fermour was called upon by Sutton or by Mrs. Morley to make good his covenant, at any rate for some time, is apparent from the next receipt, which is made out to him and is dated 12th January, 9 Henry VIII (1518) for 13*s.* 9½*d.* 'dewe to the sayd Abbot at the fest of Michelmas laste paste be fore the daye of makyng herof', that is, September 29, 1517. The receipt of the following year, the receiver being still 'Robart

tinguishes a rent resolute issuing from lands and tenements from a rent resolute 'exeunte de Manerio', as in the case of Cold Norton. But both were paid to a manorial lord, that being the differentia of a rent resolute.

[1] See p. 94, n. 1.

[2] Muniments, Faringdon, 33. The signature is in an unclerkly hand.

Draper', is dated 18th October, 10 Henry VIII (1518), and is an acknowledgement of having

'resceyued of the Principall & Scolers of the Brasynnose within Oxford by the handes of Harry Rathbone xiij^{s} ix^{ob} due to the seid Abbot for qwyte rentes gowing out of certain landes and tenementes in Faryngdon aforesaid belong[1] to the said Principall & Scolars of Brasynnose for oone hooll yere endit at the Fest of Saynt Michell tharchangell last past,' &c.[2]

Whether Fermour wilfully deceived Sutton or was himself deceived by Bury must remain uncertain. Other circumstances attendant upon his purchases from Bury suggest the second alternative. It will be remembered that he had excepted rents due to the chief lords of the fee, and he had left Sutton to thresh out the specific claim of 10*s.* for himself. It appears probable, therefore, that a compromise was arrived at—that Fermour paid the quit-rents due from October, 1511, to October, 1517, seven years, that is, to the time that the College became owners in fee of the property. Nor, it would seem, was another of Fermour's covenants justified by the facts, that the yearly value was £5 15*s.*, 'except ten schyllinges rent' already discussed. It was not even worth the £5 5*s.* to which it was thus reduced, nor was the rent, as has been seen, 10*s.* but 13*s.* 1½*d.* The Bursars' Rolls shall be our witness. Of these the earliest, that for Michaelmas, 1515, to Michaelmas, 1516, sets the receipts from the Faringdon property at £2 13*s.* 4*d.* It will be remembered that in August, 1515, it had been leased to the College by Elizabeth Morley at £5 annual rent. Now the covenant of William Fermour who, as vendor, was not likely to underrate its yearly return, fixed it, as a maximum, with no quit-rent

[1] *Sic.*

[2] The expression 'The Brasynnose' recurs in the receipt by Draper dated 31st October, 11 Henry VIII (1519), (Far., 44). It was evidently the common parlance, dating from the time when Brasenose Hall was, like other hostels, known by its sign. The composition of Elizabeth Morley recognizes this, the principal being styled as 'Principalem Aule regie et colegii de Brasynnose in Oxonia vulgariter nuncupati the Brasynnose'. The late Rev. Dr. John Fisher, Fellow of Magdalen, who died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1896, always asked the writer when they met, as they frequently did, in the Common Room of Magdalen, 'How are they getting on at "The Nose"?' He had himself for a time been a member of the College.

to pay to the abbot of Beaulieu at £5 15*s*. It is impossible, therefore, since the era of rising rents had not arrived, that this £2 13*s*. 4*d*. should represent a net surplus after the payment of the rent of £5. The rolls for Michaelmas, 1516, to Michaelmas, 1517, show receipts amounting to £4 6*s*. It must be inferred, therefore, that Mrs. Morley waived her claim to rent, and this inference is confirmed by the fact that, the College having acquired the fee simple in May, 1517, the receipts at Michaelmas, 1518, are £4 6*s*., as before. In that year, however, the very large sum of £22 14*s*. 6½*d*. was spent upon repairs. Unfortunately no accounts of this property have survived between that date and the roll for the year ending Michaelmas, 1524, when, as was to be expected, the rent had risen, being now £5 12*s*. 8*d*. At that figure it remained until the roll of 1544–5, when it fell to £5 4*s*. 8*d*., at which it stands in the Bursars' Roll for 1546–7. Notwithstanding this, the *Valor* of 1547 returns it as £4 5*s*. Its entry is, however, equivocal. It runs:—

'Firmis omnium et singulorum terrarum & tenementorum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis in Farryngton . . . dimissorum Roberto Clotte per indenturam datam xxix^{no} die Septembris anno regni regis Henrici viij^{vi} xxviij^{uo} pro termino xxx Annorum a data dicte Indenture reddendo inde per annum iiij^{li} v^{s}.'

The indenture referred to exists in the College archives, and is as set out.[1] It does not clearly state that the lands let are all the lands of the College in Faringdon. The next lease of this estate proves that they were not. It is dated 22nd November, 6 Edward VI (1552), and adds an acre of arable, 3 acres of pasture, 'lately occupied by Thoby Pledall,'[2] an irreclaimable

[1] Far., 48.

[2] It would seem, however, that if the College had evicted Pledall, it was unable to retain possession. In the R. O. Chancery Proceedings, Ser. II, Bundle 24, no. 30, is a petition from the College to the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, dated 23 January, 1565. It states that the College had been seized in fee of four acres upon Riden Hill, Faringdon, of the yearly value of 3/4 for 44 years; that about 30 years ago divers deeds and muniments had 'come into the handes of one Thobie Pledall Esquyre, who by colour of having the said evidences did about the same time unlawfully enter, and thereof hath taken the proffites to his own use by the space of 30 years'. I have not been able to discover the issue of this suit, but it looks like another case of Sutton's bad bargain.

insolvent, so far as the College was concerned, and 'a platt of voyde grounde in the Shambles', the site formerly of a butcher's shop. No further addition to these parcels of land is to be found in later leases.

The inference from a comparison of the Bursars' *Valor* of 1547 with the rolls appears to be that in 1536 the College, not unnaturally, took alarm at the dissolution of the monasteries and followed their example in granting a long lease of most of its Faringdon estate in the hope that the storm would blow by; that it reserved a few small parcels of the estate, which formed the residue, either in its own hands or in the hands of tenants who, like Thoby Pledall or Pledyll, was twenty-four years in arrear at Michaelmas, 1546, his rent being 3*s.* 4*d.* and his debt to the College £4.

The *Valor* of 1547, however, has an item of 30*s.* 6*d.* 'rent resolute' ('redditu resoluto') paid to the king yearly 'ad possessiones suas nuper monasterii de Bewley'. That this was not an outgoing invented to reduce the apparent surplus income of the College from the Faringdon estate is clear from the fact that it appears as well in the computus of 1545–6 as in that of 1546–7. Either the Crown, after the dissolution of the monastery of Beaulieu, which took place on 2nd April, 29 Henry VIII (1538), arbitrarily increased the quit-rent of 13*s.* 1½*d.* due from the College, or the revenue officers discovered that some part of its Faringdon estate owed quit-rents which the Abbots of Beaulieu had neglected to exact; for there is no sign that the College had acquired more land at Faringdon. But what a commentary upon William Fermour's covenant that the estate was of the yearly value of £5 15*s.* is furnished by the entry 'et valet clare vltra Reprisas predictas per annum liiij^{s} vj^{d}', a net return of less than half the promised yield!

One further point remains to be noticed. No pretence is set up either in the lease of September 29, 1536, or in the *Valor* of 1547, or in the Bursars' Rolls, that the College possessed any manor at Faringdon, though the Rolls are careful to record rents 'de manerio de Cropredy,' &c. When the Crown had succeeded the abbot of Beaulieu as manorial

lord of Faringdon, a pretence of that sort might have involved risk, and the College is careful to describe the 30*s.* 6*d.* it pays to the Crown in place of the abbot as 'redditus resolutus', that is, rent paid to a manor, paid also in this case not as from a subinfeudated manor, but 'de terris et tenementis'. In the recital of the parcels of land let by the lease of 1536 occurs 'two closes of lande callyd Pynchpoll with appurtenances in Faryngton'. Nor is any indication discoverable that the College either enjoyed or attempted to exercise manorial rights until April 1, 1713, when Principal Robert Shippen, brother of the better-known 'downright Shippen', Pope's Jacobite friend, granted a lease of the property, one of the conditions being that a 'heriot' of £2 should be paid in seven years. But one swallow does not make a summer, and to nickname a fine a 'heriot' is not sufficient after the lapse of two hundred years to infuse life into a phantom manor.[1]

It has been said that in the purchase of the Faringdon estate there were three matters in which Sutton had been overreached. Two of these, the charges upon the property and its annual value, have been already discussed. The third was as to the ownership of one of the parcels.

Notice has been directed to the fact that no mention occurs in the College archives of any land at Farneham or Fernham until, at Michaelmas, 1511, a parcel, of which the area is unspecified, purported to be conveyed by Edward 'and Joan Bury to the two Fermours and Wenman together with lands in Great Faryngdon and Westbrok'. Nor does Farneham appear again among the muniments save in the bargain and sale by William Fermour to Sutton of July, 1512. As this supposed property led the College to sue in the Court of Star

[1] A heriot was payable at the death of the tenant. The lease of April 1, 1713, stipulates that the tenant shall pay forty shillings 'for and in the name of an herriott over and above the rents before reserved at the desease of the said Christopher (Taylour) or att th'end of seven yeares which shall first happen'. This shows that it was not a heriot in the legal sense, but a fine. The lease was for twenty years. The premises consisted of a mansion called Evesham, in Westbrooke, 'and two closes there called Pinshpoles.' There is no suggestion of a manor or manor-house. Far., 66.

Chamber, its history, as recorded by the Bursars' Rolls, merits some attention.

Although Ferneham became the property of the College, together with the rest of Mrs. Morley's gift, by the deed of release of 1517, and had been leased to it in 1515, no entry with respect to it is to be found in the Bursars' Rolls until the Roll for 1524–5, when 'William Thaccher de Fernham' is entered as owing 8*s.* for the year ending Michaelmas, 1525. At Michaelmas, 1527, this debt had been reduced to 4*s.*, being still entered as the debt due at Michaelmas, 1525, and being described as 'in arreragio super Willelmum Thaccher de Fernham pro tenemento suo'. The very next entry of arrears, however, is in a different form: 'Et super tenentem in Farnham pro tenemento in quo Willelmus Thaccher inhabitat,' a year's arrears of rent due at Michaelmas, 1526, 8*s.* These two successive entries disclose the event that had happened. The College had in 1526 let the holding, which we know from the Star Chamber case,[1] to be presently discussed, to have been twelve acres, to another tenant who had suffered Thaccher to remain in occupation of the house.[2] That tenant remains anonymous. He was followed after Michaelmas, 1528, by William Shylton, who may be inferred from the Star Chamber case to have left Thaccher in the house, but who at the next Michaelmas owed a year's, and at Michaelmas, 1530, two years' rent for the land. Such is the testimony of the Rolls, and it is confirmed by a bill of complaint on the part of the College filed in the Court of Star Chamber in 1530. On October 12, 1528, the College had let the land, according to its bill of complaint, as a tenancy at will to William Shylton at a yearly rent of 8*s.* A year's rent being unpaid at Michaelmas, 1529, Simon Starky, Senior Bursar of the College, levied a distress for 8*s.* on May 4, 1530. The distress was levied on the land, a mare being taken by the Bursar's servant, David Jankynson. The mare was being led to Great Faringdon, stated to have been two miles distant,

[1] *R. O. MS., Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII*, vol. vi, f. 48, Brasenose College *v.* Payneswyk and another.

[2] In the Roll for 1527–8 is an item of 16*s.* 6*d.* expended on repairs 'apud Fernham'.

to be put in 'the opyn pownd'.[1] On the way 'on Robert Pawnswyke, other wise callyd Robert Clott, David Thowzprys, Roberte Balle, Thomas Seed with dyvers other rioutouse personz to the number of v or vj' were alleged to have attacked Jankynson. They were armed with daggers and other weapons, and, upon Jankynson's offering resistance, they wrested his sword out of his hand. For acting thus 'rioutously with force and arms', an allegation bringing the matter within the special cognizance of the Star Chamber, the College petitioned that a sub poena might issue against Pawnswyke, Thowzprys, and Seed. It may be noted that the counsel who drafted the case for the College bore the name of Edmund Molyneux, who in 1550 became a judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

The defence put in by Pawnswyke must have been another blow to the faith of the College, if any yet survived, in William Fermour.[2] Pawnswyke alleged 'that the said xij acres of lande . . . be parcell of the manor of Shrivenham Stalpyttes wherof one Thomas Vmpton Esquyre and other be seased in ther demean as of fee to the only use of the same Thomas and of his heires'. He, Pawnswyke, was Umpton's bailiff, Shylton was Umpton's tenant. The distraint, illegal in its inception, was also illegal in its procedure. The intention of the Bursar's servant was 'to have ledde the same mare to the Town of Oxford beyng owte of the Shere where the same mare was taken'. 'Note,' says Coke upon Littleton,[3]

[1] The significance of this was that 'pound-overt' was a legal custody, into which the distress was to be placed, 'pound-breach' being an offence.

[2] He succeeded, however, in a subsequent transaction with the College, and with the intention, it may be, of compensating it for his previous shortcomings in proving himself, at first sight, better than his word. In 1536 he sold the College two messuages with six yerde lands (about 120–180 acres) and five closes in Mylton, Morton, Hynton, and Shipton under Wychwood, co. Oxon. The yearly value he covenanted to be £4 13*s.* 4*d.* and above. (Indenture of 8 March, 27 Henry VIII, 1536). Within three years the College, in respect of these lands, found itself defendant in an action by the Treasury before the Court of Exchequer (Michaelmas Term, 31 Henry VIII (1539)). I have searched the Rolls of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, but have not been able to find the record. The College appears to have been successful, and the estate, if it be the same, is returned in the *Valor* of 1547 as worth £6 a year. See Monograph VI, p. 25.

[3] 47 b. See 52 Henry III, c. 4.

'that he that distraines anything that hath life must impound them in a lawfull pound within three miles in the same county.' Oxford is nineteen miles from Fernham, and in another county. It was Pawnswyke's duty, at the request of Shylton, to defend his master's rights and to prevent a breach of the law, a breach so serious that in 1449 an Act of Parliament, restricted, it is true, to Lancashire and Wales, had made it a felony.[1] As for the riot alleged, at William Shylton's 'desire, request, and commaundement, the same defendant in peasable maner toke the same mare and delyuered yt to the same Wylliam as good and lawfull was for hym to doo'. The taking away the sword of David Jankynson was denied. Both parties, it may be observed, were offenders against the statutes[2] forbidding any to go or ride armed. If those statutes had ever been effective, which is to be doubted, the Wars of the Roses must have wellnigh obliterated the memory of them.

The defence put in by 'Towpris and Sedde', as their counsel names them, adds a few details to the picture. These two appeal to the commiseration of the Star Chamber against the oppressive conduct of the College, whose charges are 'vntrue and vncharytably imagyned to thentent to put the same defendants beyng poor men of substans to cost vexacion and trouble without cause or grounde reasonable'. They deny riot, and tell in the main the same story as Pawnswyke. Their own intervention in the proceedings, to employ a neutral term, was unexceptionable in its character.

'At last the same Dauyd Jankenson seruaunt of the said Starkey[3] drowe owte his sward intendyng to haue streken the said Payneswyke which the sayd Dauyd Towpris perceyvyng beyng than and ther by chaunce present in peasable maner without any maner of wepon or armur about hym letted and interupted the same Jenkynson of his purpose in that behalf and immedyatly aftre the sayd Thomas Sedde perceyvyng the drawyng of the sayd sward and heryng the noyse and rumour bytwyn the sayd Payneswyke, Sterkey and other approched nygh vnto them in peasable maner by reason that the same Sedde at that

[1] 28 Henry VI, c. 4.
[2] 2 Edward III, c. 3 (1328); 20 Richard II, c. 1 (1397).
[3] Substituted for 'Burser', struck through in the MS.

tyme by chaunce happened to come that way from his plowe not thynkyng any maner of hurt to any person ther with whom he stode and abode vnto such tyme as the sayd persones were departed from thens.'

Both defendants deny that they 'toke away the sayd mare from the sayd Bursar or the swerd of the sayd Jenkynson'. Their plea depicts the Bursar of Brasenose leading the mare and David Jankynson acting as his bodyguard.

The document following these defences is, 'The Replicacion of the princypall and scolers of the Kynges hall and College of Brasynose in Oxforth to the answer of Robert Payneswyke.' They set out their claim to the land in dispute. They 'say that they be and haue byn lawfully seasyd by the space of vij or viij yeyres or more in there demeane as off Fee in the Ryght of there seyd college of and in the seyd xij acrez of land or thereaboutes'. If this statement is to be taken literally, it is inexplicable. There is no document in the muniments of the College relating to any acquisition in fee of land at Farnham save, as already mentioned, in 1517. But the petition of the College was filed in 1530, thirteen years later. On the other hand, the Rolls, which are not complete, first show rent from Fernham as due to the College in 1524, six years before the petition. It might be suggested that a lessee had been in possession at a peppercorn rent till 1524. This may have been so, but besides the fact that there is no evidence of it, the question at issue was a question of ownership in fee. The only solution I can proffer is that the counsel who drafted the replication, ignorant of the date of the acquisition of the land, but aware that the College did not 'prescribe' for it, that is, claim ownership anterior to legal memory, was satisfied to state a number of years sufficient for a claim which ultimately rested on a documentary title.

Upon the other points the College formally traversed the pleas of Pawneswyke's defence, among them the claim advanced to the land on behalf of Thomas Umpton. It denied that Shylton was Umpton's tenant; it denied the imputation that the Senior Bursar and his bodyguard were contemplating a march of nineteen miles with the captive mare to Oxford.

It concluded with the prayer 'that the said payneswyke may have condigne punyshment accordyng to hys demeritt and [be] compellyd to make them a sufficiant amendes and recompense for the wronges costes and damagez that they have susteynyd by occasion or cause of hys sayd misdemayner'.

The defence of the other parties to the suit had suggested that the action of the College in bringing them before the Star Chamber was vexatious. It was probably intended to be, and was interpreted by the College as being, a covert demurrer to the jurisdiction of the Court to try a case involving title to land. To demur openly to the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber was not altogether without its risks both to the pleader and the cause. As a Brasenose Lord Chancellor, the first Lord Ellesmere, is concerned, I venture to quote an instance of this with which his name is associated.

'I well remember,' says Hudson, the historian of the Star Chamber, 'that the Lord Chancellor Egerton would often tell that in his time, when he was a student, Mr. Serjeant Lovelace put his hand to a demurrer in this Court, for that the matter of the bill contained other matters than were mentioned in the Statute of 3 Henry VII (c. 1) ("Pro Camera Stellata"), and Mr. Plowden, that great lawyer, put his hand thereto first, whereupon Mr. Lovelace easily followed. But the cause being moved in Court Mr. Lovelace, being a young man, was called to answer the error of his antient, Mr. Plowden, who very discreetly made his excuse at the bar that Mr. Plowden's hand was first unto it and that he supposed he might in any thing follow St. Augustine. And although it were then overruled, yet Mr. Serjeant Richardson, thirty years after, fell upon the same rock and was sharply rebuked for the same; for the causes mentioned in that statute are but seven in number: 1. Maintenance. 2. Giving of Liveries. 3. Having retainers. 4. Imbracery. 5. Jurors receiving money. 6. Untrue demeanours of sheriffs in false returns and pannells. 7. Routs and riots—a small theme to exercise that Court.'

Egerton, it should be mentioned, after leaving Brasenose about 1559, was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1572, some forty years later than this suit of the College. It is probable, therefore, that the doctrine that the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber was indeterminate and, at any rate, not restricted to the offences specified in the statute 'pro Camera Stellata'

prevailed in 1530.[1] The replication[2] of the College to the defendants 'Towpris and Seed' directed itself, therefore, to this point. After a denial that the complaint was 'vncharitably ymagyned', the College adds that it 'suyd in this honourable Court for the obteynyng of there Ryght of the landes comprised in the seid byll (and) for the punyshment of the Riout and misdemeanour specified in there seyd byll of Compleynt'. Upon the point of the title to the land the language of the College is careful. Traversing the successive allegations of the defendants — the form of introducing traverses being the use of the words 'without that' ('exceptis quod')—the replication of the College to the defence of 'Towpris and Seed' runs:—'Without that that the land where the seid distrez was takyn was the frehold of Thomas Vmpton namyd in the seyd byll at the time of the seyd distrez takyn Or that the said Thomas Vmpton hath eny Ryght to the seid land.' The replication winds up with the petition 'that the said principall and Scholars may by the order of this court qwyetly occupye and jnioye there seid landes as of Ryght they ought to do'. To the replication of the College to his defence Robert 'Payneswyke' put in a rejoinder[3] repeating the allegation of his defence. The rejoinders of the other defendants have not been discovered.

The next step was the administration of interrogatories on behalf of the College to Robert 'Paneswyke'.[4] They were six in number. How, the College asks, did he know the land to be parcel of the manor of 'Shrivenham Stalpyttes'; had Umpton received any rent from it during the past seven or eight years, and, if so, how much; had Shylton 'withyn thes ij yeyres last past occupyed the seyd xij acrez of land or eny parcell of them as fermer or tenaunt to the seyd princypall and scholars of the Kynges hall & college of Brasynnose in Oxforth'?

[1] For a further discussion of this point see the writer's *Select Cases in the Star Chamber* (Selden Society, 1902), pp. liii–lv.

[2] The documents of the Star Chamber are in great confusion. This replication of the College is in *Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII*, Bundle 26, no. 177.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *S. C. P., Hen. VIII*, vol. vi, f. 53.

The document that follows[1] is headed 'Robert Panswyke of thage of 1 sworn & examyned vpon interogatories to him admynistred by the College of Brasen nose this xxij of October anno xxij'.[2] Upon the subject of the title to the land his tale is a clear one. His knowledge of the ownership arose from his office of bailiff and receiver of the rent, formerly to the Earl of Devonshire, to whom it had belonged six years before, since then to Thomas Umpton, who had taken the land from the Earl by way of exchange. The rent was the same in amount as that claimed by the College, eight shillings annually. 'Shylton was no fermour to brasennose for the seyd xij acres of land,' to his knowledge.

To the defendants 'Thowzpris' and 'Seed', to whom was now added Robert Ball, the College administered eleven interrogatories.[3] Most of these were directed to establish the complaint of a riotous assault and thereby to justify the selection of the Star Chamber as the court to try the case. Interspersed among these details are two interrogatories affecting the question of title—Was the land the property of the College and was 'Robert Panswyke' Umpton's bailiff? To this last Seed replied affirmatively, and that he himself paid rent to Panswyke as Umpton's bailiff, which office Panswyke had held 'these ij yeres past'. His explanation of Panswyke's seizure of the mare is that he also took it 'as a destresse', from which it appears that Shylton had treated both claimants with perfect impartiality. The land, he said, was Umpton's. 'David Touzpris' gave the same account. He was a young man of twenty-six 'dwellyng fast by the place where Pauneswyk toke the mare as a destres'. With the peaceable intentions which, by their own account, animated each one of the parties to the affair, he 'perceyuing ther was lyke to be busynes betwene Starky & Pauneswik for the sayd mare came from his house to make entretie between them'. In the same conciliatory spirit he took away Jankyn-

[1] *S. C. P., Hen. VIII*, vol. vi, f. 54. [2] 1530.

[3] *S. C. P., Hen. VIII*, vol. vi, f. 51. These interrogatories are unskilfully drawn, probably by a pupil of Molyneux. They were administered on February 3, 22 Henry VIII (1531).

son's sword ' & kept yt nat any tyme longar but sawe them apecyd & delyueryd yt incontynent agayn vnto hym after there departure '. Upon the questions affecting the title he corroborated Seed's testimony. ' He sayth that he neuer knew or hard telle before that tyme that euer Shylton was namyd to be Fermour to the sayd scolars of the said land.'

It is apparent that one part of the story as told by these defendants was an afterthought in the interest of Panswyke. That defendant in his answer had made no suggestion that he had taken the mare as a distress for rent owed to Umpton. On the contrary, he had taken it from the Bursar at the request and 'commandement' of Shylton, and a debtor does not usually command his creditor to levy a distraint on him. The defence of Panswyke as drafted, was a blunder, for he had no right to exercise a violent intervention. The mission of the Star Chamber was the repression of violence and the peaceful process of replevin was open. And further, according to Coke, in such a case ' a man can not claim propertie by his bailife or servant '.[1] On the merits of this particular case, that is, as against the action of the defendants, the College were in all respects justified.

Unhappily, the decrees of the Star Chamber are lost and we do not know what form the judgement took. It may be that the defendants were punished by the Star Chamber for their violence and that the question of title was sent down, as the practice frequently was, to be decided in a Court of Common Law. We turn, therefore, to the Bursars' Rolls and their evidence leaves the result a mystery. The latest date in the case is that of the interrogatories administered on behalf of the College to the defendants ' Thowzpris ', ' Seed ', and ' Ball ', on February 3, 1531. Little more than twenty years earlier, the process of the Star Chamber had been expeditious enough. Eighteen months was an exceptionally long period in a protracted suit.[2] Business had undoubtedly increased, perhaps on this very account. But there is nothing to show that in 1531 the Court was so clogged with suits that a cause of

[1] *Coke upon Littleton*, 145 b.

[2] See *Select Cases in the Star Chamber*, p. lxix.

Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce was a possibility. If the Bursars' Rolls are to be trusted, the case was not decided for twelve years, and then against the College. At Michaelmas, 1532, by which time, in the normal course of things, the dispute would have been adjudicated upon, the entry runs:—

'Et eciam super Willelmum Shylton xxxij^{s} de Fernham ad viij^{s} per annum pro iiij^{or} annis finitis ad festum sancti Michaelis anno xxiiij^{o} dicti Regis xxxij^{s}.'

Year after year, with an annual increment of eight shillings, the debt accumulates until in the Roll ending Michaelmas, 1543, it amounts to £6. After that date it vanishes, and in the *Valor* of 1547 the name of Fernham is not to be found. Nor does the 4*s.* due from Thaccer at Michaelmas, 1530, ever appear to have been paid. No light is thrown upon the mystery by the muniments of the College. After the release of May 20, 1517, which conveyed the fee simple of Mrs. Morley's benefaction to the College, the name of Fernham is not to be found. All that is certain is that in this, as in other particulars, the covenants of William Fermour had proved fallacious and Sutton had been overreached.[1]

The inference that Sutton, a successful lawyer, who, as steward of Sion, must have been familiar with transactions in landed property, was deceived upon so many points, is at first sight an improbable conclusion. It must, however, be remembered that it was an age of legal chicane, of which Empson and Dudley had been notorious examples, and that

[1] From the muniments of the College and the Bursars' Rolls some further particulars are to be gleaned of the actors in the drama which brought them before the Star Chamber. Robert Payneswyke may be probably identified with the Robert Payne of Wyke, who was a witness of the livery of seisin to William Fermour by Edmund Bury of his 'manor of Pynchpolys on June 21, 1511'. It is pleasing to know that the College bore him no malice, for on September 29, 1537, it leased to 'Robert Clott, otherwise named Payneswyke, "2 closes of land called Pynchpoll", in Faringdon and some land and a house at Westbrook for 30 years at £4 5*s.* a year' (Far., 48). David Jenkynson was employed as a rent collector, and was occasionally remiss in handing the rents over, the Bursars' Rolls showing arrears against him of £3 7*s.* 6*d.* at Michaelmas, 1538, which had only been reduced by 5*d.* at Michaelmas, 1539. His name appears in a deed of November 10, 21 Henry VIII (1529), as one of two attorneys nominated by John Baker, clerk, to convey the estate of Kemerton to the College (Kemerton, 7). See p. 158 *infra*.

Sutton by his payment to Fermour out of hand upon the delivery of the deed of bargain and sale evidently reposed confidence in him. Further, Sutton was dealing with Mrs. Morley's money, and it is a current saying that people are less careful of the money of others than of their own. He was also a busy man, being a serjeant-at-law in the Palatinate of Chester, and a judge in the Court of Requests, a prerogative court for purely civil cases much frequented by suitors, at this very time.[1] He was also occasionally employed on special commissions, and last of all, he was, as men of that period went, an old man. His elder brother, John de Sutton of Sutton and Distley, was born in 1442. Richard was the next child.[2] The date of his birth is unknown, but if it be taken at five years later than that of John,[3] he would be born in 1447 and in 1512 would be sixty-five. Whether he sought redress of Fermour or Bury is unknown. This much is certain. He was no longer commissioned by Mrs. Morley to purchase estates for the College, nor did she extend her benefaction further.

On November 27, 1515, between three and four months after Sutton's purchase from William Fermour, Elizabeth Morley entered into her 'Composition' with the College, an abstract of which is to be found in the Bursar's monograph on Benefactions, p. 8. In the recitals of this deed, not there set out, are plain indications of the design of the Founders to establish a conservative and clerical institution as a bulwark against what would be expressed at the present day by the word 'modernism'. Elizabeth Morley's benefaction is expressed to be 'ad honorem individue Trinitatis gloriose virginis Marie omniumque sanctorum ac sacrosancte Matris ecclesie exaltacionem et augmentacionem clericorum studentium in Vniuersitate Oxonie necnon ad salutem anime sue'. Her chaplain, when he celebrated Mass, should pray for her soul, those of her husband and family, and for the souls of all faithful departed. Of profane learning or of the education of

[1] *Select Cases in the Court of Requests* (Selden Society, 1898), p. cix.

[2] G. Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, 2nd edition, edited by T. Helsby, 1882, iii. 762 note.

[3] Ibid., Pedigree.

laymen there is no thought. It is to be noted also that the land conveyed is 'Manerium de Pynchpolle in Chepyngfaryngdon cum pertinenciis ac diuersa alia terras & tenementa cum pertinenciis in Faryngdon et Westbroke iuxta Faryngdon predictam in comitatu Berk' de vero annuo valore centum solidorum'. This last phrase probably covered no imputation upon the veracity of William Fermour, who with Richard Sutton and William Gefferey was a witness to the deed. But the description of the estate conveyed merits attention. It speaks of the estate as having been already given, as in effect it had, though the College were at the time only lessees under the lease of the previous August 12 and did not become owners in fee till the deed of May 20, 1517. The language implies that lands other than the manor of Pynchepolle were conveyed, viz. lands in Faryngdon and Westbrooke. This agrees with the history of the estate as already set out. But it does not mention Fernham, which was part of the land included in William Fermour's bargain and sale to Sutton, covenanted by him to be worth in all £5 15*s*. or, deducting the recited quit rent of 10*s*., £5 5*s*. yearly. It seems to follow, since the rent of the land at Fernham, apart from the house, was eight shillings a year, either that Fernham was supposed to be included in the 'manor of Pynchepolys' which, from the fine by which the Burys conveyed it to the two Fermours and Wenman at Michaelmas, 1511, does not appear to have been the case, or that William Fermour's title to it was already in dispute. Seeing that the 'Manor of Pynchepolys' was a fiction and that, as the fine indicates, the land at Fernham had evidently formed part of the portion of Joan Pynchepole, I incline to the former interpretation, and this is confirmed by the two deeds of lease and release by Elizabeth Morley and the Fermours to the College of August 12, 1515, and May 20, 1517, which specify the land at Fernham. That land, therefore, though not recited to have been conveyed to the College totidem verbis, was taken to be included in the phrase 'cum pertinenciis'.

In the light of the history of this estate as already narrated, one proviso in Elizabeth Morley's 'Composition' is curious,

and might almost seem to have been inserted for the protection of the College. It runs:—

'Prouiso semper quod si manerium predictum ac terre et tenementa hereditamenta et cetera premissa cum suis pertinenciis sine aliqua inde parcella de cetero extra manus predictorum principalis et scolarium habeantur recuperantur[1] siue aliquo alio legittimo modo deuoluantur absque fraude seu collusione dicti principalis seu sociorum colegii predicti quod extunc et ab inde onus prefatorum principalis et scolarium ac presbiteri predicti de implecione ceterorum premissorum cesset in omnibus predictis et quod ab inde sint penitus exonerati de premissis siue aliquo premissorum.'

Had the College been disposed to insist on the letter of its obligation, with the issue of the dispute about Fernham, the celebration of Mrs. Morley's memory would have ceased, for her death had taken place in 1524. On the other hand, New College, which had the power of distraining, not only on the recited lands, but upon the whole of the property of Brasenose, to the amount of 20*s*. in the event of its default in payment of Mrs. Morley's chaplain, appears to have waived its rights. As will presently be seen, Brasenose, while doubtless it celebrated Mrs. Morley's memory, as required, by a dinner on January 26, felt itself occasionally constrained to leave her chaplain unpaid.

So extensive is the mutilation of the earlier Rolls that the first record of payment to Mrs. Morley's chaplain is on the Roll for 1520–1,[2] when he received 10*s*. more than the stipulated £2 13*s*. 4*d*., viz. £3 3*s*. 4*d*. There is no means of knowing whether this extra payment made up a deficit of the year before but, at any rate, the £2 13*s*. 4*d*. is never afterwards exceeded. On the contrary, in 1524–5, dark days began for the chaplain of 'Betty Morley', as after her death, at any rate down to the present day, our benefactress has been styled. The Bursars' Rolls show that while, after the lavish

[1] Sic.

[2] A fragment of an entry, in respect of 'capellani Me Morley', with the sum torn out, is on f. 7 of the Roll ending Michaelmas, 1517, showing that the College had already appointed one. The Composition stipulated that one should be appointed within ten days of its execution.

outlay in 1517–18 of £22 14*s.* 6½*d.*, the income from the estate had risen from £4 6*s.* to £5 12*s.* 8*d.*, there were, nevertheless, outstanding arrears to the amount of £9 17*s.* This was during the last year of Betty Morley's life. No sooner was she dead and all hope of future benefactions cut off than the financial exigencies of the situation enforced themselves. Between Michaelmas, 1524, and Michaelmas, 1525, the arrears upon the Morley benefaction had increased to £12 12*s.* 10*d.*, while reductions amounting to £1 3*s.* 6*d.* had to be allowed 'pro decasu', that is, to tenants who would undertake the repairs themselves. The Morley estate was perilously near insolvency, and since some one must suffer, the obvious victim was the chaplain, whose stipend was reduced from £2 13*s.* 4*d.* to £1. Worse was to follow. For the six years from Michaelmas 1525 to Michaelmas 1531 Betty Morley's chaplain received nothing at all. It may be doubted whether, under these circumstances, he fulfilled his obligation under the Composition to preach once a year at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and expressly to name his benefactress; nor can we suppose that the warden of opulent New College lacked sympathy for a struggling foundation and enforced the penalty of twenty shillings.

In the Rolls of 1531–2 a gleam of light appears. So rapidly had benefactions poured in upon the College that since Mrs. Morley's Composition in 1515, it had acquired no fewer than thirty-one landed properties, great and small. Not that it had a surplus; on the contrary, with its revenues its expenditure increased, and it was barely paying its way. But the generosity that is stimulated by the handling of money or the compunction which follows neglect of duty, even when financially advantageous, at last prevailed. The memory of Betty Morley was revived in 1532 by a payment of thirty shillings to her chaplain, increased to forty shillings in the following year. The financial situation, so far as the Morley benefaction was concerned, in 1533 no more justified the outlay than it had done four or five years before. Rather the contrary. The rent received remained constant at £5 12*s.* 8*d.*, out of which 16*s.* 4*d.* was annually allowed 'pro decasu'. The arrears,

which had been reduced to £8 15*s.* 10*d.* by Michaelmas, 1530, had increased by Michaelmas, 1532, to £12 16*s.* 6*d.*, and at the Michaelmas following attained the unprecedented sum of £14 15*s.* 6*d.* To these embarrassments must be added the growing burden of law expenses. Not all of these can be debited to the Morley benefaction, since even the acceptance of estates ensured fees to lawyers. But the litigation as to Fernham must certainly have gone far to account for the sudden rise of law expenses from £6 8*s.* 9*d.* in 1528–9 to £12 4*s.* 5*d.* in 1529–30. In the course of the four years during which the suit in the Star Chamber and its consequent expenses may be supposed to have run on, the law expenses of the College amounted to £40 2*s.*, as compared with £20 11*s.* 11½*d.* for the four years, 1525–9, immediately preceding. The Morley benefaction was proving for a while a 'damnosa haereditas', and Betty Morley's chaplain was fortunate to get anything at all. His forty shillings was continued to him during the years 1543 to 1547. But when the *Valor* of 1547 was prepared for the king's commissioners, who may have been presumed to be unfavourable to expenditure upon the souls of deceased persons, the College preserved a discreet silence as to Mrs. Morley's chaplain and those of other contractors for its prayers. It simply entered 40*s.* 'Vni Scholari ex ordinacione Elizabethe Morles' (*sic*). How could an institution which, as it piteously proved, legitimately expended £12 13*s.* 9*d.* a year more than its income, have a surplus for 'superstitious uses'?

VII

The Benefaction of John Cockes

On June 20, 1512, John Cockes,[1] Cokkys or Cokks, a wool merchant of Kirtlington, had purchased 'a messuage and garden called "The Lyon" or the "Redde Lyon"', which was an inn situate in the High Street of Wycombe, at that time

[1] Cockes is the spelling of his 'Composition', which is sealed 'J. C.' but not signed by him.

currently known as Chepyng Wycombe. The price paid for it was 100 marks (£75). It was not a new house. It was, as Cockes had perhaps discovered, a house with a past, for in 1482 it had changed hands for £120, having in 1479 been let on lease at a rental of £8 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. Next door to it, on the west, was the 'George Inn', and it may be that the prosperity of the 'George' measured the decay of the 'Redde Lyon'. At any rate, the 'Redde Lyon', as the College muniments show, changed hands with suspicious rapidity in the course of the thirty years following 1482, which may be taken to have been its *annus mirabilis*. In the light of the vanished glory of six score pounds, the 'Redde Lyon' at the price of £75 may have seemed to John Cockes an excellent bargain.

The history of the hostelry, as it unfolds itself in the Bursars' Rolls, suggests that that successful man of business had, upon this occasion, made a doubtful speculation. If he wished to let it on lease he not improbably failed to do so, since no lease by Cockes is in existence, and when he parted with it the College to which he transferred it was obliged to find a tenant. He was, it may be, indisposed to an outlay sufficient to bring it up to date, for he was beginning to contemplate a change in the character of his investments. Hearing of the rising promise of Brasenose College, he became laudably solicitous 'for the augmentacion of vertu & lernyng & also for the helth of hys solle'. The real value of the 'Redde Lyon' now appeared. By an indenture dated 22nd July, 10 Henry VIII (1518) to which William Porter, the warden of New College and 'Mathew Smyth, pryncypall of the kynges hall & colegge of Brasynnose in Oxford' were parties, he granted to Brasenose the '"Redde Lyon" with the curtilege and gardyng and all other his lands and tenements within the borow of Chepyng Wycombe'. These other 'lands and tenements', it may be noted parenthetically, were as castles in Spain, situate in the imagination of John Cockes's man of law, and perhaps designed to impart an air of magnificence to John Cockes's gift. But though he added no lands or tenements, either then or at a later date, he did supplement the gift of the 'Redde Lyon' with a substantial offering. He

presented the College with six score pounds in cash, a large sum at a date when the country was but recently recovered from the effects of the Wars of the Roses, and accumulations of money were still comparatively rare. It must not, however, be supposed that he contemplated getting no return upon his capital. *Nihil inde sperantes* is not the motto of commercial men. The document in which the gifts are made, by its very name, a 'Composition', indicates this, and its terms are explicit. He gives the money 'to the entente and effecte that the sayd pryncypall felowes & scolers of Brasynnose & ther successors for ever shall obserue doo and make dyuers suffrages, obsequies & prayers for the solles of the said John Cockes & Julyan his wyffe, Alyn & Elyn his Father & mother & all ther progenye, & of all crysten soles yerely within the sayd hall & colegge of Brasynnosse (*sic*) for ever'. Of the two priests, Fellows of the College, who were specially devoted to these duties, one was to be 'an Oxford shere man borne or els knowen to be a sothern man after the order & Custome of the Unyversyte', a proviso which suggests that there existed an official list of northern and southern counties. They were each to receive 26*s.* 8*d.* for four years and afterwards 40*s.* annually. The £120 was to be expended on the purchase of a tenement or land which should bring in the yearly sum of £6 net. The commemoration of this Benefactor was to take place on October 30. As the first commemoration is mentioned in the Bursars' Rolls for the year Michaelmas 1520 to Michaelmas 1521, it follows that John Cockes died at some date between July 22, 1518, and September 29, 1520. This is confirmed by the fact that the same Roll shows that the two priests were each paid their 26*s.* 8*d.* in full during the year 1520–1, and for two years following. Unfortunately the Roll for 1519–20 has vanished, but as the full payment of £4 is entered in the Roll for 1523–4, it follows that 1522–3 was the fourth year of the smaller stipend.

Among the provisions made by the care of John Cockes to secure the future welfare of his soul was one which disclosed his knowledge of human nature from the commercial point of

view. He determined to give another College a financial interest in it. Under his Composition, two days' notice was to be given to the Warden of New College or his deputy, who was to see that this arrangement was carried out. A fee was to be paid him of 3*s*. 4*d*. for his trouble, besides a penny 'for his offering'. Neglect to appoint the two priests or the omission of the commemoration was to be penalized by a mulct of £200, to be forfeited to New College, and for any other fault 13*s*. 4*d*. *toties quoties*. The kindly interest inspired by this device in the post obit fortunes of John Cockes was yet retained within the writer's recollection. In addition to the gratifying fee paid to each Fellow of Brasenose present at the morning service in chapel, the Warden of New College was rewarded for his attendance by the prescribed 3*s*. 5*d*. The method by which the farsighted John Cockes secured the perpetual performance of his commemoration was also employed by him to stimulate a zeal for his future well-being to which the governing body of Brasenose, other than the two priests endowed by him, might otherwise have been strangers. The Principal of the College was to receive 3*s*. 4*d*. 'for his labour', the Vice-Principal 20*d*. and each Fellow 8*d*., that is to say, if present at the requiem mass in the College Chapel.

It is painful to narrate that, judging from the Bursars' Rolls, at the first commemoration for which the accounts have survived, the minute provisions to ensure John Cockes's eternal happiness broke down. How otherwise are we to explain the fact that in the year from Michaelmas 1520 to Michaelmas 1521, only 6*s*. 8*d*. appears to have been expended under this head?[1] It is true that '. . . his Cokks—vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$' is all that remains of this mutilated entry, but its place among the payments next after one which, though also mutilated, is certainly an entry of the expense of the commemoration of Bishop Smyth, leaves no doubt that the missing words, as shown by the roll for 1521–2[2] are: 'Et solutum pro Anniversario Joh(ann)is'. It is possible, though there is no record in the roll of 1520–1, as elsewhere, that the plague was in Oxford and had driven most of the residents from the

[1] Bursars' Rolls, vol. A. f. 17. [2] Bursars' Rolls, vol. A. f. 21.

College. The Warden of New College or his deputy could scarcely have been present, for his 3*s.* 5*d.*, subtracted from the sum of 6*s.* 8*d.*, would not have left even 3*s.* 4*d.* for the Principal. It may be that the College had not the money, at any rate out of the Cockes benefaction, and was disinclined to expend for the benefit of John Cockes's soul funds derived from benefactors competing for its intercessional favours. If the solution of the mystery is to be found in the fortunes of the 'Redde Lyon' at Chepyng Wycombe, the sixteenth century taught a lesson which has been supplemented in the twentieth, that it was as dangerous to link one's spiritual as one's material welfare with the fortunes of a public-house.

For, indeed, the 'Redde Lyon' at Chepyng Wycombe had fallen upon evil times. It cannot but be that there was a consciousness of this fact in John Cockes's mind when he parted with it in the summer of 1518. It may be that the attractions of the 'George Inn' had continued to increase, or that the Bursars, in selecting their tenants, were not expert judges of character. At any rate there were no licensing boards to worry the publican, nor licence duties to impoverish him, nor, in days when Church-Ales were still in fashion, did curious teetotallers or intrusive detectives scrutinize the gait of his customers. Whatever the cause, successive tenants of the 'Redde Lyon' could not pay their rent of £4 per annum, though less than half the rent of 1482. At Michaelmas, 1522, the rent of the innkeeper, William Whalley, was two years in arrear. His debt was carried forward in the Bursars' Rolls year after year with a due regard to the canonical prohibition of interest, and still appears in the roll of 1527–8 as £8, seven years overdue. The College, it may be inferred, evicted Whalley at Michaelmas, 1522, and took as tenant one Hugh Frankland or Frankelyn, who could not have paid any rent at all, seeing that at Michaelmas, 1523, he was a whole year in arrear, though it must be recorded to his credit that of the £4 due he paid 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1525–6.[1] He, too, must have been got rid of, and at Michaelmas, 1523, John Standisshe, as his son signs the name, essayed the forlorn hope of making the 'Redde

[1] Bursars' Rolls, vol. B. f. 21.

Lyon' pay. Like his predecessors, he became tenant on a yearly tenancy at £4 per annum. John Standisshe proved himself a better tenant than his defaulting predecessors, and was rewarded accordingly. He did what he could. It is true that he could not at Michaelmas, 1524, produce the full rent of £4, but he did pay £3 3*s.* 4*d.*, the Bursars remitting 16*s.* 8*d.* 'pro decasu hospicii vocati the Red Lyon' (B. 7), which, in its existing state of disrepair, he must have energetically protested, could not earn the rent. They did more. They expended the large sum of 57*s.* 9½*d.* in repairs.

Something further, it was felt, would have to be done for the 'Redde Lyon' if the sacred trust imposed by John Cockes was not to be abandoned. Standisshe had proved himself the most desirable of the tenants whom the College had hitherto put in occupation, and it would be well to retain him. But the misfortunes of the 'Red Lyon' were not only structural decays. It needed the inviting equipment of a comfortable hostelry, and Standisshe had not the necessary capital with which to provide it. In the Bursars' Roll for 1523–4 occurs this unique entry:

'Et super Johannem Standishe pro supellectile vocata householdstuf sibi per Bursarios apud Chepyng Wycombe vendita . . iij$^{li.}$ iiij$^{s.}$'

What was the nature of this transaction? It cannot have been a sale to Standisshe of the 'household stuf' taken as distress for rent due by the outgoing tenant, for Frankland's debt of the year's rent of £4 is carried on as unliquidated. Neither, for the same reason, can it represent a sale of a distress levied upon Frankland's predecessor, Whalley. It might be conjectured that the Bursars of Brasenose, who, being Fellows, were necessarily clerics, were 'running', to use a phrase as old as Mr. Pepys, a public-house by a manager. But, though the College did not undertake to 'run' the 'Redde Lyon' themselves, since they charged John Standisshe with a rent of £4, not always paid, they were plainly resolved to do what they could to enable it to outrival the 'George'. The 'householdstuf' in question must have been the furniture necessary for carrying on an inn; the wooden platters, the

crockery, the horn and latten drinking-vessels, the settles and benches, the beds and bedding. It may be noted here that Standish repaid this advance of £3 4*s.* by instalments, as a thriving host might do.

Before recurring to the consequences to John Cockes's prospects of the financial management of the 'Redde Lyon', it may be permitted to dwell for a moment upon another feature of this unique advance, so far as I have examined the Bursars' Rolls, on the part of the College. The name of Standisshe, which the Bursars spell Standishe, linked with the names of the previous tenants of the 'Redde Lyon' since it had come into possession of the College, suggests a surmise which the reader can appraise at his own valuation. Standish was unquestionably a Lancashire name, and it was with Lancashire that the College was most closely connected. It was a name already enrolled on the College books. Stephen Standish occupied the important office of Manciple in 1513. Edward Standish was a Fellow in 1518. John Standish, described as of Lancashire, entered the College, aged about 15, in 1524. It is, at least, a curious coincidence that the two previous tenants under the College of the 'Redde Lyon' also bore Lancashire names. There is no evidence that at this time any member of Brasenose was named Whalley. The first appearance of this name in the Principal's Register, in the form of Whaley, is in 1626: 'Whaley, Thomas (Lancs.) Adm. pleb.' And though there is no contemporary Frankland on the College books, in the only case in which it appears (1649) it is entered as the name of a Lancashire man. Each of these circumstances is in itself of trifling significance. The three taken together converge to the conclusion that the Bursars selected as tenants of the 'Redde Lyon' members of their own county, probably related to some of the governing body. The College being founded, according to the statutes, as a College 'pauperum et indigentium scholarium', it is no matter for wonder that, like the heads of the religious houses, they provided berths for their poor relations.

The upshot, so far as we know it, of the munificent gift by John Cockes of the 'Redde Lyon' and all his lands and tene-

ments in Wycombe, as disclosed by the rolls of 1524, was that for five years, ending Michaelmas, 1524, the College had received £3 3*s.* 4*d.* in rent, while it had expended £6 1*s.* 9½*d.* in putting it into tenantable occupation, a deficit on the quinquennial account of £2 18*s.* 5½*d.* It may well have been pardoned if it began to look the gift of the 'Redde Lyon' in the mouth!

In the following year, 1524–5, the 'Redde Lyon' continued a loss to the College. At Michaelmas, 1525, Standisshe was granted a reduction of rent by 44*s.* 'pro decasu', presumably representing an outlay on repairs by himself. On the other hand, he discharged his arrears of rent of the previous year, 13*s.* 8*d.* and repaid 30*s.* 8*d.* of the sum advanced for furniture, leaving a balance due on that score of 33*s.* 4*d.*

The total year's account may be seen in the following table:—

THE 'REDDE LYON', 1524–5.

Receipts by *College*.	£	*s.*	*d.*	Expenditure by *College*.	£	*s.*	*d.*
Rent	1	16	0	Balance of advance due	1	13	4
Arrears of Rent	0	13	8	Repairs	2	6	0
				Reduction of Rent	2	4	0
					6	3	4
					2	9	8
	£2	9	8	Deficit	£3	13	8

Despite the generous aid of the College, Standisshe's resources were exhausted. The Bursars' Rolls for Michaelmas, 1526, report him as again 13*s.* 4*d.* behindhand with the year's rent, nor was he able to reduce the balance of the advance made him for furniture. Again he must have convinced the Bursars that his shortcomings were due to the disrepair of the 'Redde Lyon', for in 1526–7 the College expended the unprecedented sum of £3 1*s.* in endeavouring to improve its attractiveness, a sum supplemented in the year following by another 19*s.* 4*d.* It was a judicious outlay. For four years arrears cease to be, and the balance due for furniture was presumably discharged. Yet still the condition of the 'Redde

Lyon' needed constant fortification. For two years, indeed, 1527 to 1529, it had rest; but in 1530 and the year following, it required an expenditure upon repairs of 20*s.*, an outlay, it will be observed, of twenty-five per cent. on the gross rental. It may be that the demands of Standisshe for repairs were not unconnected with a scheme entertained by him for improving the condition of his tenancy. By the autumn of 1531 he had been in occupation of the 'Redde Lyon', fighting an incessant battle with dilapidations, for eight years. He had a wife 'Marget', and a son William, the excellence of whose Latinity and penmanship suggest an education at Brasenose College. At a period when men grew old quickly, he was perhaps sensible of the advance of age. Like the later 'landlord of the Lion', whose epitaph has made him famous, he perhaps desired that it might be said, when he had passed away, that

> 'Resigned unto the heavenly will
> His wife keeps on the business still.'

At any rate, there exists among the muniments of the College a lease dated 16th September, 23 Henry VIII (1531) by 'Mathew Smyth' as principal of Brasenose to John Standisshe 'and Marget his Wyf ther executours & assignes', by which the 'Red Lyon' was let to them for twenty-one years at the reduced rent of £3 per annum, John Standisshe, who signs with a mark, undertaking to spend £10 upon the premises within three years, and to put them in good repair. It is evident, however, that John Standisshe promised more than he could perform, for the Bursars' Rolls show that the College treated the lease as non-existent. At Michaelmas, 1532, the tenancy was on its old footing. John Standisshe paid the rent of £4, while the College paid 20*s.* for repairs. The accounts for Michaelmas, 1536, disclose the same state of things. That the financial inability of the tenant to fulfil the conditions of the College as to repairs was the cause of this is apparent from the fact that at Michaelmas, 1533, Standisshe was 3*s.* 4*d.* in arrears with his rent. After that crisis, however, Standisshe seems to have

paid his rent regularly, that rent being entered in the Bursars' Rolls as £4, not the £3 of the lease of 1531.

In course of years, perhaps about 1542, his wife Juliana Standisshe died and he married again, his new wife being named Elisabeth. His lease of 1531 had still many years to run, but anxious to secure her a comfortable home in the event of his own decease, he obtained on 11th September, 35 Henry VIII (1543) a fresh lease from 'Mr. Mathew Smithe principall of the Kinges hawle & college of Brasinose', for a term of thirty years. The lease was to 'John Standissh and Elisabeth his wife, his children and ther executors & assignes.'

It may be noted that the words 'his children and' are interlined, being an afterthought perhaps suggested by the careful William Standisshe, a son of the first marriage. The lease is not signed, as was that of 1531, with a rude drawing, obviously the effort of an unpractised penman, resembling two tulips with their stalks crossing each other like the blades and handles of an open pair of scissors. It is adorned with an admirable specimen of calligraphy 'per me Willm. Standisshe patris vicarium'. Unhappily, this lease bequeaths as many puzzles as does the lease of 1531. There were no fresh stipulations for the outlay upon repairs by the tenant of a specified sum. But the Bursars, notwithstanding the fact that the mention of the rent of 'iij powndis of lawfull englisshe monye', the same rent as under the lease of 1531, occurs more than once in the deed, debit themselves year by year with 'iiij *li.*' as the rent paid them. What is more; in the *Valor* of 1547 they return this, the only property of the College in Buckinghamshire, at iiij *li.* per annum, citing this very deed of lease of 35 Henry VIII, and they add: 'Reprisis videlicet in Reparacionibus ibidem fiendis communibus Annis xx*s.*', a perfectly accurate statement. The result appears to be that the lease of 1531 was varied by a parol agreement that the College should continue doing the repairs if the tenant would pay £4 a year rent instead of £3. What is strange is that this, which was the actual working agreement, was not expressed in the lease of 1543. All that the leases effectively did was

to ensure to John Standisshe, his widow and children, a continuance in the tenancy which, with the liberal aid of the College, he had converted into a desirable occupation. He had achieved a result patent to the world at the present day. But the 'Redde Lyon' never succeeded in swallowing 'the George'. When in 1894 the College sold the 'Redde Lyon', its erewhile next-door neighbour had survived to jostle and jostles still the western flank of its secular rival.

While the College was thus engaged in a prolonged struggle to set the 'Redde Lyon' on its legs again, the reader may have felt some concern lest these financial difficulties should have imperilled the spiritual welfare of John Cockes. No sign of any defection from its sacred trust on the part of the College appears during the first year of Standisshe's tenancy. Though at Michaelmas, 1524, there was, as has been seen, a startling adverse balance of nearly £3, the College nobly adhered to its obligations. Agreeably to the terms of the Composition, the two chaplains of John Cockes received, for the first time, their increased stipends of 40*s.* each, and 10*s.* 2*d.* was expended upon his commemoration, a sum the probable apportionment of which I shall leave to curious mathematicians. It may be that Mrs. Cockes was alivė and that the College cherished the expectations to which the virtuous are entitled. It is not, of course, to be forgotten that the six score pounds was, by the stipulations of the Composition, to be invested in the purchase of a tenement or land to bring in a net yearly return of £6.

The interest on capital embarked in trade was at this time ten or twelve per cent., and nearly a generation afterwards, when accumulations of capital had considerably increased among the trading classes, ten per cent. was the legal maximum fixed by the 'Acte against Usurye' (37 Hen. VIII, c. 9, 1545). So reasonable, therefore, were the anticipations of Cockes that he may have had the pitiful history of the 'Redde Lyon' in his mind. The six score pounds were presumably laid out upon the purchases in 1519–20 at Forest Hill, near Oxford, of a tenement and land costing £9; and of Brakespeare's Place at Milton-under-Wychwood, and Genyns Court, Kent,

both from the same vendor, Sir Michael Dormer, for £112—total £121. Of these investments, the Forest Hill property brought in a gross rental of 10*s.* yearly; Brakespeare's Place, 26*s.* 8*d.*, and Genyns Court £4 4*s.* 2¾*d.* These rentals remained unchanged, as the *Valor* shows, in 1547. It will be observed that the difference between the return upon capital invested in land and capital invested in trade was considerably greater than nowadays; but, on the other hand, if the profits of commerce were greater, so also were the risks.

These details have been extracted from the Rolls because they exhibit the administration by the College of one of its earliest, and not the least troublesome, benefactions. They serve also to explain the reason why the College occasionally deemed itself at liberty to depart from the strict obligations of its Composition with John Cockes. For instance, in 1525–6 his two chaplains were no longer paid £4, but reduced to £3 10*s.* It has been seen that the previous year's working of the 'Redde Lyon' alone had involved a deficit of £3 13*s.* 8*d.* During the same year (1524–5) there was also an arrear amounting to 17*s.* 6¾*d.* of rent due from Genyns Court and 10*s.*, being rent due on the property at Forest Hill. The state of account of John Cockes's benefaction for 1524–5 may therefore be set out as follows:—

BENEFACTION OF JOHN COCKES, 1524–5.

Receipts.	£	*s.*	*d.*	*Expenditure.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Net Rent of Genyns Court	3	6	8	On 'Redde Lyon' . .	3	13	8
„ „ Milton . .	1	6	8	On Forest Hill . .	0	10	0
				Cost of Commemoration .	0	7	8
	£4	13	4		£4	11	4

leaving a total surplus of 2*s.*

The two chaplains of John Cockes, whose stipends the College reduced in 1525–6 from £4 to £3 10*s.* cannot be said to have had a just grievance. A worse fate befell them in 1527–8, when the outlay by the College of £3 1*s.* upon the repairs of the 'Redde Lyon' necessitated a reduction to £3 9*s.*, but after the lease of 1531, an evidence that the trust was, so

far as the 'Redde Lyon' was concerned, upon a sound financial basis, the due payment of £4 annually to the two appears to have been regularly made. It is to be hoped, for their credit, that during the four years 1525–6, 1527–8, 1529–30, and 1530–1, when abatements, of which that of 1527–8 was the greatest, were found unavoidable, John Cockes's two chaplains did not flag in their precatory vigour. A reminiscence of the nineteenth century may perhaps be permitted here. Until 1882, the new statutes having come into force in June, 1881, the commemoration of Betty Morley was yearly celebrated on January 26, and that of John Cockes on October 30. The Warden of New College attended the morning service in chapel. After chapel on October 30 the Bursar distributed to each of the Fellows present the eight pence due to him. On January 26 the Warden alone received eight pence. On the anniversary of John Cockes the Warden of New College was, of course, paid 'for his labour' the sum of 3*s.* 5*d.* assigned to him. After chapel a state breakfast took place in the Bursary, though Betty Morley had stipulated that it should be 'in aula', attended by the Principal with the Warden of New College and Fellows of Brasenose in their gowns. The breakfast was of Gargantuan dimensions, and the College plate was lavishly displayed.

VIII

Some Lost Properties

The disappearance of college property is sometimes unaccountable. The first Bursars' Roll, that for 1515–16, opens with a list of the arrears due at Michaelmas, 1515. Two entries run as follows:—

'In manibus Hugonis Crishall pro Rectoria de Whethamsted . ix^{li}. x^{s}.
In manibus domini Cristoferi Fawkenor pro Capella de Harpeden xj^{li}. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.'

At this time, then, the Rectory of Whethamsted belonged to the College. I can find no record of Hugh Crishall. One

'Cressel' (or 'Cressey') took a Bachelor's degree from some college unknown in 1506;[1] but the use of 'Dominus' in the next entry, indicating a Bachelor, is adverse to his identification with Hugh Crishall. On the other hand, it would seem that he was in orders, for in the Bursars' Roll for 1522–3, after which his name ceases to appear, an allowance of 30*s.* is made to him 'pro semiterio ecclesie de Whetham(sted) et pro camera reservata vicario ibidem.' He was, therefore, the vicar put in by the College to serve the Church. He was also one of the farming clergy, a class of which there were loud complaints in the sixteenth century, and rented the Rector's glebe from the College. That his name was Cressey, rather than Crishall, is made probable by the fact that a family of the name of Cressey was resident at Harpenden, which is contiguous to Wheathamstead, from the reign of Edward IV to that of Elizabeth.[2]

Crishall's arrears of £9 10*s.*, due at Michaelmas, 1515, had increased to £21 3*s.* 4*d.* at Michaelmas, 1516. Assuming the rental to be a fixed one, it amounted to £11 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. The debt ran on year after year at the same sum, and, since it finally vanished upon the allowance already referred to, it may be charitably inferred that the lessee's indisposition to pay was due to a counter-claim contested by the College.

Among the muniments is a document belonging to the thirteenth century which suggests the origin of the possession by the College of these rectorial tithes. It is a deed of arbitration awarding half the corn tithes to the Rectory, then in the gift of the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Wheathamstead was, and half to the Abbey of Westminster.[3] The inference is that the bishop, who had the right of presentation,[4] had granted the Rectory with its tithes to the College, perhaps for life or lives.

Harpenden, as it is now called, or, as it appears in the Bursars' Rolls, 'Harpeden,' formed but one ecclesiastical

[1] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses.*

[2] J. E. Cussans, *Hist. of Hertfordshire* (1879), *Hundred of Dacorum*, pp. 351, 361.

[3] Wheathamstead, 1.

[4] *Liber Regis*, p. 516.

parish with Wheathamstead. The manor, which belonged to the Abbey of Westminster, was named Wheathamstead-cum-Harpenden. The tower of the chapel of St. Nicholas, the chapel mentioned in the Bursars' Rolls, dating from about 1470, yet remains, the rest of the chapel having been rebuilt.[1] The chapel must have been separately endowed, though in the *Liber Regis* it is included in Wheathamstead, and was presumably served by Fawkenor as vicar, who apparently refused to pay over the profits of the Rectory. The arrears are entered against him, year after year, for the same sum, the canonical prohibition of interest being observed. The last entry occurs in 1526–7, but the arrears columns in this volume (C) are so mutilated that it is possible that entries were subsequently made. In the next volume (D) from Michaelmas, 1529, to Michaelmas, 1533, the practice began with 1529–30 of entering the total outstanding arrears *en bloc*, and they are not specified among those carried over to the following year. It may perhaps be inferred that Fawkenor, whose name is not to be found among the graduates of Oxford, had been dispossessed prior to the Roll of 1515–16, which would account for the fact that the debt did not show an increase as in the case of sitting tenants in arrears. This solution is applicable to the case of Crishall, if it be supposed that he had ceased to farm the Rectory and remained simply serving the cure as vicar. In the *Liber Regis* the clear annual value of the Rectory of 'Wheathampsted *alias* Wethamsted' with the chapel of St. Nicholas, Harpenden, is set down at £42 1*s.* 10½*d.*: that of Steeple Aston at £16 2*s.* 8½*d.*

Year after year, following the two entries of arrears already commented upon, occurs the entry—

'In manibus Alexandri Cleder nuper Firmarii de Stepulaston viij^{li}. xv^{s}.'

which vanishes with them in 1529–30. In the *Valor* of 1547 Steeple Aston appears as having been let to William Parsons, presumably upon a beneficial lease, for a term of twenty-one years from March 25, 1529, nothing being said about the Rectory.

[1] Cussans, 359, 360.

Middlewich

Among the estates lost to the College was one at Middlewich, Cheshire, bought, as the Bursar's monograph tells us, with money given by John Claymond. From the Bursars' Rolls for 1543–4 and the *Valor* of 1547 the gross annual rent of this property was £6 9*s*. 7*d*., out of which quit-rents were due to three manors, of 5*s*. 8*d*., 4*s*., and 8*d*. respectively—a total of 10*s*. 4*d*. 'Rents decayed' are set down at 26*s*. 8*d*. The annual fee of the rent receiver is 9*s*. These items, amounting to 46*s*., leave a net income of £4 3*s*. 7*d*. The estate, as we learn from the pleadings in an action subsequently brought by the College, probably in the Court of Requests,[1] consisted of two wiche houses, twelve leades, and a tenement, meadow, and pasture of which the area is undefined. In 1543–4 the collector of the rents was John 'Bostok'. He was not infrequently in arrears: in 1546 he owed 53*s*. 4*d*., two years overdue.

In the pleadings of the lawsuit regarding this estate, the College set up the case that they claimed possession under a deed of feoffment by one William 'Bostocke', dated 31st January, 24 Henry VIII (1533); that they held the estate undisturbed for thirty years, but that about four years before the commencement of their suit, one Rauffe Bostocke, the defendant, entered and ejected them. This fixes 1567 as the date of the suit. The College and the defendant alike trace their title to one Robert Bostocke. According to the College, Robert Bostocke on 4th December, 9 Henry VIII (1517), enfeoffed John 'Fornbye', clerk, Bachelor of Divinity, William Bostocke, son and heir apparent of the feoffor, and Ralph Bostocke, Bachelor of Arts. This last feoffee we may identify with the Ralph Bostocke who took his Bachelor's degree on February 20, 1514, and his Master's in 1518, and was senior Bursar in 1526–7. John Fornbye or Fornby was, of course, one of the original Fellows. To William Bostocke the Principal's Register gives no clue. The bill of complaint of the College does not set this feoffment out, for it only complains of the forcible entry of Rauffe Bostocke. It occurs in the

[1] Muniments, Middlewich, 6, 7, 8, 9.

replication by way of rebutter to a title set up by the defendant in his answer.

The feoffment relied upon by the College to the two Fellows and William Bostocke was to the use of the feoffor Robert for life with remainder to the use of his right heirs. The right heir was the feoffee William Bostocke, and he, on 31st January, 24 Henry VIII (1533), enfeoffed the College.

So far the story is simple, but it is not the story told by the defendant. It is common ground that Robert Bostocke was legal owner, and both parties claim a feoffment by him. But the feoffment relied upon by Rauffe Bostocke is an alleged deed of 15 Henry VIII (1523), by which Robert Bostocke enfeoffed John Forneby, clerk, Rauffe Bostocke, M.A., Ranulph Vernon, clerk, Richard Davenporte, John Savile, and William Vernon. The first two are the feoffees of the deed set up by the plaintiffs. None of the other feoffees appears to have been a member of the College. All of them, except Savile and Forneby, bear Cheshire names. The uses to which they were feoffees were to the use of Robert Bostocke, the feoffor, for life, and, after provision for a daughter, to use of William Bostocke in tail male with remainder to use of Rauffe Bostocke, the clerical fellow of Brasenose, for life, remainder to use of another son, John Bostocke, in tail male. The intermediate interests having expired, the property is alleged by the defendant to have passed to himself as the son of John. He admits that his predecessors in title were only by 'protestacion seased', which means that the College, as alleged by it, was actually in possession. But the legal estate of the feoffees, according to him, had been extinguished by the Statute of Uses in 1535, which revested it in the feoffor, from whom it had descended to himself.

In answer to this, the College apparently set up that the defendant's deed of 1523 was a forgery. 'About foure yeares now past certen evydences dedes charters myniments and wrytinges concerninge the said Landes tenements & other the premysses haue casually come too the handes custodie and possession of one Rauffe Bostocke gentleman whoe by colour of havyng of the said evydences &c. hathe caused

& procured dyvers & sundry secret & feyned estate & conveyance &c. be made of and in the premises.' Fortified with these, Ralph Bostocke had made a forcible entry into possession and had ejected the College. The story, as thus told, at any rate exculpates Ralph Bostocke the Bursar from the traditional imputation that he dishonestly deprived the College of its property. It may, of course, be the case that the defendant obtained the title-deeds on which he manufactured a fraudulent claim, assuming it to have been so, from papers which had once been in his uncle's possession. The Bursar, according to the Principal's Register, died about 1530.

It is extremely unfortunate that the judgement has not been preserved; but that it went against the College is to be inferred from the fact that the estate was never recovered. In the absence of the evidence and of the judgement, conjecture is worth very little. The defendant, however, can only have established his title by proving a legal flaw in the feoffment of 1533, and it may be that it was held that William Bostocke, being then but a beneficial owner, could not enfeoff in fee, that deed being prior to the Statute of Uses. There are, however, other recondite legal points connected with the feoffment of 1517 which, in the absence of further light, it were profitless to discuss here.[1]

[1] What makes this case still more puzzling is that in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. 2115. 13. 60, is an 'Abstract of a Fine touching certain lands and houses in and about Middel Wyche sold by William Bostock to the Principal and Scholars of the Hall and College of Brasenose in Oxford, 1 Aug. 30 Henry VIII (1538).' The parcels set out are 7 messuages 2 acres of land one barn with 2 "cotagiis Salsariis vocatis Wyche howses" infra villam campos et parochiam de Medio Wico,' &c. This suggests that the College having no title-deeds or other conveyance, did not even know of what its property consisted, it being, as the Rolls show, managed by a local agent. His name was John Bostok, and he was paid a regular fee of 9*s.* a year, being a fraction over 7 per cent. of the rent of £6 9*s.* 7*d.* received by him. B. R., vol. H. f. 7 (1543–4) and *Valor* (1547). This is the person, not the Bursar, who may have played the College false, and been the father of the defendant. The words 'cotagia salsaria' suggest that Salesurrey Hall was really 'Salsary' (or Salt) Hall. The old English pronunciation of Salisyrry, as it is spelt in 1392 (Mr. Madan's Monograph I, p. 12), would be indistinguishable from 'Salsary'. That side of School Street was frequented by 'Northerners', and a group from the salt district of the Wyches may well have given the name to their hall of 'Aula Salsaria'.

Ascot d'Oyly

Another property, the acquisition of which involved the College in a lawsuit,[1] was a small holding at Ascot d'Oyly, consisting of two messuages and two virgates or yard-lands. This the College bought on 10th July, 25 Henry VIII (1533), for twenty marks (£13 6*s*. 8*d*.) from George Smythe or Smyth of Alderbury. For some years it appears to have enjoyed quiet possession, but in June, 1540, Principal Matthew Smyth was summoned to appear in the Court of Requests to defend his title. The claimant was Anne Abley, as the records of the Court spell it, or Abbey, as it appears in the muniments of the College. The pleadings have not all been preserved, notably the bill of complaint; but those which have survived, and the examinations of the witnesses, enable us to piece the story together. The property had belonged, about the year 1515, to one John Smythe, who had sold it to a certain Elis Shephard. After three years Shephard had died, leaving a widow, Elyn Shephard, and a daughter Clemens. The widow let it to Richard Peasley, and, after remaining a widow for five years, married John Barry, to whom it then passed, Peasley continuing tenant. After seven years of her second marriage Elyn Shephard died. This carries us down to 1530, when George Smythe entered by force, as cousin and heir of John Smythe, and upon his ejection by Peasley brought an action against him for forcible entry in 1531, in which he appears to have been successful. There were now two claimants, George Smythe and Clemens Shephard, to whom her father, presumably by a feoffment to trustees to the use of his will, since his death occurred before the Statute of Wills (1540), is said to have devised it. Clemens Shephard married William Abbey or Abley, and died leaving a daughter Anne, the plaintiff in this case.

The case for the plaintiff rested on two propositions, first that John Smythe's feoffment was unimpeachable, secondly, that the College took through George Smythe and that he had no title, not being the right heir to John Smythe. This last contention there was very little evidence to support, while

[1] Muniments, Ascot d'Oyley.

that on the subject of the feoffment by John Smythe was contradicted. According to the College, John Smythe was between seventeen and nineteen years of age when he professed to execute the feoffment. The feoffment was, therefore, invalid, and George Smythe being the feoffor's heir, his conveyance to the College was good. The weight of evidence, on the whole, though there was much conflict, appears to be in favour of the contention of the plaintiff that John Smythe was of age at the time of the sale by him to her grandfather. The case dragged on in the Court of Requests, postponed term after term, from June, 1540, to February, 1544, a proof of the crowded state of its cause list. It resulted in a compromise. The plaintiff was bound over to make a good title to the College on attaining the age of twenty-one, the College to pay her £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, which may be supposed to be something more than the costs of the suit in the 'Court of Poor Men's Causes'.[1] Although the property consisted, as is recited in the judgement of the Court, of two messuages, it must have been let as one holding, for their rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* is described in the *Valor* of 1547 as 'firma vnius tenementi dimissi Johanni Mynchyn'.

IX

The Bursars' Rolls

The intended number of Fellows was, as has been seen from the Statutes, twelve, but it is doubtful, in Churton's opinion, 'whether the number actually appointed by the Founders exceeded five or six at most.'[2] As enumerated by him, the original Fellows were John Haster, John Fornby, Richard Messenger, and John Legh. Some of these are mentioned elsewhere. The meagre details which have survived as to the others are collected in Principal Heberden's *Register*. It may, however, be doubted whether Churton's statement is correct, for as early as the Bursars' Roll for 1516–17 (A. 7) the record of the deposit of money in the

[1] The interlocutory proceedings and the judgement are to be found in vol. 7 of the Order Books of the Court of Requests in the Public Record Office, the judgement being on p. 188.

[2] *Lives*, pp. 301, 302.

chest in presence of the six Seniors implies that there were junior Fellows as well. In addition to the four already mentioned, Churton gives six others who were engaged in the business of the College, as Fellows, during its early years. Of these some also appear in these pages. They are Richard Shirwood, Richard Gunston, Simon Starkey, Richard Ridge, Hugh Charnock, and Ralph Bostock.

Another mention of the 'six Seniors' is to be found in the following entry for 1521–2 (B. R., vol. A. f. 22):—

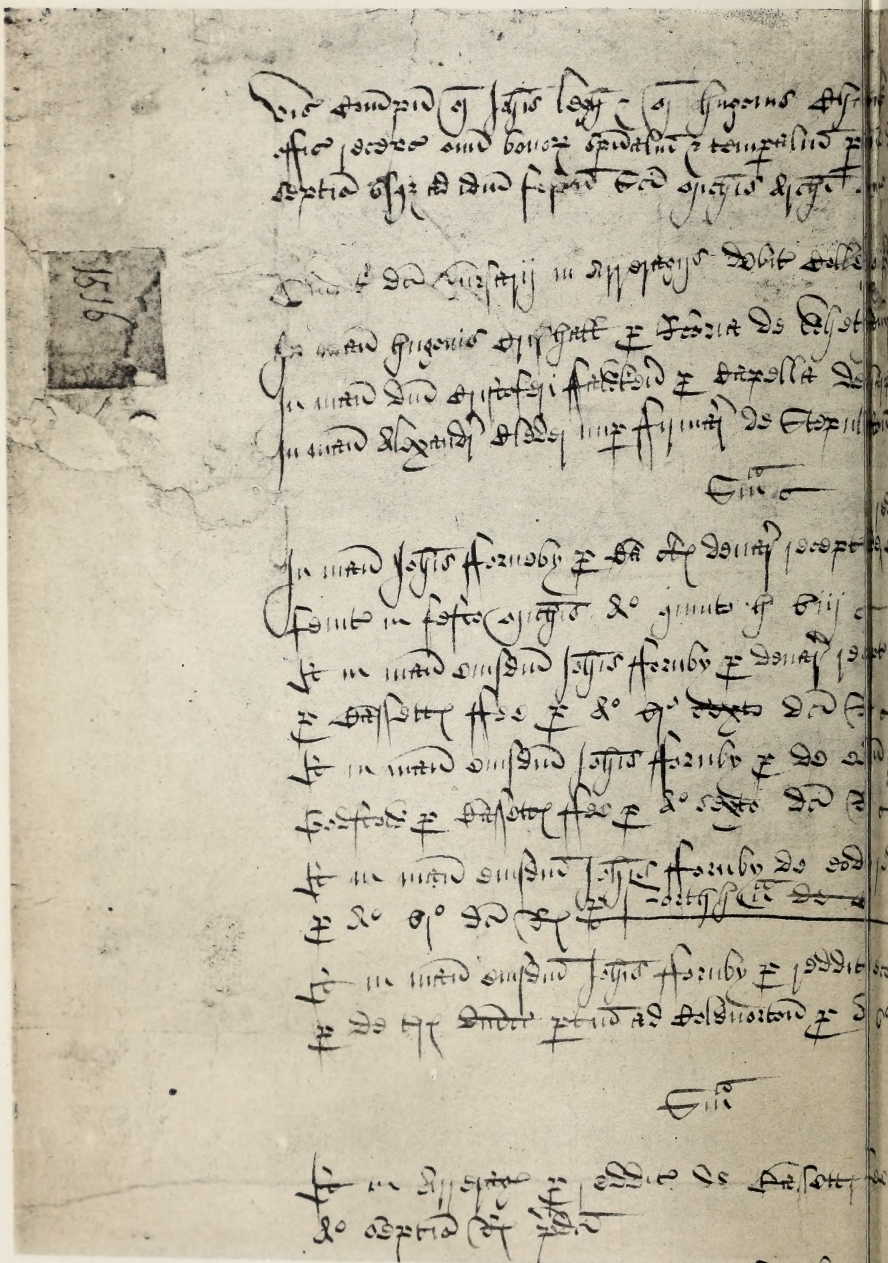
'Et solutum pro communiis sex sociorum per spacium quinque septimanarum tempore pestis . . . . . xxv^{s}.'

This is interesting because it shows that the allowance for each Fellow during his absence from Oxford was at this time approximately 8*d.* a week, whereas in the *Valor* the weekly commons of each are estimated at 14*d.*, a difference doubtless due to the high prices of 1545. But it also shows that, if the statute was observed, by which it was provided that at least four Fellows were to be left in Oxford, should there be an emigration in time of plague, there must have been ten Fellows at least. But again, in the Roll for 1524–5 is an entry (B. f. 18):—

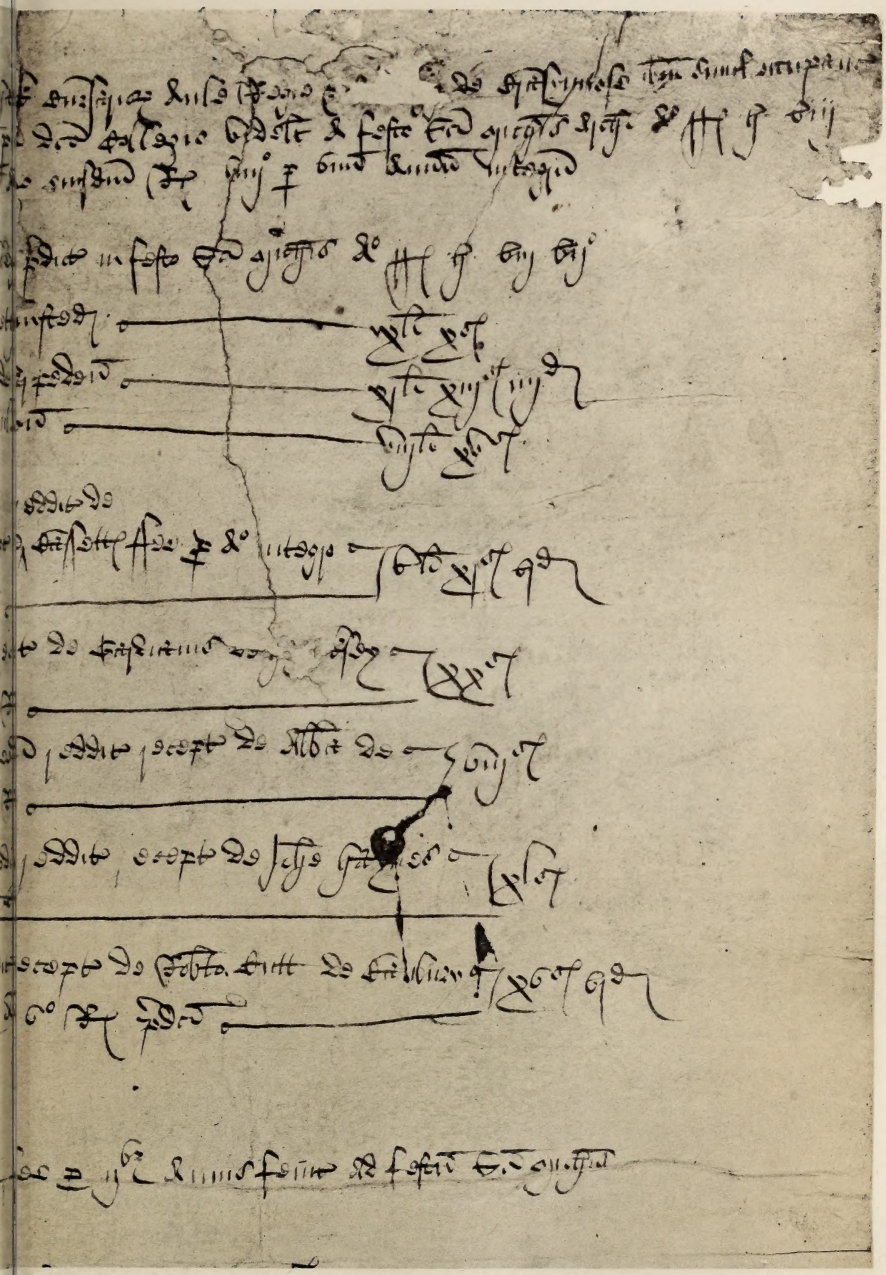
'Et solutum pro communiis magistri Principalis et septem Sociorum pro vno anno integro. anno xvij Regis Henrici VIII. xij^{li}. xvij^{s}. viij^{d}. ob.'

As vacancies were to be filled up within 40 days, the entry clearly makes for no more than seven Fellows. On the other hand, it must be remembered that in circumstances of financial exigency, Fellowships might, with the sanction of the Visitor, be temporarily suppressed. In the *Valor* of 1547 the Fellows number fourteen.

Readers of the Monograph upon Benefactors will note the rapidity with which endowments poured in upon the College. While ancient foundations, like University and Balliol, were maintaining a bare struggle for existence, Brasenose early bid fair to become a prosperous College. It was no series of fortunate accidents. In the academic world Brasenose was the expiring cry of the Middle Ages. It appealed to a large and influential body of orthodox and conservative opinion, and it was because it was representative of a cause that, with



First part of the earliest



ursars' Roll, A.D. 1516

no powerful minister, such as Wolsey, as its patron, and with nothing but a complimentary association with royalty, benefactors crowded to enrich it. Such of them as bestowed estates are recorded in the Bursar's Monograph. There are however, others who are now disinterred from the Bursars' Rolls, whose donations were in ready money. The earliest of those of whom a record has survived is Sir Thomas Blount, who in the Roll for 1515–16 is entered as the donor of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*[1] Little is known about him, but that little identifies him with the Lancastrian and clerical party, for he was knighted by Henry VII after the battle of Stoke.[2] His executors handed over £5 as a gift to the College in 1525.[3]

Another benefactor, Sir John Husy, may stand as an example of the class who came forward with their support. In 1517 he first appears as a benefactor with a gift of £13 6*s.* 8*d.*[4] (40 nobles). He was the eldest son of Sir William Husy, or Hussy—the name is spelt in a variety of ways—Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Henry VII. Sir John was sworn a member of Henry VIII's Privy Council, and in 1529 was created Lord Hussy. But he belonged to the Conservative and clerical party, was an adversary of the 'new learning', and in 1537 was executed for complicity in the Lincolnshire rising against Henry VIII's religious changes. His donation of 1517 was followed in the following year by one of £10,[5] in 1524 by one of 40*s.*,[6] and in 1527 by another

[1] Churton, *Lives*, p. 444 n. a, has printed the name 'John' and records that he has not ascertained who this person was. But the name both in the Roll A. f. 6 and in the Plate Book is perfectly legible, so that Churton probably made a mistake in his notes.

[2] Sir Thomas Blount, of Kynlet, Salop, lord of the manors of Astall and Astallyngley, co. Oxon. (Inq. post mortem Henry VII, p. 932, 20 April, Henry VII (1494)), and landowner in Staffordshire (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, IV. 2002, 10) was knighted on the field after the battle of Stoke by Henry VII on 16 June, 1487 (W. C. Metcalfe, *Book of Knights* (1885), p. 16). He accompanied Henry VIII in his invasion of France and on landing was made a knight banneret (16 June, 1513, *L. & P.*, I. 4253). On 7 November, 1518, he was appointed Sheriff of Salop (ibid., II. 4562), for which county he was from 1510 continuously on the commission of the peace. He was a commissioner of subsidy for Salop in 1525 (ibid., III, p. 1363) and died about the end of 1525 (ibid., IV. 2002, 10).

[3] B. R., vol. B. f. 13.

[4] B. R., vol. H. f. 6.

[5] Ibid., f. 9.

[6] B. R., vol. B. f. 3.

of £5.[1] A still more constant giver was John Colyngryge. In the Bursars' Roll for Michaelmas, 1529,[2] occurs the following entry :—

'Onerantur dicti Bursarii de pecuniis per ipsos receptis de John Colyngryge de Lincoln gent. vt de Forensecis. iiij li. vijs vjd.'

From this time forth until the year of his death he made an annual payment to the College varying in amount. It is always described as 'money' ('de pecuniis') and entered, like other casual gifts, 'vt de forensecis.' The average sums were £7.[3] He died in 1540.[4] In 1543–4 the entry runs :—

'Pro terris in Comitatu Lincoln modo in tenura: Margerie Colynryg vidue vijli.'

In that year, too, occurs for the first time the entry of £26 4*s*. 6*d*. as the receipts from lands and tenements in Sutton, Skegnes, Wynthrop, and Borowe, Lincolnshire,[5] an estate acquired from William Smyth, Archdeacon of Lincoln, in 1524. This estate had been leased to the College by the Archdeacon for seven years at £20 a year in 1524, a deed of release being executed on October 12, the same year. Nevertheless, livery of seisin, requisite to transfer formal possession, did not take place until 1528, apparently a few months before the Archdeacon's death. The feoffees were then Simon Sterky and John Hawarden, the two Bursars, and it was not until 1536 that John Hawarden, presumably as the survivor, quit-claimed all his interest to the College. The conclusion seems to be that a charge existed upon the estate in favour of John Colyngryge which absorbed the greater part of its revenues, roughly £19 out of £26,[6] and that after his death, part of the land was held by the widow in dower or

[1] B. R., vol. C. f. 4.

[2] B. R., vol. C. f. 17. [3] B. R., vol. D. ff. 3, 9, 15, 21.

[4] Churton, *Lives*, p. 397, gives his epitaph 'obiit vicesimo tertio die mensis Novembris anno Domini M°ccccxlii, anno regni regis Henrici octavi tricesimo secundo', in which there is clearly a blunder, as the regnal year shows, for 1540, after which date his wife is described in the Rolls as 'widow'.

[5] B. R., vol. H. f. 2.

[6] In 1524 the Bursars acknowledge receipt of £6 13*s*. 4*d*. from the Archdeacon 'ut de forensecis', which points in the same direction: vol. B. f. 2.

leased to her by the College. It is somewhat melancholy reading to find in the Bursars' Rolls for 1545–6:[1]

'Et in arreragiis super Margeriam Collyngryng[2] pro terris et tenementis nostris in Skegnes et Sutton in Comitatu Lincoln pro anno xxxviij dicti Regis. xx^{s}. iiij^{d}.'

The College might well deal generously, as it doubtless did, with Margery Colyngryge. She was born Margery Smyth, and was a great-niece of the Founder. Her husband was an example of the class which were rallying to the College as the bulwark against innovations in the Church, being principal verger and constable of the Cathedral of Lincoln. William Clayton, gentleman, of whom nothing is known, except that in the Plate Book he is recorded as the depositary in 1523 of £3, is entered in the Roll of the following year as the payer of that amount,[3] which suggests that he had entered into a bond for its payment, treated by the Bursars as a debt to the College, which he then discharged. On the same leaf occurs the following entry:—

'Onerantur dicti Bursarii de pecuniis per ipsos receptis de magistro Ricardo Sutton milite ad edificacionem cuiusdam muri vt de forensecis. v^{li}.'

Presumably this wall was a part of the College. There was another building transaction with Sutton. On July 15, 23 Henry VII (1508), Sutton conveyed to trustees enfeoffed to the uses of his will, *inter alia*, 'tenementa mea in Comitatu Middlesex.'[4] The principal part of these was 'a messuage called the White Hart in the parish of St. Mary in the Strand'.[5] This was conveyed to the College by lease dated July 18, 11 Henry VIII (1519), followed by a release on November 29. Nevertheless, the inn was, apparently, in a ruinous state, and Sutton compelled the College to pay him for the rebuilding of it. In the Roll for 1520–1 occurs the following entry:[6]—

'Et solutum ad manus magistri Ricardi Sutton pro edificacione vnius domus apud Strond in London vocate the Sygne of the Hert xxx^{li}.'

[1] vol. J. f. 13. [2] *Sic.* [3] B. f. 3.
[4] Principal Yate's Register, f. 97. [5] Churton, pp. 421–2.
[6] A. f. 17.

In the Roll for 1523–4, the house is christened 'the Whyte Hert'. It would be interesting to know whether this sign, a badge of the Yorkist party, to which his will indicates that Sutton belonged, was conferred by himself. It was on the north side of the Strand, and was built over a passage leading to Covent Garden.[1] Its rent was £5 a year, so that on the £30 expended in its building the College obtained, for interest and depreciation, £16 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent.

This agreement, by which the College paid towards a benefaction from Sutton, is paralleled by another such arrangement which appears from the Rolls. Sutton enjoys the credit[2] of having presented the College with an estate at Garsington and Cowley. The Bursars' Rolls disclose that the College contributed to its acquisition out of its own resources. It had been sold to Sutton by William Cotton, a priest, in 1522, for £46. The vendor covenanted that it was worth 50*s.* 'and some pens value over and above the yearly charge.'[3] As a matter of fact, the rent received from it in 1523–4 and afterwards was 49*s.* 4*d.*[4] By a receipt of 13 July, 22 Henry VIII (1530), 'William Coton of Oxford clerk' acknowledges the receipt from Sutton of £20 'in full satisfaction for all lands, &c., lying in Garsyngton and Cowley'. But this was an unpaid balance. The College had been paying for it by instalments. In the Roll for 1523–4 we read:

'Et solutum Willelmo Coton clerico in parte solucionis cuiusdam summe pro diuersis terris ab ipso perquisitis in Garsyngton et Cowley vl^li.'[5]

Another instalment of 40*s.* was paid by the College the year following.[6] In the Roll for 1529–30[7] is entered:

'Et etiam solutum executori Willelmi Coton clerici in plenam solucionem cuiusdam summi[8] debiti ad Willelmum pro terris ab ipso perquisitis jacentibus in Garsyngton et Cowley xxvj^s. viij^d.'[9]

The College, therefore, was not altogether a recipient, in this case, of Sutton's liberality, but was a joint purchaser with him.

[1] See further, Monograph VI, p. 15. [2] Monograph VI, p. 15.
[3] Garsyngdon, 41. [4] B. R., vol. B. f. 3. [5] Ibid., f. 9.
[6] Ibid., f. 19. [7] Ibid., D. f. 6. [8] *Sic.* [9] B. R., D. f. 6.

There were, however, sums acknowledged by the Bursars as gifts ('ut de forensecis'), upon which the suspicion arises that this form of entry was adopted in order to cloak the ownership of the College, presumably by way of keeping well within the limits of the licence in mortmain granted by the Charter. For example, in the Roll of 1523–4[1] the Bursars enter:

'Iidem Bursarii[2] onerantur de pecuniis per ipsos receptis pro certis terris et tenementis in Stanlake vt de forensecis xxxi^{s}. viij^{d}.'

Now we know that on 14 June, 16 Henry VIII (1524), Philip Fettiplace esquire bargained and sold 3 messuages, 100 acres of arable land, 100 acres of pasture, and 20 acres of meadow in Stanlake and Brightwalton, Oxfordshire, to Simon Sterky, afterwards, and perhaps at that time, Bursar.[3] This only conveyed an equitable interest, and, probably in order to guard against any dishonest claim by Sterky, Fettiplace on 16 June, two days later, granted the legal estate to Richard Rugg, who may be identified with Richard Ridge or Rydge, Junior Bursar in 1526–7, and Hugh Charnock, Junior Bursar in 1515–16, Simon Sterky remaining the beneficial owner.[4] On 21 October, 21 Henry VIII (1529), Sterky conveyed his equitable estate to John Baker, alias John Elton, canon of Sarum, who on 10 November following conveyed it to Principal Matthew Smyth.[5]

It is not easy to say why this roundabout method of conveyance was adopted. But one thing is certain. In 1524 Sterky was holding the equitable estate as trustee for the College, while the legal estate was vested in two more of its Fellows. Technically, the 31*s*. 7*d*. may have been 'de forensecis'; substantially the land was already the property of the College.[6]

[1] Vol. B. f. 3.

[2] The heading of this roll (B. f. 1) giving the Bursars' names is mutilated.

[3] Stanlake, 6. [4] Ibid., 12. [5] Ibid., 13.

[6] The same system was pursued when the College first acquired land at Longford and Twygworth, Gloucestershire (B. R., vol. C. f. 16). In the case of the Herefordshire estate, of which the College apparently acquired both the equitable and legal estate in 1531, the rent returned 'vt de forensecis' is £6 13*s*. 4*d*. (ib., D. f. 9),

There appears to have been another way in which benefactions were granted to the College, if inferences from the Bursars' Rolls are to be relied upon. In distant parts of the country, as the experience of the Bursars showed, there was a difficulty in getting in rents. For a corporation with considerable estates this difficulty could be surmounted by the employment of professional rent-collectors, though these, as in the case of the Leicestershire agents of the College, were by no means always to be trusted. It may very well have been that private landowners, with small estates at considerable distances, found the expense of collection scarcely repaid by the rents collected. This may explain what appears to be the occasional assignment of small sums of rent to the College. For instance, in 1528–9 occurs the following entry[1]:—

'Iidem Bursarii onerantur de pecuniis per ipsos receptis pro certis terris et tenementis in Massyngton in parochia de Ledbury in Comitatu Herford vt de Forensecis. xx^{s}.[2]

A like receipt, and for the same amount, appears in a mutilated entry in the Roll for 1523–4,[3] from land at Little Compton, Gloucestershire. As the College never held land at either of the above places and these remain isolated receipts, the inference is that they were benefactions.

Occasional entries are also to be found pointing to the ownership of an estate in places of which no other record remains. Two of these occur in the Roll for 1532–3.[4]

'Et solutum eciam Curie de Radley pro tenemento xv^{d}. Bakers.'
'Et similiter solutum Curie de Horton pro Smyths howse. iiij^{s} iiij^{d}.'

Both of these are, presumably, copyhold tenements; but the name of neither of them has occurred before, nor have

whereas, as the Roll for 1531–2 shows, the whole rent was £13 13*s*. 4*d*. (B. R., vol. D. f. 15). But that is still entered 'vt de forensecis', a form dropped later.

[1] B. R., vol. D. f. 17.

[2] The same sum is acknowledged as received in 1530–1 'pro certis terris et tenementis in Alkeryng in parochia de Ledbury', but 'vt de forensecis' is not added. I can find no other reference to this place. Qu. whether this is a mistake, made by a clerk writing from dictation, for Massyngton; ibid., vol. D. f. 9.

[3] Ibid., vol. B. f. 3.

[4] B. R., vol. D. f. 25.

I come upon them elsewhere, nor is any document affecting them to be found among the College muniments.

Among the receipts of the College occur from time to time entries, of which the earliest (1524) follows:—

'Onerantur dicti Bursarii de reddit. scolar. vt de forens. ix^{s} iiij^{d}.'[1]

I have transcribed the entry without extension, so as not to prejudge the interpretation of 'scolar'. In the year following the amount is 6*s.* 2*d.*[2] It appears again in 1528–9 as vij^{s} iiij^{d}.[3] In 1530–1 the entry is made, but a blank left for the amount.[4] There is no such entry in many of the Rolls, notably not in that of 1545–6, nor in the *Valor* of 1535 nor 1547.

The first question to decide is, should 'scolar' be extended to 'scolarum' or 'scolarium'? There are difficulties in the way of either alternative. If 'scolarum', could these have been rents from the Halls in Schools Street, also sometimes called 'Schools', rented by the College from Osney Abbey, &c.? The answer to this is that these were apparently let to graduates, being outside the College walls. Note has elsewhere been taken of the 'Camera Rogeri Dyngley doctoris infra Aulam vocatam litill Edmund Hall', for which he paid 6*s.* 8*d.*[5] The *Valor* of 1547 preserves a discreet reticence as to these sources of income, affirming that the rent of the site of the College 'cum omnibus domibus edificiis ortis pomariis gardinis ac terris et solo infra scitum et circuitum dicti Collegii' brings in nothing because it is reserved for the use of the Principal and Scholars. This may have been literally true, but in the Rolls for 1545–6 are four entries 'pro camera in tenura', &c. One of these discloses the place of the chamber as being 'in aula nigra in tenura Magistri Smyth',[7] its rent being 20*s.* The rents of two others, let to

[1] B. R., vol. B. f. 3. [2] Ibid., f. 19. [3] C. f. 17.
[4] D. f. 3. [5] C. f. 3. [6] J. f. 12.

[7] If this was Matthew Smyth, Junior Bursar, 1537–9, either Black Hall, though on the opposite side of Schools Street, was reckoned as within the College while the College was in building, or a dispensation for living outside must have been obtained from the Visitor. But these difficulties and the commonness of the name suggest that the tenant was probably not a Fellow, nor need he have been a member of Brasenose at all, as appears to have been the case with Dyngley.

two Masters of Arts, Caple[1] and Vernam,[2] are 8*s*. each, and that of the third, let to a Bachelor ('in tenura domini gode') is 4*s*.[3] The conclusion therefore is, that 'scolarum' is not the word intended. But, if 'scolarium', who are these scholars who return a redditus? By Sutton's *Statutes*, chapter viii, every Scholar was to be entitled to chamber, lectures, washing, hair-dressing, and the services of manciple and cook at the expense of the College.[4] It does not, however, appear that the two Scholar-Fellows founded by John Williamson in 1520 were privileged. We know that they were entitled, not to full commons, but to a contribution towards the cost of their commons.[5] And as 1524, the year of the first of these entries, is the year in which one of them is first recorded as in residence,[6] it may perhaps be taken that these sums represent the rents paid by them for rooms.[7] As the revenues of the College increased, it may be supposed that, without too nice a scrutiny of the funds of the benefaction, they, like the rest, were allowed rooms rent free, as the *Valor* affirms.

The difficulty of getting rents from a distance has been mentioned. Of this the Leicestershire property of the College furnishes the most conspicuous instance. On August 8, 1524, the College, which had been lessees, became by a benefaction of Sutton, owners in fee of lands in Borow, Pickwell and Somerby, Leicestershire. Their rent-collector, Christopher Berdaw, is entered in the Roll for Michaelmas of that year as in arrears with the rents 19*s*. 1½*d*.[8] A bailiff named Henry Gyllot was put in his place, with the lamentable result that at Michaelmas, 1525, he was £16 11*s*. 7*d*. in arrears,[9] which had increased by Michaelmas, 1526, to £30 11*s*. 9*d*.,

[1] Of Brasenose, B.A. 1539. Principal's Register, p. 8.

[2] Qu. Whether this could have been Thomas Vernam, who only took his B.A. degree on Feb. 17, 1545, Princ. Reg., p. 11.

[3] Apparently not a member of Brasenose. [4] Monograph IV, p. 9.

[5] B. R., vol. B. f. 18, amounting in 1524–5 to £3 2*s*. 6*d*. 'pro communiis domini Peke et Johannis Port, scolarium Johannis Wylliamson'.

[6] B. R., vol. B. f. 8.

[7] This solution still leaves the difficulty why the rent being 9*s*. 4*d*. in 1523–4 should fall to 6*s*. in 1524–5, unless it was that the rents were reduced in that year owing to the absence of the Scholars from Oxford on account of plague.

[8] B. R., vol. B. f. 6. [9] Ibid., f. 22.

Berdaw's debt being still unpaid and the total amounting to £31 10*s.* 10½*d.*[1] The property had also been neglected, for between 1525 and 1528 £11 13*s.* 11*d.* had to be spent on repairs.[2] In the course of the year 1526–7 some change was made. The arrears were reduced to £22 3*s.* 6*d.* and rents were received to the amount of £10 11*s.* 9½*d.*,[3] at which they continued until the *Valor* of 1547, when they unaccountably fell to £9 13*s.* 4*d.*

Other rent-collectors are mentioned; notably Henry Rathbone, who was in the service of the College in 1516,[4] and still in 1546.[5] He was retained at a salary of 26*s.* 8*d.* and expenses 'in equitando circa negocia Collegii',[6] which in 1516–17 amounted to 27*s.* 4*d.* Walter Pates was employed for the Gloucestershire property in 1543–4 at the salary of 13*s.* 4*d.* (one mark).[7] Even as near Oxford as Cropredy, Richard Lumbard collected the rents for 3*s.* 4*d.* (half a noble).[8] An accountant ('clericus computi') is first mentioned in the Roll for 1522–3, but his salary does not appear, it forming part of the general expenses of the audit, which included 'light refreshments', to judge by the costs.[9] The entry in that year runs:—

'Et solutum per manus Bursarii pro expensis Clerici Computi et aliorum extraneorum ac amicorum et Firmariorum tempore computi v^s.'[10]

In 1532 we first hear of the College solicitor:

'Et solutum Michaeli Ashfield Solicitori pro Collegio pro Feodo suo xxvj^s. viij^d.'[11]

By 1546 he has blossomed into 'Johanni Hunt generoso Solicitario nostro'.[12]

Horses were a necessity, and the College accordingly kept a stable and a groom. 'Custodi equorum xxvj^s'[13] is the entry

[1] B. R., vol. C. f. 5.
[2] Ibid., vol. C. f. 13.
[3] Ibid., ff. 3, 5.
[4] Ibid., vol. A. f. 3.
[5] Ibid., vol. J. f. 16.
[6] Ibid., vol. A. f. 7.
[7] Ibid., vol. H. f. 7.
[8] In 1525–6, B. R., vol. B. f. 23.
[9] Ibid., vol. A. f. 26.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., vol. D. f. 20.
[12] Ibid., J. f. 16.
[13] The statutory stipend of the Vice-Principal was 26/8, but he had his rooms, allowances, and Commons as a Fellow, the last being estimated in the *Valor* at 2*d.* a day.

in the *Valor*. How many horses there were is not very clear. In the earlier years, it would seem, only one, for an entry in the Roll for 1527–8 runs:

'Et eciam solutum pro expensis necessariis ad equum Collegii xv^{s}. ob.'[1]

But in 1530–1 more were bought, for we find:

'Et solutum pro necessariis ad equum Collegii et pro empcione' equorum xlix^{s}. vi^{d}.'[2]

Unfortunately, we do not learn how many horses were represented by the plural.

A new horse and his keep are set down in the Roll for 1531–2[3] as costing 20*s*. 0¾*d*. The account can only represent a fraction of a year, and even then both horse and fodder must have been very cheap, for Rogers comes to the conclusion that before 1537 'the price of a good saddle horse ranged from 35*s*. to 45*s*.', after which it rapidly increased.[4] Was this the horse which the College got well rid of in the following year for 14*s*. 'pro vendicione vnius equi vt de forensecis'?[5] Why it should be recorded in this form is not apparent, but the entry suggests a gift-horse which had been looked in the mouth! It was a better bargain, at any rate, than that made in 1534, when the College parted with two for 18*s*.[6] In the Roll for 1542[7] the purchase of a horse and the keep of a horse, the two items being lumped together, cost £4 5*s*. 8*d*.; but two years later more than one horse was permanently kept, 'pro necessariis ad equos Collegii,' costing £4 4*s*. 10*d*.[8]

This raises the question: What was the cost of a horse's keep? Where this is separately entered 'ad equum', we have the following figures:

[1] B. R., C. f. 19. [2] Ibid., D. f. 13. [4] Ibid., f. 20.

[4] *Hist. Agr. and Prices*, iii. 336. On 8 March, 154⅝, Cuthbert Underwode sued (Roger) Ogle, 'Scholar' (Fellow) of Brasenose, for four nobles (26*s*. 8*d*.), the price of a horse. Dr. (John) Standishe (Principal's Register, p. 4) and Mr. Pembleton (ibid., Henry Pembleton) became sureties for the payment. *Reg. Cur. Cancell. G. G.* (A. Clark).

[5] B. R., vol. D. f. 22. [6] B. R., vol. E. f. 2.

[7] Ibid., vol. G. f. 25. [8] Ibid., H. f. 7.

Year.	*Reference.*	*Cost of keep.* s.	d.
1525–6	B. f. 26	17	0
1526–7	C. f. 9	13	$3\frac{1}{2}$
1527–8	C. f. 14	15	$0\frac{1}{2}$
1528–9	C. f. 23	16	8
1532–3	D. f. 26	20	8

At this rate, the entry for 1543–4 of £4 4*s.* 10*d.* would imply four horses. But the *Valor* of 1547 specifies two. Now the price of oats a quarter was 2*s.* $9\frac{1}{2}$*d.* in 1533 and 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1544.[1] It is impossible, therefore, that oats could have been the staple of their diet, if indeed they formed any appreciable part of it. In modern times the quantity of oats allowed by Government for officers' horses is 12 lb. a day. Taking that as an average of consumption, the keep of a horse when oats were at 3*s.* a quarter would amount to £24 a year. It follows that the College horses must have been sorry jades, fed on hay and grass.

From the keep of horses we may pass to that of men. The average cost of this is set out in the *Valor* of 1547. The College and its staff at that time consisted of a Principal, fourteen Fellows, seven Scholars, and eight servants. The allowance for the Principal and Fellows was 2*d.* per head per diem, supplemented in the course of the year by 4*s.* 8*d.* per head on occasion of various anniversaries, and by 26*s.* 8*d.* per head on those of the Founders. These figures enable us to ascertain approximately that much-vexed question—the number of Fellows at various times. Added together, the cost of subsistence and the allowances come out as follows:—

	Cost per annum and allowances. £	s.	d.
Principal's Table	3	15	4
Vice-Principal and thirteen Fellows[2] . .	45	14	8
Augmentations	1	6	8
Total cost of Principal and fourteen Fellows[2]	£50	16	8

[1] Rogers, iv. 288.

[2] So in the summary of the *Valor*; in the first entry fourteen, which is a blunder by reason of the additions of the Vice-Principal, who was necessarily a Fellow.

This works out at an expenditure of £3 7*s*. 9*d*. (= 813*d*.)[1] per head per annum. A division of the cost of the subsistence of the Principal and Fellows taken together by the cost per head would not, however, give an accurate result, because two months' leave of absence from College was allowed to each Fellow and three months to the Principal during the year. This would give a maximum of twenty-eight months' absence for the fourteen Fellows, and three months for the Principal—a total of thirty-one months. But this calculation is complicated by the provision of the statutes that, except in time of plague, when the number might be reduced to four, six Fellows must always be in College. Further, it will be remembered that the statutes open with a declaration that Brasenose was to be 'unum perpetuum Collegium pauperum et indigentium scolarium'. Travelling was expensive. It could only be done on foot or on horseback, and the Fellows without any stipend and with no allowance for commons when at home in the country were not likely to be in the condition to afford even the hire of a horse. If that thirty-one months be reduced to twenty-four months, as the total number of months during which the entire governing body of fifteen members was absent from College in the course of the year, we shall probably be well within the mark. Twenty-four months' board would be the board of two Fellows for a year. To ascertain approximately the number of Fellows, therefore, we should have to add two to the quotient resulting from dividing the total cost of commons by the fixed rate of cost per head. If the total number of months of absence in a year were underestimated, the number of Fellows would probably be greater; if over-estimated, less.

This method of arriving at the number of Fellows must, however, be tested by the one case in which our information is clear and detailed, the *Valor* of 1547. The total cost of subsistence of the Principal, Vice-Principal, and thirteen Fellows is set down at £50 16*s*. 8*d*. No deduction, therefore, is made for absences, showing that the sum expended is an

[1] I have omitted the fraction of $\frac{1}{3}d$.

estimated, not an actual, total. Since the *Valor* states the actual number of Fellows, they must have fared better, owing to the uncounted absences, than would appear on the face of the figures.

I incline, however, to the belief that some allowance must be made for the circumstances under which the *Valor* was taken. The confiscation, at least of the superfluous wealth of the Colleges, was in the expectations of the greedy courtiers, already, as Henry VIII expressed it, 'fleshed with the Abbey lands.' The College succeeded in exhibiting a deficit, and I cannot doubt that the method of reckoning the Principal and all the Fellows as continuously resident between Michaelmas, 1545, and Michaelmas, 1546, was adopted in order to contribute to this result. If this were not so, and the total cost of subsistence of the Principal and Fellows for each year were divided by 813, without any margin, such as has been suggested, for absences, results would be obtained which we can be morally certain are incorrect. For example, in 1525–6 there would not be more than the Principal and four Fellows in all, and yet, as early as 1516–17, the Bursars' Rolls record the deposit of a balance in the chest 'in presencia principalis et sex seniorum tunc presentium'.[1] I revert, therefore, in dealing with years prior to 1545–6, on which the *Valor* was founded, to the margin of two Fellows in addition to those of the quotient.[2] The following table supplies the data, and the last column but one the number of the governing body inferred :—

[1] B. R., vol. A. f. 7.

[2] Where there is a remainder exceeding 50 per cent., I reckon it as = 1.

Cost of Commons of Principal

St. Hugh's Day, 17 Nov.–17 Nov.	*Principal and Fellows.*	*Servants. Bible Clerk, Barber, Manciple, Butler, and Cook.*
1515–16	No entry preserved	No entry preserved
1516–17	No entry made	No entry made
1517–18	No entry made	No entry made
1518–19	No entry preserved	No entry preserved
1519–20	No entry preserved	No entry preserved
1520–1	No entry made	No entry made
1521–2	25*s.* for 6 Fellows 5 weeks 'tempore pestis'	£1 14*s.* 2*d.* for 4 common servitors for 13½ weeks. 'Tempore pestis'
1522–3	£3 4*s.* for 6 Fellows 'tempore pestis'	£2 11*s.* 8*d.* for 3 common servitors and cook's wages for 2 terms. 'Tempore pestis'
1523–4	£13 7*s.* 9*d.* (all commons taken together) 'Pro anno integro'	
1524–5	£12 17*s.* 8½*d.* (Principal and 7 Fellows)	£3 4*s.* 2 (Bible clerk and 5 servants). 'Tempore pestis'
1525–6	£18 15*s.* 0½*d.*	£5 15*s.* 8*d.* (Bible clerk and 4 servants). 'Tempore pestis'
1526–7	£29 4*s.* 8*d.*	£5 19*s.* 6*d.* 'Et solut. circa dividend. Communis tempore pestis' xv^{s} qrs.
1527–8	£28 19*s.* 5*d.*	£4 4*s.* 8*d.* 'Et solut. circa dividend. Communis tempore pestis' (blank)
1528–9	£19 15*s.* 10*d.*	£5 5*s.* 8*d.* Bible clerk and 4 servants
1529–30	£28 6*s.* 4*d.*	£4 15*s.* 11*d.* For 4 servants = manciple, butler, barber, cook
1530–1	£32 5*s.* 8*d.*	No general entry made. 43*s.* 4*d.* for barber's commons only
1531–2	£29 11*s.* 2*d.*	No general entry made. 43*s.* 4*d.* for barber's commons only
1532–3	£31 11*s.* 10*d.*	£6 3*s.* 4*d.* 4 servants = barber, cook, butler, manciple
1533–4	Not examined	
1534–5	,,	
1535–6	,,	
1536–7	,,	
1537–8	,,	
1538–9	,,	
1539–40	,,	
1540–1	,,	
1541–2	,,	
1542–3		
1543–4	£31 11*s.*	£9 19*s.* 4*d.* 5 servants = ut supr.
1544–5		
1545–6	£30 19*s.* 11*d.*	£10 0*s.* 8*d.* 5 servants = ut supr.
1547, *Valor.*	£49	£0 6*s.*

AND FELLOWS AND SERVANTS

	Average prices for the second of the two years (from Rogers's *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, vol. iv).	*Inferred number of Governing Body, including Principal.*	*Bursars' Rolls. Reference.*
			Vol. A.
			,, A.
1519–20	Wheat 9*s.* 4½*d.*, Oxen 26*s.* 3*d.*, Muttons 4*s.*		
	Wheat 7*s.* 8½*d.*, Oxen 33*s.* 4*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 4*d.*		
	Wheat 6*s.* 0¼*d.*, Oxen 40*s.*, Muttons 4*s.* 0½*d.*		,, A. f. 22
	Wheat 5*s.* 6*d.*, Oxen 26*s.*, Muttons 2*s.* 11*d.*		,, A. f. 26
	Wheat 5*s.* 1½*d.*, Oxen 33*s.* 4*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 4*d.*		,, B. f. 8
1525–6	Wheat 5*s.* 5*d.*, Oxen 29*s.* 5*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 4*d.*	8	,, B. f. 18
	Wheat 6*s.* 2½*d.*, Oxen 21*s.* 11*d.*, Muttons 2*s.* 10¾*d.*	8	,, B. f. 24
	Wheat 12*s.* 11*d.*, Oxen 24*s.* 4*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 2*d.*	11	,, C. f. 8
	Wheat 8*s.* 10¼*d.*, Oxen 33*s.* 4*d.*, Muttons 2*s.* 10*d.*	11	,, C. f. 13
	Wheat 8*s.* 10¼*d.*, Oxen 28*s.* 10*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 0¼*d.*	8	,, C. f. 22
	Wheat 8*s.* 5*d.*, Oxen 35*s.*, Muttons 4*s.* 4½*d.*	11	,, D. f. 6
1530–1	Wheat 8*s.* 2¼*d.*, Oxen 31*s.* 2½*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 3½*d.*	12	,, D. f. 12
	Wheat 8*s.*, Oxen 25*s.* 3*d.*, Muttons 2*s.* 10¼*d.*	12	,, D. f. 19
1532–3	Wheat 7*s.* 8*d.*, Oxen 22*s.* 8*d.*, Muttons 3*s.*	11	,, D. f. 26
		10[1]	
1542–3	Wheat 9*s.* 3¼*d.*, Oxen 28*s.* 0¾*d.*, Muttons 5*s.*		
	Wheat 9*s.* 0¼*d.*, Oxen 30*s.* 5¾*d.*, Muttons 3*s.* 8*d.*	11	,, H. f. 8
	Wheat 15*s.* 6¾*d.*, Oxen 36*s.* 5½*d.*, Muttons 5*s.*		
	Wheat 8*s.* 3½*d.*, Oxen 39*s.*, Muttons 6*s.*	11	,, J. 15
1547, *Valor*	Wheat 4*s.* 11*d.*, Oxen 39*s.*, Muttons 4*s.* 6¾*d.*	14[2]	*Valor*, f. 41 (based on B. R., 1545–6)

[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 1535 (including T. Alen) see p. 160 *infra*. Churton, *Lives*, p. 302

[2] The actual number was 15.

While the cost of subsistence of the Fellows was £3 7*s.* 9*d.* per head per annum, that of the five Scholars on the Foundation of John Claymond[1] was £2 13*s.* 4*d.* The four principal servants, the manciple, butler, cook, and barber, the last being also porter, were estimated at 10*d.* a week per head, or £2 3*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The 'Lector Byblye', or Bible-clerk, was expected, it would seem, to maintain himself in part, since the estimated expenditure on him of 32*s.* 8*d.* a year is expressed to be, not as in the case of the others, 'pro communiis suis,' but 'versus communias suas'.[2]

The yearly stipends paid by the College to its officers and servants were as follows:—

Principal	£5
Vice-Principal	31/8[3]
Bursar (each)	13/4
Lector Logices[4]	£4
Lector sacre Theologie	6/6
Dean of Chapel[5]	6/8
Manciple	40/-
Manciple's assistant	20/-
Barber = Porter	40/-
Cook	40/-
Groom	26/8
Bursar's servant	20/-

The expenses of the kitchen are not entered, or the entries have not been preserved, prior to 1531–2, when a sum of £8 3*s.* was spent 'pro lignis et focalibus ad coquinam', 'focalibus' perhaps standing for small wood.[6] In the same year is another entry, 'pro lignis et aceris,'[7] presumably

[1] See Monograph IV, p. 13.

[2] An entry occurs occasionally as to the meaning of which I am in doubt. For example, in C. f. 8 (1526–7): 'Et solutum circa diuidend. communiis (*sic*) in tempore pestis—xv^{d} qns.' And again in the next year (ib. f. 13), where the amount is left blank.

[3] It was fixed by the statutes at 26/8 and is first recorded as having been paid in the account for 1524–5 (B. f. 19). It continued at that rate till 1545–6, when it became 31/8 (J. f. 16), but is entered in the *Valor* as 26/8.

[4] Called the 'Lector Scholarium' in 1545–6 (J. f. 16).

[5] Called the 'supervisor capelle' in 1524–5 (B. f. 19).

[6] B. R., vol. D. f. 19. [7] Ibid., f. 20.

for 'aceriis', fire-irons, 13*s.* 11*d.* This, being a separate account, probably refers to the Hall. The highest sum recorded in the Rolls examined as spent on fuel for the kitchen is £8 5*s.* 3¼*d.* in 1543–4,[1] the lowest £6 11*s.* 8*d.* in 1545–6.[2] In the *Valor* of 1547, the cost of the repair and renewal of the kitchen utensils is thrown together with that of the fuel and an average estimate struck of £10 a year.

Very little is to be extracted from the Bursars' Rolls showing the progress made in the buildings. That Brasenose Hall was allowed to stand until most of the building was completed may be gathered from the entry of 1516–17, which first gives the expenses of plumbing the Tower. These appear in successive accounts, for the College could only afford to pay by instalments. In the Roll for 1516–17 we find the sum of £6 paid 'in partem solucionis'.[3] In 1517–18 £2 more was paid.[4] A final balance of £4 1*s.* 2*d.* was discharged in the Roll of 1520–1, making a total of £12 1*s.* 2*d.*,[5] so far, at least, as the accounts preserved in the Rolls show. Entries of expenditure upon the Chapel constantly occur. Its dedication is mentioned in the Plate Book under 1520 (f. 4):—

'Item extraximus a cista in festo dedicationis capelle . . . xli.'

As this entry comes between entries of extractions from the chest dated the vigil of St. Giles (August 31) and the feast of St. Luke (October 18), the dedication presumably took place between those dates.[6] The earliest entry preserved as to the Chapel is in the Roll for 1516–17,[7] when £3 4*s.* 6*d.* was expended on necessaries enumerated as 'wax, wine, bread, washing of vestments', &c. The inference is that a temporary chapel was in use up to 1520, when the chapel proper was finally completed. In addition to these, vestments were bought in 1520–1, the total outlay on the Chapel being 47*s.* 9*d.*, an indication that those bequeathed by Bishop Smyth never reached the College, having been, as is believed, intercepted

[1] B. R., vol. H. f. 8.
[2] Ibid., vol. J. f. 15.
[3] Ibid., vol. A. f. 7.
[4] Ibid., f. 11.
[5] Ibid., f. 19.
[6] Churton, p. 295.
[7] B. R., A. f. 7.

by Cardinal Wolsey.[1] There is no record of the purchase of an organ, currently called in those days and long after, a 'pair of organs', but in 1523–4 is an entry:—

'Et solutum in necessariis circa Capellam videlicet in cera, pane, vino, locione, empcione et reparacione vestimentorum ac reparacione organorum vt per billam examinatam apparet . . . . . iiij^{li} iij^{s}.'[2]

They were perhaps the gift of Bishop Smyth.[3] An entry in 1525–6[4] mentions the purchase of books for the chapel: the total expense on its maintenance for the year being 31*s.* 5½*d.* The organs twice required repairs in 1543–4, at a total outlay of 23*s.* 1½*d.*,[5] following the heavy charge for necessaries in the year previous of £7 12*s.* 11*d.*[6] When in 1547 the *Valor* returned 53*s.* 4*d.* as the average cost of the Chapel, it was apparently guilty of no exaggerated estimate. The Library was entered in the same return as costing on an average of years 26*s.* 8*d.*

The only other notable entry of construction besides the leading of the roof of the tower is the expenditure upon the latrine,[7] which was made in 1515–16, when upon it and College business a sum of £10 19*s.* 8*d.* was expended, the details of which do not appear.[8] In 1526–7, 11*s.* 4*d.* was spent on repair of the pavement in front of the houses of two of the College tenants,[9] presumably in Schools Street.

It was a common practice for the religious Houses to act as bankers, giving depositors charges on the whole or on particular portions of their estates. The methods by which they evaded the canonical prohibitions of interest in these operations were ingenious and diverting.[10] Although the College, by its practice of reckoning no interest against defaulting tenants, obeyed the canon law, it did not hesitate to avail itself of the loopholes effected by the ecclesiastical lawyers. We occasionally find, therefore, that it charged some portions

[1] See Churton, p. 349, and Monograph V, p. 8. [2] B. R., vol. B. f. 8.
[3] See Monograph V, p. 10. [4] B. R., vol. B. f. 24. [5] Ibid., H. f. 9.
[6] Ibid., f. 7. [7] See Monograph III, p. 67.
[8] B. R., vol. A. f. 2. [9] Ibid., C. f. 8.
[10] See W. Endemann, *Studien in der romanisch-kanonistischen Wirthschafts- und Rechtslehre*, 2 vols. (1874–83), I. 39, 110, 115; II. 360 sc.

of its estates in favour of persons who were evidently depositors, though the danger in which the monasteries stood and their downfall had, doubtless, rendered such forms of investment unpopular. On May 20, 35 Henry VIII (1543), Humphrey Ogle of Salford, Oxon, paid £100 to the College, which in return covenanted that it would within three years assure lands to the value of £5 per annum to maintain two 'Mr. Ogle's scholars'.[1] The accounts show, however, that the College paid Ogle an annuity of £5.[2] In the *Valor* of 1547 the arrangement with Ogle and another like transaction are set out in full:—

'Denariis annuatim solutis diuersis personis pro termino vite sue et post terminum vitae eorum soluendis duobus Scholaribus ex conuentione inter prefatum Collegium et easdem personas confecta in Augmentatione numeri Scholarium dicti Collegii videlicet Humfrido Ogle clerico pro Annuitate sua per Annum c^{s} et Elizabethe Buckley vidue pro Annuitate sua per Annum exeunte de Bassettes Fee. xl^{s}. } vij^{li}'

By the 'Acte against Usury', 37 Henry VIII, c. 9 (1545), interest had been made legal.

The statutes are not precise in fixing an audit day. The rent-collectors are to come to Oxford in November. After they have given in their accounts the final computus is to be prepared. Although the accounts profess to cover the period between Michaelmas and Michaelmas, they are not always in this respect quite exact. For example: in the Roll for 1523-4[3] the expenses of the commons of the Governing Body and servants are reckoned 'for the year ended the Wednesday after St. Hugh's Day', which festival was on November 17. The fact that wheat was particularly cheap in that year prevents the outlay appearing unusually heavy.[4] On the other hand, in the Roll for 1527–8,[5] which gives an account of law expenses in every one of the four legal terms, those for Michaelmas Term which, as the last enumerated, must have been Michaelmas Term, 1528, are included. At

[1] Yate, f. 159.

[2] In 1543 apparently £3 6*s.* 8*d.* (B. R., vol. H. f. 3). But in 1544 £5 (ibid., f. 8). So also in 1545–6 (ibid., J. f. 15).

[3] B. R., B. f. 8. [4] See p. 149 *supra*. [5] C. f. 14.

this time Michaelmas Term ended on November 28 or 29.[1] This suggests that the audit may have been held, as in the writer's recollection it was, on St. Thomas's Day, December 21, though I have found no mention of that day in the Bursars' Rolls.

X

The College and the Outer World

The building of the College progressed slowly, and an incident which took place as its walls were rising is eloquent of the hopes and fears with which it was associated. As early as 1512 Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, and Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter,[2] were building their College of Corpus Christi. At Oldham's instance, as is recorded in a well-known story,[3] Foxe had been diverted from his first idea of endowing a seminary at Oxford for Benedictine monks. Like Bishop Smyth, he had begun his building before obtaining his charter. There can be little doubt that the strong leaning to the Humanists of the Renaissance displayed by Bishop Foxe a few years later in his statutes for Corpus was already well known. Two Colleges, each representative of two opposed schools of thought, were rising at the same time. On August 23, 1512, in the Chancellor's Court, an official of Bishop Foxe prosecuted a scholar of Brasenose Hall, named Hastings, for an affray upon the workmen employed at Corpus. Hastings was committed to prison, but on the intervention of Principal Matthew Smyth and of Rowland Messenger, who went bail to the amount of £40, he was released to come up for judgement if called upon. In August, 1514, another skirmish occurred, in which Henry Wright and William Barnes, neither of whom appears in Principal Heberden's Register, were sent to Bokardo prison for wounds inflicted upon one Est, a 'freemason' employed on the works at Corpus. In this fray John Formby, one of

[1] J. J. Bond, *Handy Book of Dates*, 4th ed., 1889, p. 176.

[2] Oldham's coat of arms was in the window of the old Library of Brasenose whence Churton infers that he presented books to the College.

[3] 'What, my lord' (to Foxe), 'shall we build houses and provide liuelodes for companie of bussing moonkes, whose end and fall we our selves may live to see?' Holinshed's *Chronicle* (ed. 1808), III. 617.

the original Fellows of Brasenose, was mixed up. Formby was not improbably a conservative cleric, or 'Trojan'. Though he had not himself committed violence, he had apparently encouraged it, for he was bound over, together with John Legh, also a Fellow of Brasenose, each in £20, to pay the bill for curing Est's wounds. Formby further undertook to abide by the award of the commissary, Laurence Stubbes,[1] and John Claymond, President of Magdalen,[2] as to the amount of damages to be paid to Est in compensation. The actual inflictors of Est's injuries were, on his recovery, released on recognizances, and paid a fine to the University, while Formby was relieved from further proceedings against him for threatening language to two men named Cooke and Vertue.

Before the lead had been laid upon the roof of the Tower which occupied the site of Brasenose Hall and probably marked the completion of the College buildings, the Founder, Bishop William Smyth, died at his palace of Buckden[3] on January 2, 151$\frac{3}{4}$. His will is printed at length in Churton, Appendix XVI. It confirmed to the College his gifts of Basset's Fee and of lands and tenements bought of Thomas Manby of Stow Park, Lincolnshire. Of Basset's Fee, as is elsewhere shown, the College had already entered into possession; but of the other lands and tenements mentioned, as Churton remarks,[4] no other notice occurs. Their value is stated in the will to have been £5 13*s.* 4*d.* Either because he considered the College likely to be sufficiently endowed by Sutton, though his will expresses his own inten-

[1] Laurence Stubbes (Stubbs, Stubbys), Proctor, 1504; D.D. 1514; Vice-Chancellor, 1514, 1516; President of Magdalen, 1525–7. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

[2] John Claymond (Claymonde), President of Magdalen, 1507–17; President of Corpus, 1517–37; died 1537. A benefactor to Brasenose College; see Monograph IV, 12.

[3] It is said by Browne Willis that Bishop Smyth died at the Episcopal Palace at Woburn, in Buckinghamshire. *Survey of Cathedrals* (1730), p. 62. The circumstances of his death, however, make it far more probable that Churton, whom I have followed, is correct. He is known to have been at Buckden, in Huntingdonshire, on December 23. It is highly improbable that at his age he would set out from Huntingdonshire to Buckinghamshire on horseback on Christmas Eve, and after Christmas but a few days elapsed before his death.

[4] *Lives*, p. 513, n. d.

tion of adding to his gifts, or because, with the sense of impending death, concern for the safety of his soul obscured his interest in learning, he saddled these lands with a charge which almost absorbed the full revenues derived from them. Their annual value, according to his will, was £13. The annual charges laid upon them by his will were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
To a chantry priest in Lincoln Cathedral	6	13	4
Choirmaster	1	0	0
Choristers		16	4
Vicar choral		6	8
Obit	3	6	8
	£12	3	0

This left a margin of 17*s.* to the College. The College perhaps felt that it had more put upon it than it could bear, and the renunciation of Bishop Smyth's executors left no one particularly interested to enforce the provisions of his will. At any rate, the earliest entry I have come across of any payment to this chantry is in the Roll for 1543-4:[1]

'Et solutum pro Annuali redditu ecclesie beate Marie Lincoln pro quibusdam diuinis officiis celebrando pro xxxvj° anno Regis predicti xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}.'

The same sum appears in the *Valor* of 1547. But in the *Valor*, it will be noted, the revenues from Basset's fee are returned as no more than £5 8*s.* 4½*d.* At that time, assuming the College to have been in possession of the lands unnamed mentioned in the will as bought from Thomas Manby of Stow Park, there was a deficit of £1 1*s.* 4½*d.*, the total revenues amounting to £11 1*s.* 8½*d.*, and the charges to £12 3*s.* It is, therefore, the more unaccountable that the College should return, alike in the Roll for 1543-4, in that for 1545-6, and in the *Valor* of 1547, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* as the yearly expenditure upon Bishop Smyth's chantry.

An explanation of the lands unnamed and of the charges upon them may perhaps be sought in the history of the benefaction of Archdeacon William Smyth. It is shown else-

[1] B. R., vol. II. f. 8.

where[1] that, though the Bishop died in January, 1515, the College received no income from the property before 1543–4, and that it appears to have been charged in favour of some of the Bishop's relations. We know that it was conveyed to the Archdeacon by John Newdigate, serjeant-at-law, and Amphillis his wife, but it is, at least, not improbable that it was a gift from his uncle, the Bishop, perhaps upon trust at some future time to convey it to the College. Why the Archdeacon's deed of release to the College was not until October 12, 1524, and why the College expended nothing on the chantry for nineteen years afterwards, unless it were on the plea of 'res angusta', must remain mysteries. But we have distinct evidence that some, at least, of the lands mentioned in the will as bought by the Bishop from Thomas Manby formed part of the Archdeacon's gift.

The quarrel between Henry VIII and the Papacy had in 1532 reached the stage at which a prohibition was laid by statute upon the payment to Rome of 'Annates', including the First Fruits of episcopal sees.[2] In the session of Parliament which opened in November, 1534, the complement of this measure was passed diverting these payments to the Crown.[3] By this Act the First Fruits were declared to be the clear revenue and profits for one entire year, and the Tenths the Tenth Part of such clear annual revenue. They were to be taken of all 'Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Abbeys, Monasteries, Priories, Colleges, Hospitals, Archdeaconries, Deaneries, Provostships, Prebends, Parsonages, Vicarages, Chantries, Free Chapels and every other dignity, benefice, office or promotion spiritual'.

The last general valuation had been that of Edward I under the sanction of Pope Nicholas IV. A new survey was now necessary. It was, accordingly, ordered by the Act that com-

[1] p. 136.

[2] 23 Henry VIII. c. 20 (1532). 'An Acte concernynge restraynt of payment of Annates to the See of Rome.'

[3] 26 Henry VIII. c. 3 (1534). 'An Acte concerninge the paiment of Firste Fruits of all dignities, benefices, and promocyons spirituall, and also concerninge one annuell pencyon of the tenthe parte of all the possessions of the Churche, spirituall and temporall, graunted to the Kinges Highnes and his heires.'

missions for that purpose should go through England and Wales and return the results of their inquiries. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 is the return into the Exchequer made by these commissioners.

Conformably to these statutory requirements Brasenose gave in its returns.[1] It is headed 'Extenta omnium Reddituum Maneriorum Terrarum et aliarum Possessionum tam Temporalium quam Spiritualium pertinentium ad Aulam Regiam et Collegium de Brasennose in Oxonia in Comitatu eodem et Diocesi Lincolniensi'. While, in general, the Return follows the Bursars' Rolls, there are a few points of interest to be noted. Like the *Valor* of 1547, it makes no entry of arrears nor 'decays' on the College estates. But the Return differs from the Rolls in that, after the custom of the religious houses, it assigns, in one case at least, a particular manor for the discharge of certain fixed charges. The lands and tenements in 'Croprydy', for it is not here described as a manor, possibly to avoid inquiry into manorial casualties, are returned as yielding £13 14*s.* 4*d.* yearly. This is followed by the words:

De quibus
Resoluciones Perpetue.

Resolutum est in perpetua elemosina tribus capellanis Magistri Ricardi Sutton alterius fundatoris nostri viz.

Mr Thome Typpyng	iij^li	vi^s	viij^d
Mr Thome Hawerden	iij^li	vi^s	viij^d
Et domino Thome Alen	iij^li	vi^s	viij^d

There are other payments, among them being one of 13*s.* 4*d.* to David Jenkynson as rent-collector.[2]

The estates of which accounts are rendered number twenty-one in all, viz.: 'Bassett's Fee,' 'Coldenorton,' 'Barford,' 'Garsyngton & Cowley,' 'Cudlyngton,' 'Mylton,' 'Forstyll,'[3]

[1] Printed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (6 vols., 1814), vol. ii, pp. 271–3.

[2] 'Resolutum etiam receptori predictorum reddituum viz. David Jenkynson—xiij^s iiij^d.' This is not a 'rent resolute' according to Coke, but is incorrectly used here to indicate fixed payment. For David Jenkynson see pp. 101–9. He appears elsewhere in this *Valor* as collector of the rents of the Manor of 'Jenyngs in Yaldyng and Wesm̃lyng', Kent, and of £3, being rent of the 'Redde Lyon' in 'Chepingwicome', a total of £7 4*s.* 2¾*d.*, for which he is paid 13*s.* 4*d.* (a mark).

[3] Forest Hill. See Monograph VI, p. 19.

'Stanlake,' 'Merston,' 'Burforde,' 'Croprydye,' 'Northokynton,' 'Strond[1],' 'Chepynfaryngton,' 'Boro Somerbye and Pickwell,' 'Yaldyng,' 'Chepingwicome,' 'Kyngs Hulme,' 'Glocester,' 'Chester Lancaster,' and 'Bredon.' The net sum total is returned at £111 0*s.* 3½*d.*, and the tithe payable at £11 2*s.* 0½*d.* After the returns of the estates, the revenues derived from them and the necessary outgoings, there follow:—

'Nomina principalis et Sociorum hujus Collegii cum Indotacionibus et Emolumentis Principali et Sociis Collegii annuatim et imperpetuum per statuta Collegii assignata.[2]

Magister Principalis pro communibus	iij^{li}		viij^{li}
Pro stipendio ejusdam Principalis annuatim	v^{li}		
Johannes Leche[3] pro communibus suis	iij^{li}		vj^{li}
Pro stipendio ejusdem Johannis		xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}	
Et pro officio vice-principalis exercendo		xxvj^{s} viij^{d}	
Robertus More[3] pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Georgius Bruche pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Thomas Typpyng pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Thomas Hawerden pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Robertus Hulme[4] pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Matheus Smythe pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Hugo Charnoke pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Thomas Syblyshe pro communibus suis			iij^{li}
Summa Totalis omnium profectuum sociorum annuatim			xxxviij^{li}'

Only three outgoings 'in feodis et elemosinis' are appended: the first, the fee of the Lecturer in the College Hall, £4; the second, the fees of the receivers-general of the College ('generalium receptorum'), 26*s.* 8*d.*; the third, the fees of the agents of the bishop ('pro procurationibus episcopi'), 22*s.* 2½*d.* There then follows a statement of necessary expenses, prefaced by this prayer:

'We the saide Principal ande Scolers moste humble beseche the Kyngs Highnes and his Honorable Counsell marcifully and gratiowselye to allowe the resonable petycions[5] hereafter

[1] The 'Whyte Hert', here returned only as 'Hospitium Beate Marie in Strond', doubtless a clerk's abbreviation, 'in parochia' being omitted.

[2] *Sic*, apparently by mistake for 'assignatis'.

[3] Returned under 'Chepingwicome' as the chaplains of John Cokkes at 40*s.* each.

[4] Or Hulmes, as returned under 'Chepynfaryngton' being Chaplain of Elizabeth Morton, an obvious blunder for Morley, at a salary of 40*s.*

[5] A mistake of the transcriber for 'pencyons'.

folowyng which ar perpetuall annuall chargis off as moche necessite to be yerely susteynyd as ar the fees of baylyffs auditors and recevers.' The items are:

	£	s.	d.
The commons of the Bible-Reader	2	3	4
The stipend and commons of the Steward	4	3	4
,, ,, ,, cook	4	3	4
,, ,, ,, barber and porter	4	10	0
Chapel expenses	3	0	0
Expense of keep of horses and groom	5	0	0
Average cost of repairs of buildings	7	0	0
Expenses of rent receivers	5	0	0
Travelling expenses on business of College	3	6	8
Entertainment of guests and strangers	4	13	4
	£43	0	0

The above list of nine Fellows is the earliest extant. From the mention of 'dominus Thomas Alen' as the junior chaplain of Sutton, to whom a chaplain's stipend had been paid, and the absence of his name from this list, it is to be inferred that he had either resigned his Fellowship or was dead at the time the list was made out. If so, there were, perhaps, normally ten Fellows.

The form of the return was as prescribed by the Act, which in the ninth section specified the deductions to be allowed by the commissioners. These were 'the rentes resolute to the chief Lordes and all other annuell and perpetuall rentes and charges whiche any spirituall person or persones ben bounden yerly to paie to any person or persons to ther heires or successours for ever, or to gyve yerely yn almes by reason of any foundacyon or ordynaunce, and all fees for Stewardes Receyvours Baylyffes and Auditours and Synodes and proxis'. In accordance with this, the costs of the Anniversaries of the Founders, as of the episcopal visitations, are duly set down.

Wood tells us that the inquiry, which was conducted by a body of twenty-two commissioners, headed by William Tresham, the Vice-Chancellor, 'did strike such a terror into the minds of students that they expecting nothing but ruin and a total subversion, made shift, what they could, for them-

selves, and what moneys could be had from their lands by leases, renewings, &c.'

In the session of Parliament of 1545 an 'Act for dissolution of Colleges'[1] was passed, which placed all Colleges at the disposal of the king. It was not, indeed, aimed at the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge,[2] but, *inter alia*, against Chantries, which frequently went by that name. Lay patrons had, in imitation of the king's proceedings against the monasteries, in many places seized the chantry lands and expelled the chantry priests, while in other places clandestine sales had been made. The Act, accordingly, gave to the king all such as had been dissolved by expulsion, bargain, or conveyance, within ten years. The king was at liberty to seize these institutions by commissioners without the formality of a jury of inquest, and instructions for the visitation of Chantries were promptly issued.

As the Act technically applied to Colleges, those of the Universities were ordered to furnish statements of their revenues and expenditure. That of Brasenose has been transcribed from the MS. in the Public Record Office, has frequently been referred to in these pages under the name of the *Valor* of 1547, and will be found as an appendix to this monograph. Another appendix will compare that *Valor* as prepared for the royal commissioners with the Bursars' Roll for 1545–6, on which the *Valor* founds. The number of the members of the College as stated by the *Valor* is the Principal and fourteen Fellows, besides 'lx pore Scholers and other',[3] whose rooms and allowances are estimated as

[1] 37 Henry VIII, c. 4.

[2] Cf. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (ed. 1807), i. 256. 'And thus much in generall of our noble uniuersities, whose lands some greedy gripers doo gape wide for . . . when such a motion was made by some unto King Henrie the Eight, he could answer them in this manner. Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands have fleshed you and set your teeth on edge to ask also those Colleges . . . I tell you, sirs, I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our Uninersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. . . . I loue not learning so ill that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden.' Holinshed represents the Protector Somerset as in the next reign being the eloquent opponent of attacks upon the Colleges and Universities.

[3] Conformably to the Charter, see p. 12 *supra*.

worth 20*s.* to each yearly. As these do not appear to have had commons, they apparently represent a grade intermediate between the scholars and commoners of to-day. The College further returns twenty-nine 'studentes', whom I interpret to represent the Governing Body and the Scholars on the Foundation.

The College returns its revenues as £198 2*s.* 9¾*d.*, which it notes to be £84 13*s.* 7¾*d.* in excess of the '*Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535'. But the summary of its balance sheet is, and is intended to be, a pathetic appeal. Nothing remains, it laments, because the expenditure exceeds the income by £12 13*s.* 9*d.* per annum. For relief from financial disaster no help is to be expected unless by economy of expenditure on food during the statutory absences of Fellows, or from casual fines on leases or oftentimes from the gifts of good men.

While these confiscations were in progress Henry VIII died. Their effect was felt by the College. For ten years no benefactor came forward.[1] In the first Parliament of Edward VI the powers, which had been limited to Henry's life, were conferred on his son. An Act was passed[2] 'whereby certaine Chauntries Colleges Free Chapelles and the possessions of the same be given to the Kinges Majeste'. By the fourth section lands given for the maintenance of perpetual obits were vested in the king, and by the fifth, where part of the profits of lands had been given for a perpetual obit, the king should have an annual rent-charge to the amount. A sixth section provided that all sums of money payable by corporations for priests, obits, &c., should vest in the king as rent-charges. Within these sections the chantry of Bishop Smyth in Lincoln Cathedral undoubtedly fell.

The College bent to the storm, and £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a year were diverted to the revenues of the Crown. But there seems to have been a considerable delay before this was effected. At any rate, the earliest document in the possession of the College showing a receipt by the Crown is dated January 31, 5 Edward VI (1551).[3] It is to be noted that the bequest may

[1] See Monograph VI, pp. 25, 26.
[2] 1 Edward VI, c. 14 (1547).
[3] *Muniments*, Sutton, p. 58.

have long escaped detection, there being no chantry chapel to indicate its existence. However this may be, we find[1] a 'bill' dated January 31, 5 Edward VI (1551), witnessing 'that Richard Harnes of Mablethorpe in the countie of Lincoln yeoman deputie of Roger Graves gentleman recyver' for the king of all dissolved chantries within the duchy of Lancaster, acknowledges the receipt of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* due at the previous Michaelmas, being one whole year's rent of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* 'goyng out of the landes of the College of the Brasyn Nose of Oxford lying within Wynthorpe Skegnes and Sutton to one of the late chantries within the mynster of Lincoln.' From this document it would seem that the lands given by Archdeacon William Smyth had been charged by him or by the Bishop. It would also seem that the other moiety of the charge was upon other lands unnamed.

In 1585, when Queen Elizabeth was on the throne and learning again in favour, the College thought the time propitious to an endeavour to retrieve its loss. At this date the Principal was Richard Harrys. A petition was filed in the chancery of the duchy of Lancaster of which the gist is that the lands of the College had not been charged towards Bishop Smyth's chantry. The College sets out that John Newdigate, serjeant-at-law, and Amphillis his wife had by a fine on January 29, 1517, 'lawfully assured the said premises,' viz. 'certayne landes and tenements in Sutton in the marshe, Skegness, Wynthorpe and Burghe in the marshe in the parties of Lyndsey in the countye of Lyncolne', to William Smythe,[2] archdeacon of Lincoln in fee; and that on September 11, 1534, William Smythe let these lands and tenements to Brasenose College for seven years at £20 a year. They comprised the manor of Sutton in le marshe and Wynthorpe, six messuages, 40 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 140 acres of pasture and 10*s.* rent, and on October 11, 1534,[3]

[1] Sutton, 58.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] According to Churton, *Lives*, p. 382, the Archdeacon died in 1528. If that be correct, the date given here must be wrong. Among the muniments of the College is a deed of release by the archdeacon to the College of the estates in question, dated October 12, 16 Henry VIII (1524), from which it would appear that the dates of the petition are not to be relied upon.

William Smythe executed a deed of release in favour of the College. Since the dissolution of Chantries the tenants of the College had been wrongly charged with the yearly payment of twelve marks as belonging to Bishop Smyth's chantry and other superstitious uses, which payment 'contynued without the privities of your said Orators, your Orators being absent and remaynyng above one hundereth myles from the said manores', &c. The argument continues that the College is not chargeable on the ground that, at the time of Bishop Smyth's death, Serjeant Newdegate and his wife were seised of the estates, so that they could not be charged by the Bishop. The petition of the College, therefore, asks the reimbursement to it of 'about 800 marks' which have been illegally taken from its tenants. It appears that the other half was charged upon other land in the neighbourhood, for a document of the Duchy in possession of the College,[1] dated 1505, claims £16 13*s.* 4*d.* on the part of 'Vyncent Skynner Esquier receiver of rents of Bollingbroke in the countie of Lincoln'. Since £13 6*s.* 8*d.* is still annually paid by the College out of this estate, it may be taken that the petition failed.

The only other part of Bishop Smyth's will that concerns the College is his bequest of the books, chalices and vestments of his domestic chapel. Churton has shown[2] that the inventory of the Chapel furniture elsewhere printed, belonging to about the year 1520, varies greatly from the schedule of the Bishop's will cataloguing his bequest, and that no record of the receipt of this benefaction remains. On the contrary, it was one of the articles against Wolsey that he 'had the more part of the goods of Dr. Smyth, bishop of Lincoln' and of other bishops whom he succeeded, 'contrary to their wills and to law and justice.'[3]

Bishop Smyth's liberality had diminished his resources, but he died leaving a substantial fortune. 'Bawdwyn Smythe,' citizen and haberdasher of London, who some years after the Bishop's death,[4] petitioned the Star Chamber as his admini-

[1] Sutton, 59.
[2] *Lives*, p. 347.
[3] Ibid., p. 349. *L. & P. Henry VIII*, iv. 6075 (1529).
[4] Apparently after 1541, if Churton, *Lives*, p. 354, is correct in assigning that

strator on the renunciation of his executors, stated that the Bishop had left in 'goodes cattalles money ande plate to the value of two thousand markes sterlinge and above', i. e. £1,333 6*s*. 8*d*. In consequence, as he alleged, of the retention by Gilbert Smyth, Archdeacon of Northampton, of the Bishop's goods to the value of £500, the legacies to his poor kinsfolk remained unpaid. He petitioned, therefore, for process to issue against the Archdeacon.[1]

In 1517 Bishop Foxe startled the learned world by his statutes for his new College. The controversy between the old learning and the new raged furiously, and proceeded from words to blows. Two years later, a preacher from the University pulpit denounced Greek and the study of classical authors introduced by Foxe. Formal logic and sophistical theology, said this disciple of Smyth and Sutton, were the only commendable studies. At such a moment it was that Sutton drew up the 'Composition' with his College in which his hope by its aid to secure his fortunes in the next world, contrasts strangely with Bishop Foxe's paramount concern for learning. The 'Composition' is an indenture dated July 18, 11 Henry VIII (1519) to which Sutton and the College are the parties. The Principal and Scholars of Brasenose are by it bound to pray before and after dinner for the souls of the two Founders, their fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, and other souls to be named. In addition, a pater noster, an Ave Maria, and a creed are to be said before dinner, and after dinner, 'at their leyser,' a 'De Profundis' for the souls of Edward IV, his Queen Elizabeth, his sister Elizabeth de la Pole, duchess of Suffolk, Anthony Wydeville, earl Rivers,[2] and Queen Elizabeth's son, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset,[3] Nicholas Talbot, 'and all those sowles that God and the said Richard would have prayed for.' This enumeration of the leaders of the Yorkist party bears plain witness to Sutton's political sympathies, and helps us to understand the long delay

date to the renunciation of his executorship by Gilbert Smyth, archdeacon of Northampton, his nephew.

[1] The issue of this suit is unknown. The College is not mentioned in it.

[2] Brother of Queen Elizabeth.

[3] Step-son of Edward IV.

before, at the end of his life, he was advanced to knighthood. These prayers were to be repeated 'at every solemne sermone that any of the felowes or scolars of Brasynnose shall say or make'. The Founders' anniversaries or obits were to be kept with a solemn 'dirige', and every priest in the College was on that day to say Mass for the same persons' souls.[1] On these occasions the Principal and Fellows shall have 13*s.* 4*d.* 'to increase theire fare that daye', and twenty-five 'honest prests of the same College or of other' are to have, in addition 5*d.* each. Every Scholar on admission to the College is to be sworn to observe the terms of this 'Composition' 'and all the statutes and rules made or to be made by the sayd Richard'. Three priests are to be paid each five marks[2] (£3 6*s.* 8*d.*) to pray for the soul of Sutton, his relations, and others to be named in a schedule. These priests are to be elected Fellows, and to have, in addition to this stipend, the commons and other allowances enjoyed by the Fellows. Vacancies are only to be filled up by the College if, after six weeks' notice delivered at Sutton and the lapse of another month, he or his heirs neglect to do so. These three priests are not to be absent more than seven weeks in the whole year, a month short of the ordinary Fellows' leave. A longer absence or a benefice or annuity of the value of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* is to vacate their Fellowships. Breaches of these covenants by the College are to involve each a penalty of 40*s.*, with power to Sutton and his heirs to distrain therefor. Every Scholar of the College is to have chamber, cook, manciple, barber, 'launderer,' and 'readinge' free.

It is remarkable that, at the time of Bishop Smyth's death, Sutton does not appear to have given a single estate to the College. He had been purchasing estates for some years. Churton mentions among these that of Burgh, Borowe or Erdborowe in the parish of Somerby, Leicestershire, which

[1] The language here seems to show that this part of the Composition was drafted before the Bishop's death on January 2, 1514: 'att suche tyme of the yeare as hit shall please God to call the sayd Bishoppe to his mercye.'

[2] The first payment is to be found in the Roll for 1520–1, vol. A. f. 21: 'Et solutum Capellanis magistri Sutton . . . x li.'

he had bought in 1491,[1] the estates in Middlesex, elsewhere mentioned, that of Cropredy, of which he purchased the reversion in 1512, and that of North Okenden or Ockington, in Essex, which he purchased in 1513. There is plenty of room for speculation as to the reasons why he withheld his generosity after the College was founded and already at work. His exclusion from any part in the framing of the College statutes may have been due to Bishop Smyth's resentment on this account, while, on the other hand, Sutton may have disapproved of the Bishop's ban against the Religious Orders, to whom he was undoubtedly attached. Not until four years and a half had passed did Sutton, on the same day on which he signed his Composition, convey, by lease and release, these estates to the College, and though in 1511, by deed enrolled in Chancery, he assigned the lease of Little University Hall and Old Brasenose Hall to trustees to the use of his will, it was not until 1523 that he conveyed to the College the fee simple outright. He died soon after Michaelmas, 1524, his will being proved on the following November 7. It is a symptom of his convictions on the current religious controversies that he left three bequests to three nunneries and endowed a chantry at Macclesfield.

Scanty enough is the light shed upon current events by the documents that have been preserved in the archives of the College. The year 1522–3 is marked by an entry in the Bursars' Roll not altogether free from difficulty. It runs: 'Et solutum vicecomiti Oxonie pro decimis Regi consessis[2] de Rectoriis de Whethamsted et Stepul Aston vt apparet xlix^{s}. v^{d}.' This is an echo of the clash of warlike preparation at this time resounding through England. In conjunction with the Emperor an invasion of France was on foot. The House of Commons in 1523 voted a graduated tax on real and personal property, from five per cent. upwards, payable in four years. The Clergy in Convocation granted no less than a fifty per cent. income tax, to be paid by instalments in five years. Now in the general survey made in 1535, prior to the dissolution of the Religious Houses, the annual value of the

[1] *Lives*, p. 429. [2] *Sic.*

tithes of Wheathamstead alone was set down at £4 4*s.* 2¾*d.* per annum[1]. The fifth of one-half of this would amount to 8*s.* 5*d.*, and there is no reason to suppose that any material change had taken place in the value since 1523. The tithes of Steeple Aston are set down at £1 12*s.* 3¼*d.*,[2] and on the same reckoning the grant would amount to 3*s.* 3*d.* or less, a total of 11*s.* 8*d.* But since the total tithe of the two amounted to £2 18*s.* it would seem that the sum paid by the College represented the whole. However this may be, a reference to the Subsidy Act of 1523 (14 & 15 Henry VIII, c. 16) shows that the College was under no compulsion of Parliament or Convocation to pay anything at all. By § xxi of this Act it is provided 'that this Act nor any thyng in the same comprised nor any graunt made or to be made by the Clergy in eyther of their Convocacions nowe assembled, extende ne be in any maner hurtfull or prejudiciall to any Scoler or Scolers Studientes or Lerners at the tyme of the said assessyng havyng their abydyng oonly for studie or lernyng in any of the Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge . . . or for their persons Salary Wages Exhibicion Apparell of their bodies or bokes, neyther to or for any Manours Lordshippes Landes Tenementes Rentes Annuyties or such other like possessions amortysed appropried or in anywise belongyng or appteignyng to any College Hospitall Hall or other House in any of the said Universities . . . but that they and every of them frome the said graunt and payement of the said Subsidies and every of them and every parte thereof be utterly acquyted and discharged by auctorite of this present parliament, any thyng in this present acte or other thyng to the contrary made or had notwithstandyng.'

Parliament had met in April, 1523, and Convocation in June, after an interval of eight years. But the king had not waited to raise money legally by grants. In 1522 he had appointed commissioners under his sign manual to make valuations of all rents, revenues, goods, &c., spiritual and temporal. By a clause in their commissions a special reserva-

[1] 'Liber Regis,' p. 516.

[2] Ibid., p. 806.

tion was made in the case of the Universities. 'As the wardens, governors and fellows of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are bound by statutes and oaths not to declare what is left them for casualties of fire and maintenance of pleas, the commissioners shall not inquire of their substance, but leave that to the lord Legate.'[1] Wolsey was a warm friend of learning. Under the year 1522 Wood records, 'This University with the Colleges therein, being required to pay, made their requests to the Cardinal to be excused, forasmuch as the Colleges and those belonging thereto were exempted from paying moneys towards the maintenance of a war. Upon this, the Cardinal urging their exemption, they were for that time excused.'[2] The assessments in the State Papers[3] are, nevertheless, treated by Mr. Brewer[4] as having been actually exacted. I can find no trace in the Bursars' Rolls, other than the entry mentioned, showing that his assumption is correct, and I incline, therefore, to the opinion that Anthony Wood's story is true. It is to be noticed, however, that Richard Sutton 'of Sion', to distinguish him from his namesake, paid the large sum of £100, and it is possible that part of this was on account of Brasenose College. In any case, it may be that his knighthood, which was conferred upon him between May, 1522 and March, 1524, was the reward of his munificence.

The puzzle, however, is not yet solved as to the grant of 49*s.* 5*d.* out of the tithes of the two Rectories of Whethamsted and Stepul Aston.[5] Why do these, of all the benefices appropriated by the College, stand by themselves? I can only surmise that the collectors had in these two instances interpreted the words of the Act 'Rentes Annuyties or such

[1] *L. & P. Henry VIII*, iii. 2484.

[2] A. Wood, *Hist. Univ. Oxford* (1796), ii. 22. Cf. *L. & P. Henry VIII*, iii. 2631.

[3] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, iii. 2484, where are assessments for Magdalen and New Colleges each at £330 6*s.* 8*d.*; All Souls at £200; Merton and Corpus each at £133 6*s.* 8*d.*; Lincoln, £100; Oriel, £100; University, £50; Exeter and Balliol at £40. But the list is only a fragment and Brasenose is not in it.

[4] *Reign of Henry VIII* (1884), i. 494.

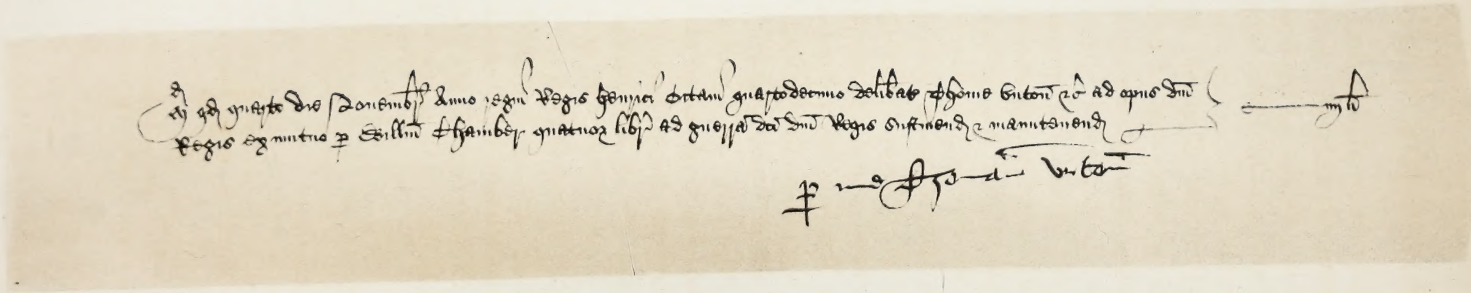
[5] As the Rectory of Wheathamsted did not remain part of the possessions of the College and there is no trace of its having been alienated, I infer that it was appropriated by permission of the Bishop during the then incumbent's life.

other like possessions amortysed appropried or in anywise belongyng or app(er)teignyng to any College' as not including Tithes; and that the Rector's tithes in these two parishes were farmed by lessees. By § xxiii of the Subsidy Act of 1523, in the event of such farmers or lessees being charged with the subsidy, they were authorized to indemnify themselves by deducting the amount paid by them from their next payment of rent. It is conceivable that the farmers of these two Rectories having paid the assessment to the sheriff of Oxford, or having undertaken to do so, the College felt bound to discharge an obligation for which it was not otherwise liable.

Although the clergy and scholars in the University were exempt from the Subsidy Act, their lay dependents did not escape. By the Act, which was a graduated property tax, twelve pence in the pound was charged upon personalty up to twenty pounds, sixpence in the pound between twenty pounds and forty shillings, 'and of every maner (of) person borne under the kynges obeysaunce beyng of thage of xvi yeres or above and beyng of the value of xl^{s} in goodes or takyng any dayely wekely or yerely wages or other profettes for wages to the yerly value of xx^{s} or above and havyng none other substaunce . . . iiij^{d} yerely during the said twoo yeres.'[1] Within the meshes of this wide net appear in the lists of the Subsidy for the town of Oxford two servants of the College, 'John Walker Cooke of Brasynnose at xx^{s} . . . iiij^{d} ' and 'John vndercooke of Brasynnose at xx^{s} . . . iiij^{d}.' These contrast with their brethren of New College and Magdalen, who were assessed at £4, and were presumably the heads of their profession.[2]

When in 1545 Henry VIII again resorted to a forced loan, the College contributed £8. The form of the entry in the Rolls[3] is not without interest. 'Et eciam solutum domino Regi pro benevolencia per magistrum Principalem et socios concessa —viij^{li}.' The Bursars followed the example of the king in

[1] 14 & 15 Hen. VIII, c. 16, § 2 ('De subsidio Regi concesso').
[2] *Oxford City Documents* (O. H. S., 1891), p. 59.
[3] B. R., vol. H. f. 18.



An Amicable Loan, A.D. 1525

not disguising the extortion, as Wolsey had endeavoured to do in 1525, by the honorific title of 'Amicable Loan' or 'Loan'. They called it outright a 'Benevolence', knowing very well, as all the world did, that Benevolences were illegal by a statute of Richard III.[1]

The energetic first Principal, Matthew Smyth, a careful husband of the College property and of brilliant success in the acquisition of endowments, appears to have been a man of business rather than an ecclesiastic. At any rate, he was 'of the willow and not of the oak'. When, on April 15, 1524, St. Frideswide's was suppressed, he is recorded as having been present,[2] a faint indication that he sympathized with the measure. When, on June 27, 1534, the University of Oxford passed a resolution in congregation repudiating the papal supremacy, the assent of Brasenose College went with it. Among the signatories in 1535 to the acknowledgement of the Royal supremacy were Matthew Smyth and eight Fellows of Brasenose. But there were signs that the traditions of orthodoxy lingered in the College. Sir Robert Constable was one of the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. It was natural that a man whose clerical conservatism led him to risk his neck should send his son to Brasenose,[3] the College favoured by the benefactions of his associate Husey. On June 9, 1534, a royal proclamation had ordered the Pope's name to be removed from all Service Books. Four and a half years later, on December 17, 1538, a graduate in law of Brasenose, named George Munson or Mounson, laid an information before Richard Smyth, commissary of the Chancellor, that Thomas Harden, a Fellow of Brasenose[4] and presumably

[1] 1 Ric. III, c. 2 (1484) 'An Act to free the Subjects from Benevolences'. The smallness of the sum is significant of the narrow margin of the resources of the College, perhaps, also, of its indisposition to the king's enterprises abroad. The commissioners for the collection had been ordered, where the yearly value of lands and goods exceeded £20, to ask 12*d.* in the pound. Recalcitrants were to be cautiously dealt with. See the Instructions to the commissioners in *L. and P. Henry VIII*, XX. App. 4.

[2] Wood's *City of Oxford*, O. H. S., xvii. 179.

[3] *L. & P. Henry VIII*, XII. i. 30; Principal Heberden's *Register*, p. 8.

[4] Ibid., p. 5. Wood incorrectly dates this incident 1535, *Annals*, II. 60 (ed. 1796).

Dean of the Chapel, had not, according to his duty ('ex officio'), deleted the name of the Pope 'e quodam manuali Collegii'. The significance of the delation to Smyth is that the commissary was probably at that time already known for his leanings towards the new opinions which he subsequently embraced. 'Harden,' says Wood, 'appeared so foul by some rash expressions dropt from his mouth, that he was cited soon after to appear before the King's Council to answer for what he had said and done.'[1]

A young Bachelor of Divinity of Brasenose named Elye,[2] according to Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, with an odious persistence, thrust his disputations upon Cranmer during his last moments.

On the whole, we may take it that Brasenose, like the greater part of the University, adhered to the conservative clericalism in the interests of which it had been founded. Two notable protagonists on the side of the Reformation, however, it did produce—the one John Foxe, the Martyrologist, the other Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and for a short time Principal, known to many generations of Englishmen as the author of the Church Catechism. Nowell was also a precursor, as an expert in angling, of Izaak Walton, and his portrait, as 'Piscator hominum', still looks down upon the High Table.[3]

[1] The records of the Privy Council at this date have perished, so that nothing is known of the issue of the case.

[2] Probably William Elye, Fellow, though he does not appear to have taken his B.D. till 1557.

[3] See Monograph VII, p. 11. For his discovery, by an accident, of the merits of bottled ale, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

APPENDIX I

A.

BURSARS' ROLLS, *compared.*

	M'mas—M'mas 1515–16	*M'mas—M'mas* 1516–17	*M'mas—M'mas* 1517–18	*M'mas—M'mas* 1518–19	*M'mas—M'mas* 1519–20	*M'mas—M'mas* 1520–1
	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
Outstanding Arrears	44 7 10	47 3 0	48 12 8			
Arrears carried over	47 3 0	40 10 4	52 1 6			93 9 7
Receipts from Rents and Donations, &c.	56 8 $4\frac{1}{4}$	81 17 $4\frac{1}{2}$ [1]	61 7 $8\frac{1}{4}$			149 15 2
Taken out of chest (Plate Book)			9 6 8		60 6 8	59 16 8
Payments and allowances	53 18 $9\frac{1}{4}$	53 11 $6\frac{1}{4}$	48 8 $11\frac{1}{2}$			183 13 $0\frac{3}{4}$
Balance to credit	2 9 7	27 15 $10\frac{1}{4}$	18 16 $6\frac{3}{4}$			25 18 $9\frac{1}{4}$
Put into chest		14 9 ? $\frac{1}{4}$	18 16 $6\frac{3}{4}$			25 18 $9\frac{1}{4}$
Money in chest				95 19 0		60 3 $2\frac{1}{2}$
Money on Deposit				37 0 0		23 0 0

[1] This includes money (sum unknown) taken out of the chest. Since the sum of the receipts of the year 1515–16 = the sum of Payments, &c., and Balance to Credit, it follows that in 1515–16 no money was taken out of the chest.

	M'mas—M'mas 1521–2	*M'mas—M'mas* 1522–3	*M'mas—M'mas* 1523–4	*M'mas—M'mas* 1524–5	*M'mas—M'mas* 1525–6	*M'mas—M'mas* 1526–7
	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
Outstanding Arrears	93 9 7	65 10 11½	83 7 7	82 13 6¾	95 10 4¼	93 15 0¼
Arrears carried over	65 10 11½	67 6 1½	84 8 7¾	90 0 10	84 10 4¼	95 8 1½
Receipts from Rents and Donations, &c.	137 16 9¾	121 9 0¾	131 6 11½[1]	127 9 7½[2]	149 11 8¼	135 13 0½
Taken out of chest (Plate Book)	40 17 2	53 18 11	39 14 11	39 18 5½	32 13 4	51 2 3
Payments and allowances	119 18 6¾	85 10 1¾	130 2 4¼	125 3 0¾	134 18 11	140 5 2
Balance to credit	58 15 5	35 18 11	39 18 5½	34 17 9	47 6 1¼	44 17 0½
Put into chest	58 15 5	35 18 11	39 18 5½	34 17 9	47 6 1¼	44 17 0½
Money in chest	54 18 11	40 1 7	40 5 1½	35 11 4[3 4]	51 2 3¼[5]	44 17 0½
Money on Deposit	31 10 0½	23 0 0	Nil.	15 0 0	Nil.	15 0 0

[1] £29 15*s.* 11*d.* appears to be the sum of the donations 'et de forensic', leaving rents as £101 11*s.* 0½*d.*

[2] The donations ('pecunie forensice') amount to £25 6*s.* 3*d.*

[3] There appears to have been 6*s.* 11*d.* more in the chest than is accounted for. This may be accounted for by the record of the plate chest in 1524, 'In pecuniis bonis et malis et galee Alpenys' 8*s.* 10½*d.*, as a separate item, of which 6*s.* 11*d.* may have been found to be good.

[4] The Plate Book adds to its record of £35 11*s.* 4*d.* 'Item in pecuniis malis xii[d]. Item in manibus executorum Thome Blount—xvl*i*. In manibus Johis. Hussy—.'

[5] 'Item in pecuniis malis xii[d]' (Plate Book, f. 6).

	M'mas—M'mas **1527–8**	*M'mas—M'mas* **1528–9**	*M'mas—M'mas* **1529–30**	*M'mas—M'mas* **1530–1**	*M'mas—M'mas* **1531–2**	*M'mas—M'mas* **1532–3**
	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
Outstanding Arrears	?95 8 $1\frac{1}{2}$	62 8 2 [2]	72 14 4 [3]	76 12 9	78 5 $6\frac{1}{2}$	78 4 $0\frac{1}{2}$
Arrears carried over	97 15 9 [1]	74 3 $4\frac{1}{4}$	78 18 $9\frac{1}{4}$	81 3 $6\frac{3}{4}$	78 4 $0\frac{1}{2}$	89 0 $11\frac{3}{4}$
Receipts from Rents and Donations, &c.	156 5 $3\frac{1}{4}$	136 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$	140 9 $3\frac{1}{2}$	144 17 $3\frac{1}{2}$	155 1 $5\frac{1}{2}$	153 2 $8\frac{1}{2}$
Taken out of chest (Plate Book)	44 0 0	36 0 0	34 16 10	26 15 8	31 10 3	22 3 6
Payments and allowances	163 10 10	124 11 $4\frac{1}{4}$	144 15 $7\frac{3}{4}$	135 11 11	164 9 $8\frac{1}{2}$	142 8 $10\frac{3}{4}$
Balance to credit	36 14 $5\frac{1}{4}$	35 16 11	24 6 $0\frac{1}{2}$	31 10 $2\frac{3}{4}$	22 3 6	22 0 $4\frac{1}{2}$
Put into chest	36 14 $5\frac{1}{4}$	35 16 11	24 6 $0\frac{1}{2}$	31 10 $2\frac{3}{4}$	22 3 6	22 0 $4\frac{1}{2}$
Money in chest	37 11 $5\frac{1}{2}$	37 8 $4\frac{3}{4}$	26 16 $0\frac{1}{2}$	31 10 $7\frac{1}{2}$	22 3 $11\frac{1}{2}$	22 0 10
Money on Deposit	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.

[1] After deduction of the allowances.

[2] Taken from chest.

[3] Left at £74 3*s.* $4\frac{1}{4}$*d.*; see D. 2. i.

	M'mas—M'mas 1543–4	*M'mas—M'mas* 1544–5	*M'mas—M'mas* 1545–6	*M'mas—M'mas* 1546–7
	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*
Outstanding arrears	111 1 7½	91 2 1	108 2 7½	101 7 7½
Arrears carried over	121 12 5¼	109 11 9¾	102 16 9¾	103 5 11
Receipts from Rents and Donations, &c.	209 14 6½	210 9 3½	210 0 0¾	209 17 4
Taken out of chest (Plate Book)	39 14 11½	26 0 0	2 0 0	29 10 0
Payments and allowances	211 16 4	216 16 1¼	176 0 7¾	196 0 1½
Balance to credit	27 2 4¼	1 3 5½	33 19 5	41 8 11
Put into chest	27 2 4¼	1 3 5½	33 19 5	41 8 11
Money in chest	27 2 4¼	2 5 9¾	41 11 3¾	53 16 8
Money on Deposit	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	

APPENDIX I

B.

B.N.C. BURSARS' ROLL, 1545–6

(*M'mas* 1545–*M'mas* 1546.)

[Visus Computi] Magistri Thome Aleyn et Magistri Rogeri Golbourn Bursariorum Aule Regie et Collegij de Brasynnose ibidem simul occupancium Officium receptorum omnium bonorum spiritualium et temporalium pertinencium dicto Collegio videlicet a festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni Regis Henrici Octaui tricesimo septimo vsque ad idem festum Sancti Michaelis anno eiusdem Regis tricesimo Octauo per vnum annum integrum.

[Receipts]

Onerantur Iidem Bursarij cum pecunijs per ipsos extractis de Cista Communi eiusdem Collegij . . . . . xls.
Summa . . . . . xls.

Onerantur eciam dicti Bursarij in arreragijs debitis dicto Collegio in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni Regis Henrici Octaui tricesimo Octauo prout patet in pede Computi proxime precedentis videlicet de anno tricesimo septimo dicti Regis . . . . . cviijli. ijs. vijd. ob.
Summa eiusdem . . cviijli. ijs. vijd. ob.

Summa Omnium arreragiorum predictorum et pecuniarum extractorum de Cista Communi . . . . cxli. ijs. vijd. ob.

Onerantur eciam dicti Bursarij pro redditu de Bassettes Fee pro vno anno integro finito in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno tricesimo Octauo Regis Henrici Octaui vt particulariter per Rentale in pergamino apparet remanens ['remanenc'] in custodia Bursariorum . . . . . vijli. viijs. iiijd. ob.

Iidem Bursarij onerantur pro terris dominicalibus nuper prioratus de Coldnorton necnon pro omnibus alijs terris et tenementis eidem modo pertinentibus vt eciam per Rentale remanens ['remanenc'] in Custodia Bursariorum apparet particulariter . . . . . xxxvj^{li} vij^{s} ob. qua.

Et eciam onerantur dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Barford Olof vt similiter per Rentale apparet particulariter . xlij^{s}

Onerantur eciam dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Chepyngfaryngdon vt eciam per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . ciiij^{s} viij^{d}

Iidem Bursarij onerantur pro tenementis in Oxonia vt similiter per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . xlvj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam onerantur dicti Bursarij pro tenemento siue hospicio in Chepyngwycombe vt apparet per Rentale . . . iiij^{li}

Onerantur eciam dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Milton et Shipton subtus Whichwod vt per Rentale apparet . vj^{li}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Borow vj^{li} xj^{s} iiij^{s} iij^{li} xv^{s} v^{d} ob. v^{s} Somerbye et Pyckewell in Comitatu Leycestr' vt per Rentale appare[t] particulariter . . . . . x^{li} xj^{s} ix^{d} ob.

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in North Okynton in Comitatu Essex' vt per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . iij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro quodam tenemento siue hospicio in parochia beate Marie de Strond iuxta London' vocato the whyte hert vt particulariter apparet . . . . . c^{s}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro Manerio de Cropredy cum pertinencijs vt eciam per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . xiij^{li} xiiij^{s} vj^{d}

Dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro Manerio de Genyns in Ealdyng et Westbramlyng cum pertinencijs in Comitatu Kanc' vt apparet per Rentale . . . . . iiij^{li} iiij^{s} ij^{d} ob. qua.

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Cudlyngton vt similiter apparet particulariter per Rentale . . . . . xxxiiij^{s} viij^{d}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Garsyngton et Cowley in Comitatu Oxon' vt apparet per Rentale . . . . . xlix^{s} iiij^{d}

Onerantur eciam dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Foresthyll vt similiter per Rentale apparet particulariter . . x^{s}

Et eciam Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro certis redditibus quietis de Gardianis ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum in Oxonia vt apparet per Rentale . . . . . iiij^{s}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Stanlake vt eciam per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . iij^{li} iij^{s} iij^{d}

Et similiter dicti Bursarij Onerantur cum pecunijs per ipsos receptis pro quodam annuali exeunti de certis terris et tenementis Johannis Port Militis nuper Iusticiarij domini Regis Henrici Octaui de Banco pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . vij^{li}

Idem Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Bredon in Comitatu Wygorn' vt similiter per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . xl^{s}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris et tenementis in Kemmerton lvj^{s} viij^{d} in Westmoncote xx^{s} in Fydyngton xij^{s} in South-wyke viij^{s} in Longford iij^{li} x^{s} et in Twygworth xv^{s} Et pro quodam prato

vocato Swyllynges medow Et similiter in Kinges Home in Comitatu Gloucestr' vt eciam per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . xiij^{li} ix^{s} viij^{d}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris et tenementis in Merston in Comitatu Oxon' vt eciam per Rentale apparet particulariter . . . . . cxj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Ascote prope Whichwode vt similiter apparet per Rentale xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro quodam tenemento in Burford vt eciam per Rentale apparet . . . . . xx^{s}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris pratis pascuis et pasturis in Grove in Comitatu Oxon' vt apparet per Rentale . cxx^{s}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro Manerio de Bradford cum pertinencijs in parochia de Lemster in Comitatu Herford' vt per Rentale apparet . . . . . ix^{li}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro Manerio de Warton in dicta parochia de Lemster vt similiter per Rentale apparet . xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris et tenementis in Ivyngton in eadem parochia de Lemster vt apparet per Rentale iiij^{li}

Dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro certis pascuis et Clausuris in Shelleswell in Comitatu Oxon' vt per Rentale apparet . . iiij^{li}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris et tenementis in Whateley in dicto Comitatu Oxon' vt apparet per Rentale . . . . . xxxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro terris et tenementis in Cowley et Yefteley in Comitatu Oxon' vt eciam apparet per Rentale . xxx^{s}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro terris et tenementis in Middylwych in Comitatu Cestr' vt apparet per Rentale . vj^{li} ix^{s} vij^{d}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro certis terris et tenementis in Sutton in Skegnes in Wynthrop et Borowe in Comitatu Lincoln vt apparet per Rentale . . . . xxvj^{li} iiij^{s} vj^{d}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro quodam Orto in tenura tenentis Collegij Marie Magdalene vt apparet . . xij^{d}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur cum pecunijs per ipsos receptis de certis pascuis et clausuris in Grove vt de Forenc' isto anno . . . . . iiij^{li}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro certis terris et tenementis in Balscote in Comitatu Oxon' pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis predicti vt Forenc' . . . . . iij^{li} viij^{s}

Dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro Camera in tenura Magistri Caple vt de Forenc' . . . . . viij^{s}

Onerantur dicti Bursarij pro Camera in tenura Magistri Vernam vt de Forenc' . . . . . viij^{s}

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro Camera in aula nigra in tenura Magistri Smyth vt de Forenc' . . . . . xx^{s}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro Camera nuper in tenura domini Gode vt de Forenc' . . . . . iiij^{s}

Dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro fine Iohannis Clereman in plenam solucionem dicti finis . . . . . v^{s}

Dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro herieto Roberti Couper vt de Forenc' . . . . . xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Iidem Bursarij Onerantur pro excambicione monete vt de Forenc' . . . . . xij^{s} vj^{d} qua.

Et eciam dicti Bursarij Onerantur pro pecunijs per ipsos receptis de Iohanne Wakeleyn vt de Forenc' . . . xviij^{s}

Summa Omnium reddituum et pecuniarum Forenc' receptorum . . . . . ccx^{li} ob. qua.

Summa Totalis Oneris tam reddituum et recepcionum Forenc' quam arreragiorum et extractorum . . . . . cccxx^{li} ij^{s} viij^{d} qua.

De Quibus

Iidem Bursarij Computant in defectu reddituum et reparacionum.

In arreragijs de redditu de Bassettes Fee videlicet super occupationem nuper Prioratus de Studeley parcelle de Bassettes Fee ad ij^{s} per annum pro septem annis finitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli xxxviij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . xiiij^{s}

Et in arreragijs super occupatorem Abbatis de Godstowe ad viij^{s} per annum pro septem annis finitis in festo Michaelis xxxviij^{o} predicti Regis . . . . . lvj^{s}

Et super Thomam Catlif pro parcella prati in Northham pro iij^{bus} annis ad xxv^{s} per annum finitis ad festum Michaelis anno xxxj^{o} dicti Regis . . . . . iij^{li} xv^{s}

Et super super [*sic*] occupatorem Abbatis de Rewley ad v^{s} per annum pro iiij^{or} annis finitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . xx^{s}

Et super tenentem Iohanne Busby vidue ad ijs. vjd. per annum pro iij^{bus} annis finitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} Regis predicti . . . . . vij^{s} vj^{d}

Et in arreragijs de redditu de Coldnorton videlicet super Iohannem Okeley debitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno xxvj^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . xxviij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et super Nicholaum Euerton de Churchhyll pro redditu quieto ad ijs per annum pro xviij^{cem} annis finitis ad festum Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} predicti Regis . . . . . xxxv^{js}

Et in arreragijs super Rectorem de Thenford ad liiijs. iiijd. per annum pro xxij [annis] ac dimidio anno finitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} dicti Regis . . . . . lx^{li}

Et super Leonardum$^{xiij^{s}\ vj^{d}}$ Yate de antiquis arreragijs vt patet in Computo precedenti Et super dictum Leonardum$^{xv^{s}}$ Yate pro dimidio anno finito in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno xxvij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . xxviij^{s} vj^{d}

Et super Iohannem Pates$^{v^{s}}$ pro dimidio anno pro Sewell vt patet in Computo precedenti Et super dictum Iohannem pro arreragijs in Sewell predicta ad xs. per annum pro x^{cem} annis finitis in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno xxxviij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . v^{li} v^{s}

Et in arreragijs super Somerland de Cropredy debitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} predicti Regis . . v^{s}

Et super Thomam Hyat de Burford pro arreragijs debitis in anno xxx^{o} Regis predicti . . . . . iiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et super Willelmum Pledyll pro arreragijs in Faryngdon ad iij^{s} iiij^{d} per annum pro xxiiij^{or} annis finitis ad festum Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} dicti Regis . . . . . iiij^{li}

Et in arreragijs super Ricardum Long pro Manerio de Bradford in parochia de Lemster debitis in anno xxxij^{o} Regis predicti . . . . . iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et super Ricardum Stephyns de Ivyngton in dicta parochia de Lemster debitis in anno xxxiiij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . xl^{s}

Et in arreragijs super predictum Ricardum Long pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . . . iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et similiter in arreragijs super Ricardum Stephyns debitis pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis predicti . . . . . iij^{li}

Et in arreragijs super nuper Prioratum Sancti Bartholomei infra villam Gloucestri ad ijs. per annum pro octo annis finitis in festo Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} dicti Regis . . . . xvj^{s}

Et super Iohannem Wood de North Okynton pro certis reparacionibus per ipsum ex conuencione fiendis et nondum constructis . . . . . vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et super Dauidem Ienkynson pro pecunijs per ipsum receptis de Iohanne Hamond debitis in anno xxxiij^{o} dicti Regis . v^{s} vij^{d} ob.

Et in arreragijs super Radulphum Bostok de Middelwych in Comitatu Cestr' pro ij^bus annis finitis ad festum Michaelis anno xxxviij^o predicti Regis . . . . . liij^s iiij^d

Et super Thomam Twaytes^xij^d de Oxonia debitis ad festum Natalis domini anno xxxiiij^o Regis Henrici viij Et super Relictam^viij^s iiij^d dicti Thome pro xxxvij^o anno dicti Regis . ix^s iiij^d

Et in arreragijs super Willelmum Wodford de Oxonia pro tenemento nuper in tenura Thome Twaytes pro isto xxxviij^o anno dicti Regis . . . . . vj^s viij^d

Et in arreragijs super Relictam Sambych de Burford debitis pro isto xxxviij^o anno predicti Regis . . . . v^s

Et in arreragijs super Robertum Gent de London' debitis pro isto xxxiij^o anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . iij^li xv^s

Et in arreragijs super Margeriam Collyngryng pro terris et tenementis nostris in Skegnes et Sutton in Comitatu Lincoln' pro xxxviij^o dicti Regis . . . . . xx^s iiij^d

Summa arreragiorum . . . . cj^li vij^s vij^d ob.

Allocantur dicti Bursarij pro decasu certarum terrarum et tenementorum in Somerby in Comitatu Leycestr' pro isto xxxviij^o anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . ix^s vij^d

Et similiter allocantur dicti Bursarij pro decasu in Genyns et Ealdyng in Comitatu Kanc' pro dicto xxxviij^o anno dicti Regis . . . . . iij^s iij^d qua.

Et eciam dicti Bursarij allocantur pro decasu in Faryngdon pro certis terris et tenementis ibidem pro predicto xxxviij^o anno predicti Regis . . . . . xvj^s iiij^d

Summa decasuum et allocacionum . . xxix^s ii^d qua.

Summa arreragiorum decasuum et allocacionum . . . . cij^li xvj^s ix^d ob. qua.

[**Expenditure**]

Et solutum Collegio Vniuersitatis Oxoniensis pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de Collegio nostro debitis pro anno xxxviij^o Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . iij^li

Et solutum Collegio Sancte Frideswyde pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de Coldnorton pro dicto xxxviij^o anno Regis predicti xxvij^s

Et solutum dominijs de Chepyngnorton pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de Coldnorton^x^s v^d Et similiter vicecomiti Comitatus Oxoniensis^ij^s pro redditu vocato Castell rent. Et eciam Balliuo

de Chadlyngton xvij^{d} Et solutum eciam Balliuo de Wotton ij^{s} Et similiter solutum occupatoribus nuper Abbatie de Bruera pro j^{li} piperis xvj^{d} exeunti de Cotagio nostro in Dunthrop Et eciam Antonio Hungreford Militi pro terris et tenementis nostris in Rollandright iiij^{s} Magna debitis in festo Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . xxj^{s} j^{d}

Et solutum occupatoribus ad Osney pro domibus nuper in tenura Dauidis Ienkynson xxxvj^{s} iiij^{d} ob. et Roberti Larke Et solutum eisdem occupatoribus pro aula Edwardi mun aula nigra et aula vocata the Glasynhall xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} debitis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno xxxviij^{o} Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . iij^{li} ix^{s} viij^{d} ob.

Et solutum Gardianis ecclesie beate Marie xij^{d} in Oxonia Et eciam solutum dictis Gardianis iij^{s} pro isto xxxviij^{o} predicti Regis iiij^{s}

Et solutum domino Episcopo Lincolniensi pro redditibus quietis et sectis Curie exeuntibus de Manerio nostro in Cropredy pro anno xxxviij^{o} dicti Regis . . . . .

Et solutum eciam pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de terris et tenementis nostris in Somerby et Borow in Comitatu Leycestr' videlicet pro tenemento Thome iiij^{s} iiij^{d} Hyll Et solutum Curie de Melton pro dicto tenemento iiij^{d} Et eciam pro le Sherevys tourn Et similiter denario vocato a Couchyng peny Et similiter Curie de Radley pro tenemento Thome xv^{d} Michell Et solutum eciam Curie de Horton pro tenemento Thome xvj^{d} Baker Et similiter Curie de Stapulford pro dicto tenemento predicti Thome v^{d} Et similiter Balliuo de Melton pro redditu quieto exeunti de dimidia virgata terre Et similiter solutum Curie de Stapulford pro tenemento Thome ix^{d} Dawes debitis pro xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regi . . . . . viij^{s} x^{d} ob.

Et solutum eciam pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de terris et tenementis nostris in Middelwyche videlicet to Saynt Johns. et hered' de Bulkeley Et similiter Thome viij^{d} Fulcest Militi debitis pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . x^{s} iiij^{d}

Et solutum Balliuo de Faryngdon pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de terris et tenementis nostris ibidem pro dicto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . . . xxx^{s} vj^{d}

Et solutum similiter pro redditibus quietus exeuntibus de terris et tenementis nostris in Comitatu Lincoln' videlicet domino de Croft pro redditu quieto exeunti de Skegnes iiij^{s} vj^{d} et jli. piperis xxij^{d} Et eciam in Sutton ij^{s} Et pro amerciamentis domino de Croft viij^{d} Et similiter nuper Abbatie de Markebe pro finibus et amerciamentis xij^{d} Et eciam cuidam Caudesbe pro redditu quieto pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis predicti . . . . . viij^{d} x^{s}

Et eciam solutum pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de Tenementis nostris in Whateley pro xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . viij^{d}

Summa Reddituum quietorum . . . xij^{li} iij^{s} viij^{d}

Et solutum Elizabethe Bulkeley vidue pro annuitate sua exeunti de Bassettes Fee pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . xl^{s}

Et solutum Magistro Vmfredo Ogull pro annuitate sua pro anno finito in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno xxxviij^{o} predicti Regis . . . . . c^{s}

Et solutum pro annualibus redditibus ecclesie beate Marie Lincoln' pro quibusdam diuinis officijs celebrandis pro xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . . . . . xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Summa annuitatum . . . . . xx^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et solutum Capellanis Ricardi Sutton Militis pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . . x^{li}

Et solutum Capellanis Iohannis Cokkes pro dicto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . . . iij^{li}

Et solutum Capellano Elizabethe Morley vidue pro predicto xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . . . . . xl^{s}

Et solutum Capellano seruienti ad Coldnorton pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . . . cvj^{s} viij^{d}

Et solutum pro Communis Magistri Principalis et Sociorum pro anno integro finito in festo Sancti Hugonis Episcopi anno xxxviij^{o} dicti Regis . . . . . xxx^{li} xix^{s} x^{d}

Et solutum pro exibicione Scolari Magistri Iohannis Clamond pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . xj^{li} x^{s} vj^{d}

Et similiter solutum Scolari Magistri Willelmi Porter pro dicto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et solutum pro Communis lectoris Biblie Tonsoris Mancipij promi et Coci pro xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . . . x^{li} viij^{d}

Et solutum Baldwino Smyth pro adiotorio Mancipij hoc anno . . . . . xx^{s}

Et eciam solutum pro sale xj^{s} v^{d} et farina xxxj^{s} ad aulam et Coquinam necessarijs pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno predicti Regis . . . xlij^{s} v^{d}

Et similiter solutum pro lignis et Focalibus ad Coquinam pertinentibus pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . . vj^{li} xj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam solutum pro anniuersario domini Willelmi Smyth xx^{s} j^{d} ob. nuper Lincoln' Episcopi Ricardi Sutton Militis Fundatorum nostri Willelmi Porter Edwardi Derby et Iohannis Cokkes benefactorum Collegij nostri vt per billas examinatas apparet . . . . . xxiiij^{s} v^{d} ob. iiij^{li} iij^{s} viij^{d}

Et solutum in necessarijs ad Capellam nostram infra Collegium nostrum Et ad Capellam nostram in Coldnorton videlicet in Cera pane vino locione empcione et reparacione vestium vt per billas examinatas coram Magistro Principali et Socijs apparet particulariter . . . . . xlv^{s} viij^{d} ob. qua.

Et solutum Magistro Principali pro Stipendio suo in exercendo Officium suum isto anno . . . . . c^{s}

Et eciam solutum Magistro Vice-Principali pro Officio suo exercendo pro predicto anno . . . . . xxxj^{s} viij^{d}

Et similiter solutum Bursarijs pro officio illo exercendo . xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam solutum pro stipendio Lectoris Scolarum in aula pro anno integro . . . . . iiij^{li}

Et solutum eciam pro stipendio Lectoris Sacre theologie in Nouis Scolis pro anno finito in festo Michaelis anno predicto . vj^{s} vj^{d}

Et similiter solutum supervisoris [*sic*] Capelle isto anno . vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam solutum pro Stipendio Mancipij Tonsoris et Coci pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis Henrici Octaui . . . . vj^{li}

Et solutum Iohanni Hunt Generoso Solicitario nostro per [*sic*] Feodo suo per annum integrum . . . xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam solutum Henrico Rathbon pro stipendio suo hoc anno . . . . . xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Et solutum Waltero Pates pro stipendio suo in recepcione reddituum in Comitatu Gloucestr' isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis predicti . . . . . xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et solutum Iohanni Bostok pro reparacione reddituum in Wych in Comitatu Cestr' dicto anno . . . . . ix^{s}

Et solutum eciam pro necessarijs ad Tonsorem . . . v^{s}

Et similiter solutum pro necessarijs ad equos [?] Collegij vt apparet per bill' examinat' . . . . . lvj^{s} ix^{d} ob.

Et solutum pro diuersis reparacionibus factis infra Collegium vt per bill' examinat' coram Magistro Principali et Socijs particulariter apparet . . . . . xxj^{s} iiij^{d} ob. qua.

Et solutum eciam pro diuersis reparacionibus factis ad Coldnorton iij^{li} v^{d} Et similiter ad Middelwych xvj^{s} ij^{d} in Comitatu Cestr' Et similiter super Tenementum Iohannis xiiij^{s} Miller in Oxonia Et eciam in Somerby ij^{s} iiij^{d} in Comitatu Leycestr' Et similiter in Sutton in Comitatu Lincoln' pro mundacione xxj^{s} viij^{d} Fossarum et reparacione littorum marinorum pro isto anno et eciam pro anno vltimo preterito videlicet pro anno xxxvij^{o} predicti Regis xxvj^{s} Et eciam super Tenementum nostrum in Chepyngwycombe pro antiquis reparacionibus vt apparet per bill' examinat' . . xx^{s} vij^{li} vij^{s} ix^{d}

Et solutum pro expensis Magistri Principalis et Bursariorum ad London' Terminis Hillarij xiiij^{s} Trinitatis xxxij^{s} viij^{d} et Michaelis xj^{s} viij^{d} vt similiter per bill' examinat' coram Magistro Principali et Socijs apparet particulariter . . . . . lviij^{s} iiij^{d}

Et solutum pro expensis Magistri Principalis et aliorum equitancium ad diuersa loca diuersis temporibus circa negocia Collegij vt apparet per bill' examinat' . . . iiij^{li} xix^{s} vj^{d} ob.

Et eciam solutum in Feodis seruiencium Communis legis et attornatorum eiusdem legis ac pro scriptis et instrumentis terr' acquirend' et defendend' vt similiter per bill' coram Magistro Principali et socijs examinat' apparet particulariter . . xij^{s} vj^{d}

Et solutum eciam in donis et regardis datis diuersis personis vt apparet per bill' examinat' . . . . . iiij^{li} ix^{s}

Et similiter solutum pro visitacione domini Episcopi Lincolniensis per Cancellarium suum pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno Regis predicti. . . . . xxx^{s}

Et solutum eciam per manus Bursariorum pro expensis extraneorum et firmariorum vt apparet per bill' examinat' . xvij^{s} iiij^{d} qua.

Et solutum pro certis reparacionibus factis infra librarium vt per bill' apparet particulariter . . . . . ij^{s} viij^{d}

Et similiter solutum pro instauro infra Collegium vt apparet per bill' examinat' . . . . . xv^{s} j^{d} ob.

Et eciam solutum Collectori x^{e} et xv^{e} domino Regi concessarum in parochia beate Marie in Oxonia pro isto xxxviij^{o} anno dicti Regis . . . . . vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et similiter solutum Collectori predicte xv^{e} et x^{e} in parochia Sancti Michaelis in Oxonia pro predicto anno. . . vj^{s} viij^{d}

Et eciam solutum pro visitacione domini Regis dicto anno . . . . . xviij^{s} iij^{d} ob. qua.

Et solutum eciam per manus Bursariorum tempore Computi . . . . . xxj^{s} v^{d}

Summa Omnium Solucionum . . cxliij^{li} x^{s} iij^{d} ob. qua.

Summa Omnium Solucionum Allocacionum et Arreragiorum predictorum . . cclxxviij^{li} xvij^{s} v^{d} ob.

Et sic debent predicti Bursarij . xlj^{li} v^{s} ij^{d} ob. qua.

Quam quidem summam deliberauerunt ad Cistam Communem in presencia Magistri Principalis et Sociorum Seniorum tunc presencium . .

Et Quieti recesserunt.

APPENDIX II

THE VALOR OF 1547

AUGMENTATION OFFICE MISCELL. BOOKS. VOL. 441

Oxonie Achademia

Sequuntur Annui Valores omnium et singulorum Dominiorum Maneriorum Terrarum Tenementorum et Hereditamentorum quorumcunque tam temporalium quam spiritualium infra Regnum Anglie et Marchias ejusdem scituatorum jacentium et existentium Collegijs Aulis Hospitalibus Cantariis et Capellis in Universitate Oxonie predicte pertinentium sive spectantium unacum Misis et Reprisis inde exeuntibus ac statibus et conditionibus necnon Fundationibus cum Nominibus Fundatorum ac Diebus et Annis Fundationum eorundem secundum supervisionem ibidem Mense Januarij Anno Regni Domini Regis Henrici octavi Dei Gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis Fidei Defensoris ac in Terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremi Capitis xxxvij° [Jan. $154\frac{5}{6}$]. per Ricardum Coxe Theologie Doctorem et ejusdem Domini Regis Elemosinarium ac alios Commissionarios dicti Domini Regis adtunc ibidem existentes virtute Litterarum prefati Domini Regis sibi inde directarum factarum et declaratarum ut infra plenius apparere poterit.

Anno xxxvij°.

Aula Regia et Collegium de Brasenose in Achademia Oxonie

Sequitur Annuus Valor

Omnium et singulorum Maneriorum Terrarum et Tenementorum ac ceterorum omnium et singulorum possessionum et hereditamentorum quorumcunque tam Temporalium quam Spiritualium eidem Collegio sive Aule pertinentium siue spectantium Scituatorum iacentium et existentium in diuersis villis et Hamelettis in diuersis Comitatibus huius Regni Anglie existentium vnacum omnibus et singulis misis et reprisis tam ordinariis quam extraordinariis inde siue aliqua eorundem parcella exeuntibus seu soluendis Ac cum proporcione tam dietarum siue Mensarum Stipendiorum et aliorum neccessariorum Onerum et exhibicionum versus victum et vestitum vnius principalis, xiiij^{cim} Sociorum et quinque Scholarium in eodem Collegio siue Aula iuxta statuta et ordinaciones inde edita existentium incumbentium quam stipendiorum et victus V. ministrorum ibidem ministrantium et seruientium vt inferius patet. Videlicet in

[REVENUE]

Comitatu Oxonie

Ciuitas Oxonie valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu Scitus cum omnibus domibus Edificijs ortis pomarijs gardinis ac terris et solo infra Scitum et Circuitum dicti Collegij per Annum } nihil quia reseruatur ad vsum principalis et Scholarium.

Redditibus assise annuatim receptis de Gardianis Ecclesie omnium Sanctorum in Oxonia per Annum . . . . iiij.s.

Redditu vnius Gardini cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Wykys Wedowe ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . xij.d.

Redditu duorum pratorum cum pertinentiis ibidem vocatorum Brodemore et Northam in manibus principalis et Scolarium modo existentium olim dimissorum sub Redditu per Annum . xl.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . . xlv.s.

Redditus vocatus Bassettes Fee valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus assise diuersorum liberorum Tenentium pro Redditibus exeuntibus de diuersis pratis et Alijs terris in Comitatu Oxonie vocatis Basshettes Fee videlicet de terris dudum pertinentibus nuper Monasterio de Osney. xxxvj.s. iiij.d. ob. de terris nuper Collegij sancti [*sic*] Frideswithe xj.s. viij.d. de terris nuper prioratus de Godstowe. viij.s. de terris nuper prioratus de Studley. ij.s. de terris nuper prioratus de Lytlemore v. s. de terris Collegij Noui in Oxonia ij.s. ij.d. de terris Collegij Vniuersitatis Oxonie iij.s. viij.d. de terris in tenura Willelmi Kyrkeman x.s. de terris in tenura —— Busby vidue ij.s. vj.d. de terris nuper Monasterii de Abyngdon' modo in occupacione Willelmi Plummer ij.s. de terris nuper Monasterij de Abyngdon predicti vocatis Hynxhey medowe xx.s. de terris nuper prioratus de Rowley v.s. in toto per Annum prout patet. cviij.s. iiij.d. ob.

Marston parochia de se j. milliare a Ciuitate Oxonie valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu vnius Mesuagij cum pertinentijs ibidem cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Edmundo Crouche ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . lxvj.s. viij.d.

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Ricardo Hoore per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi dicti Collegij datam xxx^{mo} die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxvj^{to} [30 Sept. 1544] pro termino xxx^{ta} annorum a data dicte Indenture per Annum . . . . . xviij.s. iiij.d.

Firma vnius alij mesuagii cum pertinentiis ibidem ac cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Willelmo Foreste alias Smyth per Indenturam sub Sigillo vnius Feoffatorum dictarum terrarum per Annum . . xxvj.s. viij.d.

[Summa totalis] . . . cxj.s. viij.d.

Forest Hill parochia de se iij milliaria a Civitate Oxonie valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Iohanni Clereman per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communiali [*sic*] dicti Collegij datam xix° die Septembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxvij^{mo} [19 Sept. 1545] pro termino xxx Annorum a Festo Michaelis proximo post datam dicte Indenture Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . x.s.

Whateley in parochia de Cuddysden valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ibidem ad voluntatem domini videlicet —— Plumare xx.s. —— Smith x.s. et —— Twyttys vj.s. viij.d. in toto prout patet per Annum . xxxvj.s. viij.d.

Garsyngton parochia de se iiij milliaria a villa Oxonie valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius mesuagii cum terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Willelmo Frankleyn per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi predicto datam xx° die Novembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxj^{mo} [20 Nov. 1539] pro termino xxx Annorum Reddendo inde per Annum A festo Michaelis proximo post datam dicte Indenture . . . . xliij.s. iiij.d.

Cowley parochia de se ij milliaria ab Oxonia valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Thome Daye per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi dicti Collegij datam viij° die Augusti Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxiij^{cio} [8 Aug. 1541] pro termino xxj^{ti} Annorum A dato dicte Indenture per Annum . . . . . vj.s.

Firma vnius Alius Mesuagii cum terris pratis Et pasturis eidem pertinentibus ibidem et Yfteley dimissi Willelmo Parsons per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi predicto datam xvij° die Octobris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui}. xxxvij^{mo} [17 Oct. 1545] A dato predicto per Annum pro termino xxx Annorum xxx.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . xxxvj.s.

Stanlake parochia de se vj milliaria de Oxonia valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ad voluntatem domini ibidem per Annum . . . . . xxix.s. iij.d.

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio pertinentibus dimissi Iohanni Coles alias Barnes per Indenturam datam xxvj^{to} die Decembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxvij^{mo} [26 Dec. 1545] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . xxxiiij.s.

Firma vnius Molendini Aquatici cum pertinenciis ibidem dimissi Thome Calcate per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi dicti Collegij datam —— die —— Anno regni regis —— pro termino —— Annorum per Annum . . . . . xxx.s.
[Summa totalis] . . iiij.l. xiij.s. iij.d.

Burfford parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu vnius Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi — Sandbage vidue ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xx.s.

Redditu vnius pecie terre cum pertinentiis ibidem dimisse Roberto Wysdome per Indenturam vt dicitur per Annum . ij.s.
[Summa totalis] . . xxij.s. Inde in

Burfford parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto exeunte de Tenemento predicto cum pertinentiis per Annum soluto Ballivo ville de Burfford predicte . . . . . ij.s. vjd.

Et valet clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . xix.s. vjd.

Shypton parochia de se et Milton in parochia de Shipton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ad voluntatem domini ibidem per Annum . . . . . liij.s. iiij.d.

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum pertinentiis vocati Hyntons Lyllyees et Fyffyans in Milton dimissi Iohanni Hacker per Indenturam datam ix° die Marcij Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxv^to^ [9 Mar. 153¾] pro termino xxvj Annorum A data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . lxvj.s. viij.d.
[Summa totalis] . . . . vj.l.

Ascotte vnder Whychewood parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Iohanni Mynchyn per Indenturam vt dicitur Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xiij.s. iiij.d.

Cudlyngton parochia de se iiij milliaria ab Oxonia valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu vnius Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Roberto Taillor Ad voluntatem Domini per Annum . . xx.s.

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Roberto Saunders per Indenturam datam xxix^no^ die Septembris Anno xxxiij^cio^ Regis Henrici viij^ui^ [29 Sept. 1541] pro termino xxx^ta^ Annorum proximo post datam predictam Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xiiij.s. viijd.
[Summa totalis] . . xxxiiij.s. viij.d.

Barforde olyff parochia de se j milliare de Dedyngton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ad voluntatem domini ibidem videlicet Thome Ward xiij.s. iiij.d. Ricardi Wyldon xv.s. iiij.d. Iohannis Heron vj.s. viij.d. et Willelmo [*sic*] Fortnam vj.s. viij.d. in toto per Annum clare . . . . . xlij.s.

Grove in parochia de Magna Tue valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis diuersarum pasturarum et clausurarum cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissarum Iohanni Busbey per Indenturam ut dicitur Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . x.l.

Shelleswell parochia de se iij milliaria a Byssyter' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum omnibus et singulis terris pratis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio pertinentibus dimissi Roberto Hethe per Indenturam datam —— die —— Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} pro termino —— Annorum A dato Indenture predicte Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . iiij.l.

Cropridie parochia de se iij milliaria de Banbur' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus assise ibidem videlicet Thome Halle (j.d. ob.) et Iohannis Myllys (ob.) per Annum . . . . . ij.d.

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ad voluntatem domini ibidem per Annum . . . . . vj.l. ij.s. viij.d.

Firma vnius mesuagij cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem mesuagio pertinentibus dimissi Willelmo Fox per Indenturam datam ix^{no} die Nouembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxij^{do} [9 Nov. 1540] pro termino xxx^{ta} Annorum a data predicta per Annum . . . . . cxiij.s. iiij.d.

Firma vnius alius mesuagij cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem mesuagio pertinentibus dimissi Rogero Lumberd per Indenturam datam xxij^{do} die Marcij anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxiij^{cio} [22 Mar. 154$\frac{1}{2}$] pro termino xxj^{us} Annorum A data Indenture predicte Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xxxviij.s. iiij.d.

[Summa totalis] . xiij.l. xiiij.s. vj.d. Inde in

Cropridie parochia de se iij milliaria de Banbur' valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto domino Episcopo Lincolniensi pro quietancia Reddituum exeuntium de Terris et Tenementis predictis per Annum . . . . . ix.d.

Et valet vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . xiij.l. xiij.s. ix.d.

Coldnorton parochia de se j milliare de Chepingnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma Manerij de Coldnorton predicta cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Lucas [*sic*] Longlond per Indenturam datam primo die Maij Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xx^o^ [1 May, 1528] pro termino xxx^ta^ Annorum A Festo Michaelis proximo post datam predictam Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xiiij.l. iij.s. iiij.d. Inde in

Perquisitis Curie ibidem Communibus Annis . . . nihil.

Vendicione Bosci ibidem Communibus Annis . . . nihil.

Coldnorton parochia de se j milliare de Chepignorton valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto Annuatim soluto ad Capitale Manerium de Chepyngnorton per Annum . . . . . x.s. v.d.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de Manerio dicti Collegij predicto pro Redditu vocato Castill Rent soluto vicecomiti Oxonie per Annum . . . . . ij.s.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de Manerio predicto soluto Annuatim Ballivo de Chadlyngton per Annum . . . xvij.d.

Consimile Redditu Annuatim soluto Ballivo de Sutton' exeunte de Manerio predicto per Annum . . . . . ij.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . xv.s. x.d.

Et valet clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . xiij.l. vij.s. vj.d.

Rollwright parochia de se ij. milliaria A Chepyngnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus Custumariorum Tenentium ibidem per Annum . . . . . iiij.l. iiij.d.

Redditibus assise ibidem per Annum . . . . iiij.d.

Firma Manerij de Rollewrygth predicta cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Humffrido Assheffild per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi dicti Collegij datam iiij die Maij Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxviij^uo^ [4 May, 1536] pro termino xxx^ta^ Annorum A Festo Annunciationis proximo Ante datam dicte Indenture Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . c.s.

Firma vnius mesuagij cum pertinentiis ibidem dimissi Thome Kyrye per Indenturam vt dicitur Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xxvj.s. viij.d.

Perquisitis Curie ibidem communibus Annis . . . ij.s.

Vendicione Bosci ibidem communibus Annis . . . iij.l.

[Summa totalis] . x.l. ix.s. iiij.d. Inde in

Rollwright parochia de se ij. milliaria A Chepygnorton valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto Annuatim soluto Collegio Sancti [*sic*] Frydiswide in Oxonia per Annum . . . . . xxvij.s.

Consimile Redditu Annuatim soluto Anthonio Hungerford Militi exeunte de Manerio et terris predictis per Annum . . iiij.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . . xxxj.s.

Et Remanet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . viij.l. xviij.s. iiij.d.

Chepyngnorton parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Tenentium ad voluntatem domini in Chypyngnorton predicta videlicet Thome Herne vj.s. viij.d. Thome Colton ij.s.—Holowaye Capellani iiij.s. et Ricardi Grene iij.s. in toto per Annum prout patet . . xv.s. viij.d.

Bradston in parochia de Euston' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis Terrarum pratorum pasturarum et Clausurarum cum pertinentiis in Bradston predicta dimissarum Humffrido Assheffeld Armigero per Indenturam datam iiij^{to} die maij Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxviij^{uo} [4 May 1536] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . . . lx.s.

Dunthrope parochia de Hethrop j milliare de Chepyngnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis Terrarum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis ibidem in Dunthrope predicta dimissarum prefato Humffrido Assheffeld per Indenturam supra dictam Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . x.s. Inde in

Dunthrope parochia de Hethrop j milliare de Chepyngnorton valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto Annuatim soluto Thome pope militi exeunte de terris predictis per Annum . . . . xvj.d.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . viijs. viij.d.

Styple Aston parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis Terrarum pratorum pasturarum et Clausurarum cum pertinentiis in Stiple Aston predicta dimissarum Willelmo Parsons per Indenturam datam xij^{o} die Decembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xx^{mo} [12 Dec. 1528] pro termino xxj Annorum A Festo Annunciationis proximo post datam dicte Indenture Reddendo Inde per Annum . . . . xx.s.

Banbury valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus assise Annuatim Receptis de Guilda Ecclesie de Banbury predicta per Annum . . . . . iiij.s.

Shewell in parochia de Swafforde ij milliaria A Chepingnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet

Redditu Terre Tenementi cum pertinentiis in Shewell' predicta dimissi —— Pope Ad voluntatem Domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . x.s.

Chadlyngton in parochia de Chalbur' V. milliaria A Chepingnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu Terre Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem in Chadlyngton predicta dimissi Edmundo Osloston per Indenturam vt dicitur per Annum . . . . . iij.s. iiij.d.

Chylson in parochia de Chalbur' predicta valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu vnius Tenementi cum terris pratis pascuis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio siue Tenemento pertinentibus dimissi Willelmo Howet ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xxiij.s. iiij.d.

Euston parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu Terre Tenementi cum pertinentiis ibidem in tenura Iohannis Mason Reddendo inde per Annum . . xvj.d.

Churchehill parochia de se ij milliaria A Chepyngnorton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus assise ibidem per Annum vltra ij.s. non solutos ij.s.

Balscote in parochia de Swaclyff ij milliaria A Banburi valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis diuersorum Terrarum Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Balscote predicta diuersis personis dimissorum per Indenturas separales sub Sigillo cuiusdam Iohannis Waudy nondum ostensas videlicet Edwardo Wattys xxvj.s. Thome Wever xxvj.s. et Willelmo Plumme xvj.s. in toto per Annum . lxviij.s. Inde in

Balscote in parochia de Swaclyff ij milliaria A Banburi valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Feodis Collectorum omnium et singulorum Reddituum in dicto comitatu Oxonie per Annum . . . . . xx.s.
Et valet vltra Clare per Annum . . . . . xlviij.s.
Summa totius Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Oxonie . . . . . iiij^{xx}. xv.l. viij^{s}. viij^{d}. ob.

Comitatus Gloucestrie.

Kemmarton parochia de se iiij milliaria A Tewkysbur' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius mesuagii cum omnibus Terris pratis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio pertinentibus dimissi Roberto Nebur' per Indenturam sub Sigillo Communi dicti Collegii datam xij° die Marcij Anno xxx^mo^ regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ [12 Mar. 1538.] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . . . . . lvj.s. viij.d. Inde in

Kemmarton parochia de se iiij milliaria A Tewkysbur' valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Annuo Redditu exeunte de terris et Mesuagio predictis Annuatim soluto pro secta Curie Ad Manerium de —— per Annum . . . . . iiij.d.

Et valet clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . lvj.s. iiij.d.

Westmoncote in parochia de Bredon valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Mesuagii cum terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus dimissi Ricardo Bumpas per Indenturam datam xij° die Augusti Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxxij^do^ [12 Aug. 1540.] pro termino xxx^ta^ Annorum [A] data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xx.s.

Fyddyngton parochia de se iij milliaria A Tewkysbur' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis Terrarum Tenementorum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis in Fyddyngton predicta dimissorum Ricardo Kemble per Indenturam datam iiij^to^ die Augusti Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxxij^do^ [4 Aug. 1540.] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . . . . . xiiij.s.

Suthwyk in parochia de Tewkysbur' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma Terre arrabilis et duarum Clausurarum cum pertinentiis ibidem dimisse Thome Wakeman per Indenturam datam xxix^no^ die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxxvj^to^ [29 Sept. 1544] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . . . . . viij.s.

Sainthurst in parochia de —— valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis ibidem in Saynthurst predicta diuersis personis dimissarum Ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . xxviij.s. vj.d.

Twygworthe in parochia de —— valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis ibidem in Twygworth predicta diuersis personis dimissarum Ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . xxxiij.s.

Longfford in parochia de —— iuxta uillam Gloucestrie valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditu vnius Mesuagii cum Terris pratis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio pertinentibus in Longfford predicta dimissi Johanni Hemmyng Ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xxij.s. vjd.

Firma terre et Clausure ac prati cum pertinentiis ibidem dimisse Willelmo Dobbys per Indenturam datam xxix^{no} die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxvj^{to} [29 Sept. 1544] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . iiij.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . xxvj.s. vjd.

Kynges Home prope Gloucestriam in parochia de —— valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Kynges Home predicta diuersis personis dimissorum ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . lxviij.s. x.d.

Firma vnius parue Clausure cum pertinentiis ibidem dimisse Thome Parrye per Indenturam datam xij^{o} die Augustij [*sic*] Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxvj^{to} [12 Aug. 1544] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta per Annum . . iiij.s.

Firma vnius Clausure cum pertinentiis ibidem vocate Lytle parke dimisse prefato Thome per Indenturam datam xxvij^{mo} die Octobris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxxiij^{cio} [27 Oct. 1541] pro termino xxx Annorum A data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . vj.s. viiij.d.

[Summa totalis] . lxxix.s. vj.d. Inde in

Kynges Home prope Gloucestriam in parochia de —— valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Feodis Collectorum omnium et singulorum Reddituum in dicto Comitatu Gloscestrie per Annum . . . . . x.s.

Et valet vltra reprisas predictas per Annum Clare . lxix.s. vj.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Gloucestrie . . . . . xij.l. xv.s. x.d.

Comitatus Berk'

Faryngton parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis omnium et singulorum Terrarum et Tenementorum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis in Farryngton predicta dimissorum Roberto Clotte per Indenturam datam xxix^{no} die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ui} xxviij^{uo} [29 Sept. 1536] pro termino xxx Annorum A data dicte Indenture Reddendo inde per Annum . . . iiij.l. v.s. Inde in

Faryngton parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim soluto domino Regi ad possessiones suas nuper Monasterij de Bewley per Annum . . . . xxx.s. vj.d.

Et valet clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . liiij.s. vj.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto comitatu Berk' . . . . . liiij.s. vj.d.

Comitatus Wigornie.

Bredon parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis omnium et singulorum terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Bredon predicta dimissorum Willelmo Lyghtfote per Indenturam datam in Festo Sancti Thome Apostoli Anno xxij^{do} regni regis Henrici viii^{ui} [21 Dec. 1530] pro termino xxx. Annorum A data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xl.s. Inde in

Bredon parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Feodo Collectoris Reddituum inde per Annum . . iij.s. iiij.d.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . xxxvj.s. viij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Wigornie . . . . . xxxvj.s. viij.d.

Comitatus Hereffordie.

Lemster parochia de se cum Hamlettis Evington Bradford et Warton valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Terrarum Tenementorum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis diuersis personis dimissorum per Indenturas vt dicitur et Ad voluntatem videlicet Ricardo Stephyns pro terris et Tenementis in Evington iiij.l. Ricardo Longe pro terris et Tenementis in Bradfford ix.l. Ricardo Bodle pro terris et Tenementis in Warton x.s. Iohanni Pole pro Terris et Tenementis iacentibus iuxta Lemster iij.s. iiij.d. in toto per Annum . . . xiij.l. xiij.s. iiij.d.

Lemster parochia de se cum Hamlettis Evington Bradford et Warton valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Feodis computantis et Collectoris Reddituum ibidem per Annum . . . . . vj.s. viij.d.

Et valet vltra Clare per Annum . . . xiij.l. vj.s. viij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Hereffordie . . . . . xiij.l. vj.s. viij.d.

Comitatus Cestrie.

Myddlewycche parochia de se iiij milliaria A Nantwycche valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus diuersorum Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Myddylwyche predicta diuersis personis dimissorum ad voluntatem Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . vj.l. ix.s. vij.d. Inde in

Myddlewycche parochia de se iiij milliaria A Nantwycche valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim domino Regi ad possessiones suas nuper domus Sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia per Annum v.s. viij.d.

Consimile Redditu Annuatim soluto heredi de Bulkley exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis per Annum . iiij.s.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim soluto Thome Fulsett Militi per Annum . viij.d.

Feodo Collectoris Reddituum ibidem per Annum . . ix.s.

Decasis Redditibus ibidem prout patet per compota inde ostensa per Annum . . . . . xxvj.s. viij.d.

[Summa totalis] . . . . x.l. vj.s.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum iiij.l. iij.s. vijd.

Annuitas Iohannis Porte militis

De Iohanne Porte milite exeunte de omnibus et singulis Terris et Tenementis suis in Comitatu predicto existentibus pro Annuitate prefato Collegio ac socijs ibidem pro tempore existente et Successoribus suis imperpetuum concessa per Annum . . . . . vij.l.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Cestrie et Derbie . . . . . xj.l. iii.s. vijd.

Comitatus Leicestrie.

Pykwell in parochia de —— valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus Assise in Pykwell predicta per Annum . . v.s.

Borowe parochia de se et Summerby parochia de se valent in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firmis omnium et singulorum terrarum Tenementorum pratorum et pasturarum cum pertinentiis in Borowe et Somerbye predictis dimissorum Iohanni Hunte per Indenturam datam vj^to^ die Iunij Anno xxxiij^cio^ regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ [6 June 1541] pro termino xxviij Annorum A data predicta Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . ix.l. viij.s. iiij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Leicestrie . . . . . ix.l. xiij.s. iiij.d.

Comitatus Lincolnie.

Sutton' parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus omnium et singulorum Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Sutton' predicta diuersorum personarum ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . xiij.l. viij.s. viij.d. Inde In

Sutton' parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto Annuatim exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis et soluto domino de Crofte per Annum . ij.s.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis pro secta Curie Annuatim soluto per Annum . . . viij.d.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim soluto domino Regi ad possessiones suas nuper Monasterij de Barkby per Annum . . . . . xij.d.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim soluto cuidam —— Candesbye per Annum . viij.d.

Reparacionibus ibidem super le Seedyekys fiendis communibus Annis . . . . . xxix.s.

Feodo Computantis ibidem per Annum . . . . xx.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . liij.s. iiij.d.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum x.l. xv.s. iiij.d.

Borowe in parochia de —— ac Wynthrop parochia de se et Skegnes parochia de se valent in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus omnium et singulorum Terrarum et Tenementorum cum pertinentiis in Borowe Wynthrope et Skegnes predictis dimissorum Cristofero Palmor Ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . xij.l. xv.s. viij.d. Inde In

Borowe in parochia de —— ac Wynthrop parochia de se et Skegnes parochia de se valent in Reprisis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto exeunte de terris et Tenementis predictis Annuatim soluto domino de Croft' per Annum . . iiij.s. vj.d.

Et eidem pro vna libra piperis per Annum . . . xxij.d.

Reparacionibus ibidem Communibus Annis super le Seedykes . . . . . xxix.s.

[Summa totalis] . . . xxxv.s. iiij.d.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . xj.l. iiij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Lincolnie . . . . . xxj.l. xv.s. viij.d.

Comitatus Bukinghamie.

Chypyng Wecomb parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius domus siue Hospicij vocate the Redd Lyon cum pertinentiis in Chyppyng Wecombe predicta dimisse Iohanni Standysshe per Indenturam datam xj°. die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xxxv^to^ [11 Sept. 1543] pro termino xxx Annorum A Festo Sancti Michaelis proximo post datam predicte Indenture Reddendo inde per Annum . iiij.l. Inde in

Chypyng Wecomb parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Reparacionibus ibidem fiendis Communibus Annis . . xx.s.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . lx.s.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in dicto Comitatu Bukinghamie . . . . . lx.s.

Comitatus Middlesexie.

Parochia de Strande iuxta London' valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Mesuagij cum pertinentiis vocati the Whyte Harte in parochia de Strande predicta dimissi Thome Gente per Indenturam vt dicitur Reddendo inde per Annum . c.s. Inde in

Parochia de Strande iuxta London' valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Reparacionibus ibidem communibus Annis . . xiij.s. iiij.d.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum iiij.l. vj.s. viij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in Comitatu Middlesexie predicto . . . . . iiij.l. vj.s. viij.d.

Comitatus Essexie.

Northokenton parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Firma vnius Messuagii cum pertinentiis in Northokenton predicta dimissi Willelmo Wood per Indenturam vt dicitur Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . lx.s. vj.s. [*sic*] viij.d.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in Comitatu Essexie . . . . . lxvj.s. viij.d.

Comitatus Kancie.

Ealdyng parochia de se valet in Temporalibus videlicet in

Redditibus Assise diuersorum liberorum Tenentium ibidem per **Annum** . . . . . xxx.s. x.d. ob. q^a^.

Redditu vnius domus siue Mesuagii cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem Mesuagio pertinentibus in Ealdyng predicta dimisse Dowse Hamand vidue ad voluntatem domini Reddendo inde per Annum . . . . . liij.s. iiij.d.

[Summa totalis] . iiij.l. iiij.s. ij.d. ob. q^{a}.

Ealdyng parochia de se valet in Reprisis videlicet in

Decasis Redditibus ibidem prout patet per diuersa Compota inde ostensa et examinata per Annum . . . iij.s. iij.d. q^{a}.

Et valet Clare vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum. iiij.l. xj.d. ob.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris in Comitatu Kancie predicto . . . . . iiij.l. xj.d. ob.

Summa totalis Omnium et singulorum possessionum et hereditamentorum predictorum per Annum . ^{xx}ciiij xviij.l. ii.s. ix.d. q^{a}.

Summa totalis reprisarum predictarum inde exeuntium per Annum . . . . . xiiij.l. xiij.s. vj.d. q^{a}.

Summa totalis Clari Annui valoris vltra Reprisas predictas per Annum . . . . . c ^{xx}iiij iij.l. ix.s. iij.d. Inde in

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[**Expenditure**]

Reprisis ordinariis ex integra possessione dicti Collegij exeuntibus cum diuersis neccessarijs Expensis videlicet

Redditibus Resolutis videlicet in

Redditu Resoluto exeunte de scitu dicti Collegii Annuatim soluto Collegio Vniuersitatis Oxonie per Annum . . . lx.s.

Consimile Redditu exeunte de predicto Collegio Annuatim soluto Gardianis Ecclesye beate Marie Oxonie per Annum . iiij.s.

Feodis videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis diuersis personis tam A Consilijs dicti Collegii existentibus quam diuersis alijs personis videlicet Iohanni Hunt Generoso xxvj.s. viij.d. Henrico Rathbon' xxvj.s. viij.d. —— Franke vj.s. viij.d. in toto per Annum . . . lx.s.

Denarijs Annuatim solutis diuersis personis pro termino vite sue et post terminum vite eorum Soluendis duobus Scholaribus ex Conuentione inter prefatum Collegium et easdem personas confecta in Augmentatione numeri Scholarium dicti Collegii videlicet Humfrido Ogle Clerico pro Annuitate sua per Annum c.s. et Elizabethe Buckley vidue pro Annuitate sua per Annum exeunte de Bassettes Fee xl.s. . . . . vij.l.

in Solucionibus forinsecis videlicet in

Denariis Annuatim solutis diuersis personis pro Stipendiis et Annuis solucionibus videlicet Capellano celebranti et ministranti in Ecclesia parochiale de Colnorton' pro salario suo

cvj.s. viij.d. pro vno pane consecrabile et Cera in dicta Ecclesia Communibus Annis Expenditis xj.s. viij.d. Ecclesie Cathedrali Lincolniensi pro quadam Annua solucione facta ex ordinacione Fundatoris per Annum xiij.l. vj.s. viij.d. lectori legenti leccionem Sacre theologie in vniuersitate Oxonie pro parte dicti Collegij iuxta mandatum regium vj.s. vj.d. per Annum Ac eciam pro expensis in lege pro placitis suis defendendis Communibus Annis vij.l. in toto prout patet per Annum . xxvj.l. xj.s. vj.d.

in Triennale visitacione Episcopi videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis Episcopo Lincolniensi pro triennale visitacione sua Ad xx.s. per Annum iuxta Rationem lx.s. quolibet tercio Anno per Annum . . . . . xx.s.

in Reparacionibus videlicet in

Denarijs solutis pro diuersis Reparacionibus super diuersis Tenementis et Edifficijs suis in diuersis Comitatibus Anglie Sparsim Scituatis et existentibus Communibus Annis prout patet per diuersa Compota inde ostensa et examinata . iiij.l.

in Reparacionibus videlicet in

Consimilibus denarijs solutis pro diuersis Reparacionibus super Domibus et Edifficiis infra et circa Circuitum et precinctum dicti Collegij cum prouisione maerennii plumbi Feni Vitrei et aliarum neccessariarum rerum Ad predictas reparaciones fiendas prouidendarum Communibus Annis prout patet per diuersa Compota predicta . . . . . c.s.

Necessarie Expense videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis pro diuersis neccessariis Expensis tam infra dictum Collegium quam extra circa negocia dicti Collegii videlicet Expensis dicti principalis et Bursariorum cum duobus famulis dicti principalis Equitantium in progressu suo Annuatim Ad superuidendum terras et Tenementa sua ac Ad Londinum circa negocia et prouisiones dictum Collegium concernentia Communibus Annis x.l. Denarijs solutis pro Expensis in Sacello dicti Collegij cum provisione renouacione et Reparacione vestimentorum linthiaminum Ac Aliorum Apparatuum eidem Collegio pertinentium et conuenientium ac pro pane et vino Consecrabilibus et cereis Candelis ibidem expenditis Communibus Annis liij.s. iiij.d. denariis solutis pro diuersis expensis in Aula et promptuario cum provisione mapparum et Aliarum rerum ibidem expenditis Communibus Annis xx.s. Expensis similiter cum prouisione focalium et emendacione et renouacione vtensilium in Coquina Communibus Annis x.l. consimilibus Expensis cum renovacione

et emendacione librorum ibidem existentium et Aliarum rerum in Bybliotheca dicti Collegij Communibus Annis xxvj.s. viij.d. Expensis eciam in Tonstrina Communibus Annis v.s. Ac in Expensis in Stabulo dicti Collegij cum prouisione duorum Equorum pabulo eorundem ac Apparatu eisdem conueniente Communibus Annis prout patet per diuersa Compota inde ostensa et examinata iiij.l. Expensis neccessariis tempore Auditionis prout patet per Compota predicta xx.s. in toto per Annum prout patet . . . . xxx.l. v.s.

Summa totalis Reprisarum ordinariarum predictarum extra integras possessiones dicti Collegij exeuntium per Annum . . . . . xx iiij.l. vj.d.

Et Remanet Clare per Annum . ciij.l. viij.s. ix.d. Inde in **Proporcione** cum Mensa siue dieta Porcionibus Exhibicionibus et Stipendiis vnius principalis xiiij^{cim} Sociorum vij Scholarium et octo Ministrorum in dicto Collegio existentium videlicet

Mensa Principalis videlicet in

Mensa principalis ex Statuto concessa iuxta ratam xiiij.d. qualibet Septimana lx.s. viij.d. et pro diebus pietancie ex statuto iiij.s. viij.d. in toto per Annum . . . . lxv.s. iiij.d.

Mensa vice-principalis et xiij^{1cim} [*sic*] *Sociorum videlicet in*

Mensa vice principalis et xiiij^{cim} Sociorum in dicto Collegio ex statuto fundatoris et ordinacione aliorum benefactorum existentium et commorantium iuxta ratam cuilibet eorum xiiij.d. hebdomedatim pro communis suis per Annum xlij.l. ix.s. iiij.d. et iuxta ratam iiij.s. viij.d. cuilibet eorum pro diebus pietancie per Annum lxv.s. iiij.d. in toto per Annum . . . . . xlv.l. xiiij.s. viij.d.

Mensa v Scholarium magistri Cleymond videlicet in

Mensa quinque Scholarium in dicto Collegio ex ordinacione cuiusdam magistri Cleymond existentium iuxta ratam cuilibet eorum versus Communas suas liij.s. iiij.d. per Annum in toto per Annum prout patet . . . . xiij.l. vj.s. viij.d.

Augmentacio Mense dicte principalis et Sociorum videlicet in

Mensa principalis et Sociorum predictorum Augmentata in Exequijs Fundatoris ex statuto per Annum xiij.s. iiij.d. et exequijs Magistri Sutton' benefactoris xiij.s. iiij.d. per Annum in toto . . . . . xxvj.s.viij.d.

Mensa ministrorum et famulorum videlicet in

Mensa diuersorum Ministrorum siue Famulorum in dicto Collegio ministrantium ex statuto videlicet Mancipio iuxta ratam x.d. hebdomedatim per Annum xliij.s. iiij.d. cuidam Alii

[1] The figure xiii is certainly the right one.

huiusmodi exercenti Officia tam Barbytonsoris quam Ianitoris iuxta Ratam x.d. hebdomedatim pro Communis suis per Annum xliij.s. iiij.d., promo iuxta Ratam predictam pro communis suis per Annum xliij.s. iiij.d. et coquo iuxta eandem ratam pro communis suis per Annum xliij.s. iiij.d. et lectori Byblye tempore prandiorum et Cenarum versus Communas suas per Annum xxxij.s. viij.d. in toto prout patet per Annum . . x.l. vj.s.

Summa totalis Mense siue dieta predicta per Annum lxxiij.l. xix.s. iiij.d.

Porciones siue Stipendia principalis et Sociorum videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis pro porcione siue stipendio dictorum principalis et Sociorum ex Statuto concessis videlicet principalis pro exercicione Officij sui predicti c.s. vice principalis xxvj.s. viij.d. decani Capelle vj.s. viij.d. duorum Bursariorum cuiuslibet *xiij.s. iiij.d.* xxvj.s. viij.d. pro exercicione Officij sui, lectoris logices infra Collegium predictum iiij.l. in toto per Annum . . . . . xij.l.

Exhibicio diuersorum benefactorum videlicet in

Consimilibus denarijs Annuatim solutis versus exhibiciones diuersorum Scholarium ibidem ex ordinacione siue Composicione diuersorum beneffactorum videlicet ex ordinacione magistri Cockys duobus Scholaribus vtrique eorum *xl.s.* iiij.l. tribus Scholaribus cuilibet eorum *lxvj.s. viij.d.* ex ordinacione magistri Sutton' x.l. vni Scholari ex ordinacione Elizabethe Morles xl.s. et vni alij Scholari ex ordinacione magistri Porter xxxiij.s. iiij.d. in toto per Annum prout patet . . . . xvij.l. xiij.s. iiij.d.

Diuidencia Exequijs versus exhibiciones videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis et in exequijs domini Fundatoris et aliorum beneffactorum inter principalem et Socios predictos Sacerdotes existentes distribuendis et diuidendis videlicet in exequijs predicti fundatoris x.s. v.d. Exequijs magistri Sutton' x.s. v.d. Exequijs Willelmi porter xiij.s. iiij.d. Exequijs magistri Cockys xiij.s. viij.d. et Exequijs magistri Derbey xvj.s. in toto per Annum prout patet . . . . . lxiij.s. xd.

Summa porcionum Exhibicionum et distribucionum predictarum per Annum . . . . . xxxij.l. xvij.s. ij.d.

Stipendia ministrorum et famulorum videlicet in

Denarijs Annuatim solutis pro diuersis Stipendiis famulorum et Ministrorum ibidem seruientium et Ministrantium ex Statuto concessis videlicet Mancipio dicti Collegij pro Stipendio suo per Annum xl.s. cuidam Alio Assistenti dicto Mancipio xx.s. barbitonsori et Ianitori xl.s. Coquo xl.s. Famulo Bursarij xx.s. Costodi [*sic*] Equorum xxvj.s. in toto pro Stipendijs suis per Annum prout patet . . . . . ix.l. vj.s.

Summa Stipendiorum Ministrorum predictorum per Annum . . . . . ix.l. vj.s.

Summa totalis proporcionis predicte per Annum c.xvj.l. ij.s. vj.d.

Et Remanet vltra nihil quia dicta Summa totalis proporcionis predicte Excedit Summam Clari Annui Valoris possessionum predictarum ultimo relictarum et proximo precedentium per xij.l. xiij.s. ix.d. per Annum prout patet Ad cuius quidem et huiusmodi Aliarum excessionis subleuamen et exoneracionem, predicti principalis et Socij non habent Aliquod Aliud presidium siue Adiuuamentum nisi solum modo Absencia Aliquando predictorum Sociorum iuxta Statuta dicti Collegij et quandoque ex Finibus de terris et Tenementis suis receptis Ac sepe ex donis bonorum hominum . . . nihil.

Memorandum that the sayd pryncipall & Fellowes of an old Custome haue euer lx pore Scholers & other which in the same howes haue their Chambers Free and payeth nothynge towardes Fowell nor Wootmell Salt Manciples Coques ne Buttlers Wages Which is estemyd to eueri of them Worth xx.s. yerly.

Memorandum that the sayd pryncipall and Fellowes be patrones and do geve the parsonage of Steple Aston in the Countye of Oxon' Whyche is Worth yerly —— .

Aula Regia et Collegium de Brasennose vulgariter nuncupata the Kynges Hall and Colledge of Brasennose ex Fundacione Willelmi Smyth Lincolniensis Episcopi et Ricardi Sutton' Armigeri primo die Februarij Anno regni regis Henrici viij^ui^ xiij^mo^ [1 Feb. $152\frac{1}{2}$.]

Annuus valor possessionum . . c.iiij^{xx}. xviij.l. ij.s. ix.d. q^{a}.

Mise et reprise exeuntes . . . . iiij^{xx}. xiiij.l. xiiij.s. q^{a}.

Sic remanet clare per annum . . . . c.iii.l. viij.s. ix.d.

Proporcio victus et vestitus . . . . c.xvj.l. ij.s. vj.d.

Excessio dicte proporcionis . . . . xij.l. xiij.s. ix.d.

Numerus personarum Studentium et Ministrantium xxix, inde Studentium , Ministrantium .

Collegium de Brasennose.

Secundum librum decimalem . . . . c.xiij.l. ix.s. ij.d.

Secundum librum hodierne superuisum . c.iiij^{xx}. xviij.l. ii.s. ix.d.q^{a}.

Qui excedit librum decimalem . . iiij^{xx}. iiij.l. xiij.s. vij.d.q^{a}.

APPENDIX III

COMPARISON OF RETURNS OF INCOME IN BURSARS' ROLL 1545–46 AND VALOR OF 1547.

	Receipts. *Bursars' Roll*, 1545–46. £	s.	d.	Receipts. *Valor*, 1547. £	s.	d.
Bassett's Fee	7	8	4½	5	8	4½
Cold Norton	36	7	0¾	14	3	4
Barton Olof	2	2	0	2	2	0
Chepyngfaryngdon	5	4	8	4	5	0
Oxford	2	6	8	2	5	0
Chepyngwycombe	4	0	0	4	0	0
Milton & Shipton	6	0	0	6	0	0
Borowe, Somerbeye & Pyckewell	10	11	9½	9	13	4
North Okynton	3	13	4	3	6	8
Whyte Hert	5	0	0	5	0	0
Cropredy	13	14	6	13	14	6
Genyns, Ealdyng & Westbramlyng	4	4	2¾	4	4	2¾
Cudlyngton	1	14	8	1	14	8
Garsyngton & Cowley	2	9	4	3	19	4
Foresthyll	0	10	0	0	10	0
All Saints, Oxford	0	4	0	0	4	0
Stanlake	3	3	3	4	13	3
Port's benefaction	7	0	0	7	0	0
Bredon	2	0	0	2	0	0
Kemmerton, Fyddyngton, Southwyke, Longford, Twygworth, King's Home	13	9	8	12	6	2
Merston	5	11	8	5	11	8
Ascote	0	13	4	0	13	4
Burford	1	0	0	1	0	0
Grove	6	0	0	10	0	0
Bradford	9	0	0	9	0	0
Warton	0	13	4	0	13	4
Ivyngton	4	0	0	4	0	0
Shelleswell	4	0	0	4	0	0
Whateley	1	16	8	1	16	8
Cowley & Yefteley	1	10	0	1	16	0
Middylwych	6	9	7	6	9	7
Sutton	26	4	6	21	15	8
Garden	0	1	0	0	1	0
Balscote	3	8	0	3	8	0

DIFFERENCES.

	Bursars' Roll, 1545–46. £	*s.*	*d.*	*Valor*, 1547. £	*s.*	*d.*
Bassett's Fee	7	8	4½	5	8	4½
Cold Norton	36	7	0¾	14	3	4
Chepyng Faryngdon	5	4	8	4	5	0
Oxford	2	6	8	2	5	0
Pyckewell	10	11	9½	9	13	4
North Okynton	3	13	4	3	6	8
Garsington & Cowley	2	9	4	3	19	4
Stanlake	3	3	3	4	13	3
Kemmerton, Fyddyngton, Southwyke, Longford, Twygworth, King's Holme	13	9	8	12	6	2
Grove	6	0	0	10	0	0
Cowley & Yefteley	1	10	0	1	16	0
Sutton	26	4	6	21	15	8
	118	8	7¾	93	12	1½
Not in *Valor*:—						
Grove	4	0	0			
Room Rents	2	5	0			
	124	13	7¾			
Deduct *Valor*	93	12	1½			
Excess income in 1545–46 over return in *Valor*	21	1	6¼[1]			

[1] Four additional sums entered in the roll for 1545–6 are omitted, being in the nature of casualties, none of which are entered in the *Valor*. They will be seen at the end of the Receipts, which are indicated by 'Onerantur'. Their total amount is £2 8*s.* 10*d.*

RETURNS OF INCOME, FROM THE VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, 1535

(*printed by the Record Commission*, 6 vols., *Lond.*, 1814, *folio*, *vol.* 2, pp. 271–2.)

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Bassett's Fee	7	8	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Coldenorton	31	5	$1\frac{3}{4}$ [1]
Barforde, 42*s.*			
Garsyngton & Cowley, 49*s.* 4*d.*	6	5	0 [2]
Cudlyngton, 34*s.* 8*d.*			
Mylton, 26*s.* 8*d.*			
Forstyll, 10*s.*			
All Saints, Oxford, 4*s.*			
Stanlake, £3 3*s.* 3*d.*	9	14	11 [3]
Merston, £5 11*s.* 8*d.*			
Burforde, 20*s.*			
Croprydye	10	12	10 [4]
Northokynton, £3			
Stroud, £5	9	17	0 [5]
Chepyngfaryngton, £4 17*s.*			
Boro' Somerbye & Pykewell	7	0	8 [6]
Yaldyng, £4 4*s.* $2\frac{3}{4}$*d.*	6	10	$10\frac{3}{4}$ [7]
The Redde Lyon, Chepingwicome, £3			
Kyngs Hulme, £6 5*s.*			
Kenmerton, 56*s.* 8*d.*			
Westmoncote, 20*s.*			
Fydyngton, 12*s.*	13	13	8 [9]
Sowthwyke, 8*s.*; Longford & Swygworthe [8], £3 10*s.*			
Swyllyngs Meyde, 2*s.*			

[1] Net; the gross is entered at £36 6*s.* $7\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

[2] Net; the gross is entered at £6 5*s.* 8*d.*, though on the data it appears to be £6 6*s.*

[3] Net; for though there are no deductions for outgoings, the items added together amount to £11 15*s.* 7*d.* But see note 1, p. 210, from which it will be seen that this entry is probably a mistake.

[4] Net; the gross is entered at £13 14*s.* 4*d.*

[5] Net; the gross is entered at £12 17*s.*

[6] Net; the gross is entered at £10 11*s.* $9\frac{1}{2}$*d.*

[7] The account groups together the Yaldyng and Chepingwicome rents, amounting to £7 4*s.* $2\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, and deducts fixed payments, amounting to 13*s.* 4*d.*, leaving a net £6 10*s.* $10\frac{3}{4}$*d.* It does not deduct the stipends of John Cokkes's chaplains, which it sets down at £4, presumably because that payment was met by the sum of money bequeathed by J. C. See p. 116.

[8] *Sic*, for Twygworthe.

[9] Net; there being deducted from the gross rental of £14 13*s.* 8*d.*, 20*s.* paid to Wm. Bostoke, receiver of rents.

	£	s.	d.
Chester Lancaster (Rentcharge of John Port)	7	0	0
Bredon	2	0	0
Summa omnium reddituum maneriorum terrarum et aliarum possessionum .	113	9	2[1]

[1] Qu. £111 7*s.* 6*d.* net. If the real sum of the Mylton, &c., entry, viz. £11 15*s.* 7*d.*, be substituted, the total will be as here given, viz. £113 9*s.* 2*d.*

APPENDIX IV

BRASENOSE COLLEGE GRACES [1]

(with liturgical notes by Dr. Wickham Legg)

A

Ante Prandium

OCULI omnium spectant in Te, Deus! Tu das illis escas tempore opportuno. Aperis manum Tuam et imples omne animal Tua benedictione. Mensae coelestis nos participes facias, Deus, Rex aeternae gloriae.

These prayers may be found in the Sarum Manual (Rouen, 1501. p. lxv), but they do not follow the same version. They may be found in Latin in the early primers and in English in the later.

B

Post Prandium.

Qui nos creavit, redemit et pavit, sit benedictus in aeternum. Deus, exaudi orationem nostram. Agimus Tibi gratias, Pater coelestis, pro Gulielmo Smyth episcopo, et Ricardo Sutton milite, Fundatoribus nostris; pro Alexandro Nowel et Jocosa Frankland, aliisque Benefactoribus nostris; humiliter Te precantes ut eorum numerum benignissime adaugeas. Ecclesiam Catholicam, et populum Christianum custodi. Haereses et errores omnes extirpa. Victoriam Reginam nostram et subditos ejus defende. Pacem da et conserva per Christum Dominum nostrum.

This prayer is not easily to be found in the Sarum Manual nor in the primers. The idea of the commemoration of benefactors may have arisen from the commemoration of the faithful departed in the Sarum Manual; the primers often have at end: God save the Church, our King and realme, and God have mercy on all Christian souls. Amen. But this is modified in Edward VI's reign, and becomes: God save our King and realm and send us peace in Christ: by which latter clause the final sentence in prayer above may have been suggested.

[1] *Reliquiae Hearnianae.* By Philip Bliss, vol. iii, London, 1869.

C

Ante Coenam.

Omnipotens et sempiterne Deus, sine quo nihil est dulce nihil odoriferum, misericordiam Tuam humiliter imploramus, ut nos coenamque nostram benedicas; ut corda nostra exhilares; ut quae suscepturi sumus alimenta, Tuo honori, Tuaeque beneficentiae accepta referamus; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

D

Post Coenam.

Quod corpora nostra, Deus optime maxime, cibo potuque abunde refecisti, agimus Tibi gratias, quantas possumus maximas: simulque precamur, ut animas nostras verbo et Spiritu deinde pascas; ut omnia mala fugiamus; ut quae sint Tibi placitura perfecte intelligamus, diligenter meditemur, et ad ea praestanda toto impetu feramur; per Christum Dominum nostrum.

To the Graces before and after Supper I have not found any very similar forms. Certainly not in the Graces at the end of *The forme of common praiers used in the Churches of Geneva*, translated by William Huycke, and printed by Edward Whitchurch at London in 1550.

X

History of the College
1547–1603

Part I Annals
Part II Social Life

By Reginald W. Jeffery M.A.
Of Brasenose College

†

Illustration to Monograph X

Part of Bursars' Roll 1581 . . . . *Between pp.* 4 *and* 5

INTRODUCTION

It is not my object in this brief sketch to enter at any length into the lives of the benefactors, nor, indeed, to deal with the benefactions of those sons of Brasenose who, by their actions in the past, have earned the reverence and gratitude of many later generations. It is rather my intention to show, first, something of the annals of the College, and secondly, to state very shortly the chief social features of Brasenose College life during the last three reigns of the Tudor dynasty.

At the same time I must take this opportunity of sincerely thanking the Principal and Fellows for allowing me to undertake this task.

For many points in the history of the College I am indebted to Mr. Coxhill, whose knowledge of the records is very great, and who has rendered me very valuable assistance.

REGINALD W. JEFFERY.

OXFORD, 1909.

Bursarij pdñ ibidem &c expen
Stipendior aliarq impensar

Jnprimis Dñi Bursarij rementant solut magistro princi

Jtm solut magistro suoprincipali stipendium sum &c

Jtm solut Bursarijs stipendia sua &c

Jtm solut publico lectori dialectices in aula Gymnas collegij

Jtm solut publico lectori naturalis philic Gymnas collegij

Jtm solut publico lectori humanitatis sive Rhetorices

Jtm solut lectori publico græcarum literarum Gymnas collegij

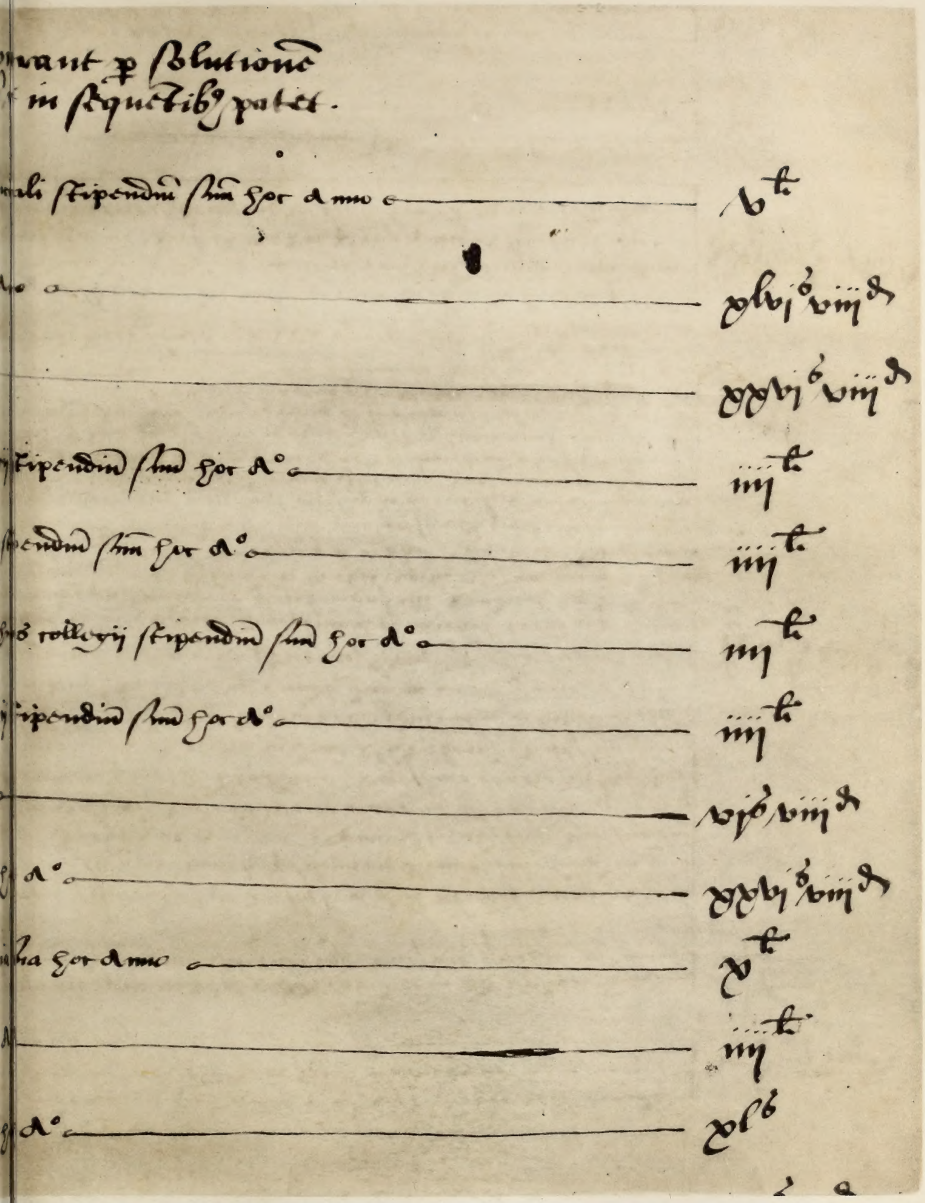
Jtm solut suppditori capellæ stipendium sum &c

Jtm solut mro Willmo Lerse alio rementi stendium sum

Jtm solut capellano Dñi Sutton fundatoris stipendia

Jtm solut scholaribus mri Johis Cox stipendia sua &c

Jtm solut scholari Elizabethe Morley stipendium sum



Roll, A.D. 1581

PART I

BRASENOSE COLLEGE ANNALS

1547–1603

A PREVIOUS monograph has shown that 'the King's Haule and Colledge of Brasennose in Oxford' was founded by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Richard Sutton, in the year 1509, in the first month of the reign of Henry VIII. The College was intended 'for the support and exaltation of the Christian faith, for the advancement of holy church and for the furtherance of divine worship'.[1] In other words, it is more than likely that the great prelate who converted the numerous Halls into Brasenose College, did so with the intention of raising a bulwark against the spread of heresy in the University.[2] From the first the College admitted students particularly from the northern counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, as the frequent occurrence of such names in the Register as Leigh, Watson, Latham, Brooke, Egerton, and Shuttleworth sufficiently prove.[3]

Object of Brasenose College.

The anti-doctrinal Reformation of Edward VI had not been introduced into England when John Hawarden was elected second Principal on February 27, 154$\frac{7}{8}$. During his period of office the College was destined to witness an extraordinary change. For the first two years of Edward VI's reign the old service continued, but after the passing of the Uniformity Act much of the splendid ceremonial in the chapel, then on No. I staircase,[4] passed away. 'The books, chalices, vestments and other ornaments', spoken of in Bishop Smyth's will, probably disappeared soon after 1549; and with them the censers, ship

The College and the Reformation.

[1] Clark, *Colleges of Oxford* (1892), p. 259. [2] O. H. S. xli, p. 133.
[3] Clark, *ut supra.* [4] Now the Senior Common Room.

for holding frankincense, 'sute of vestments of crymson velvet with iij copys poudred with flowres of gold lynyd with grene bokerham,' and many other resplendent garments of 'tynsild silke' and 'orfreis of lyght tawney'. While as the century proceeded more protestant views would cause the removal of 'a pair of orgaynes bought at London of the facion of a countyng borde or lowe table'.[1]

A College census.

At this period the College contained about seventy members, forty-nine of whom had not taken their degrees, including, somewhat curiously, the steward and the cook.[2]

Erdeswicke and Wolton.

Amongst the names that occur in the Register for 1553, two stand out pre-eminently as men who afterwards gained for themselves an enviable notoriety. The first was Sampson Erdeswicke, who matriculated this year as a gentleman-commoner. He was a Staffordshire man, and after his University career he retired to Sandon to carry on the pursuits of a country gentleman. It was here that he wrote his two chief works, *The view or Survey of Staffordshire*, and *Certaine verie rare observations of the North Countrie.* These earned for him the title of historian and gained for him the commendation of Camden. After his death in 1603, a monument was raised to his memory in Sandon Church.[3] The second man of eminence was John Wolton, who, after he left the College, took holy orders and became, on July 2, 1579, Bishop of Exeter.[4]

William Elye and the martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer.

Although the College was producing many men of considerable merit, there was one at least of whom the present members can scarcely be proud, because of his unfeeling action at the time of Cranmer's death. Brasenose men must have been deeply impressed by the martyrdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is recorded that, on March 24, 155$\frac{5}{6}$, the

[1] Dr. A. J. Butler, *The College Plate*; cf. Spelman, *The History of Sacrilege.* That there was a great falling off in the splendour of the vestments is shown by a 'vewe' in the V. P.'s Reg., Jan. 10, 1595, when the only vestments were '3 copes, 1 pawle'.

[2] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 272. At this time Brian Higden added one fellowship to be held alternately by men from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

[3] *Dyott's Diary* (1907), i, pp. 352–3, says of the monument, 'It is a magnificent pile to the memory of a magnificent man.'

[4] Towneley MS., p. 267.

aged prelate passed 'under frowning skies through driving rain from the prison to St. Mary's Church'.[1] After confessing the enormity of his sin, he was hurried from the church to the place of execution in Broad Street. Here two Spanish friars endeavoured to persuade him to confess; and according to one authority, Mr. Elye of Brasenose, actually disputed with him at the stake.[2] According to another version of the story, Cranmer, when taking leave of his friends, 'went to shake by the hand one William Elye of Brasnose . . . but he drawing back, said "it was not lawful to salute Hereticks and especially such an one as falsely returned unto his opinions".'[3] In later years Elye himself had to suffer, for he was expelled from the Presidency of St. John's College in 1560, and after spending many years in prison, died at Hereford in 1609.[4]

Thomas Egerton and Richard Barnes, 1556.

In the matriculation list of this year the name of Thomas Egerton first appears. He was 'the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, Cheshire, by one Alice Sparke'.[5] He was called to the bar in 1572, and rose rapidly in his practice until he was appointed Solicitor-General in 1581, Attorney-General in 1592, and was knighted in the following year. He became Master of the Rolls in 1594, and two years afterwards was appointed Lord Keeper, 'by the Queen's own choice, without any competitor or mediator.' From this he rose still further, and having become Lord High Chancellor of the realm, the University conferred upon him their highest office, and between 1610 and 1614 he was Chancellor. Egerton entered Brasenose at a time when Richard Barnes was Junior Bursar. This man had almost as celebrated a career in the Church as Egerton had in the Law. In 1561 he became Chancellor of the diocese of York, from which he was promoted six years later as Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham. Queen Elizabeth appointed him Bishop of Carlisle in 1570; and from 1577 to 1587 he was Bishop of Durham. Anthony Wood tells us that he was 'a favourer of Puritanism'.[6]

[1] A. D. Innes, *Cranmer and the English Reformation* (1900), p. 172.
[2] *Rep. Hist. MSS.* iv, p. 466, and Strype, *Memoirs of Cranmer.*
[3] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 127.
[4] Ibid. p. 143.
[5] Buchan, *Brasenose College* (1898), p. 120. There is a portrait of this great lawyer in the College Hall.
[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*

Benefactions.

The College not only continued to add to its list of celebrities, but it gained well wishers on every side who loyally supported it by grants and bequests. Thus Sir John Port, junior, in 1555 gave an annual rent of £3 from his property at Dale, in Derbyshire. Two years later Matthew Smyth, the first Principal, also bequeathed to the College certain property in Sutton, Lancs. Five years later still, his beneficence was imitated by Henry Fisher, of London, who gave amongst other things an exhibition of £2 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.[1]

Sir Henry and Sir John Savile.

In 1561, Sir Henry Savile matriculated, and was a member of the College with his almost equally famous brother, Sir John. The first distinguished himself as Provost of Eton and Warden of Merton College; while the second became Baron of the Exchequer and one of the original members of the Society of Antiquaries.[2] Sir Henry was described by Aubrey as a 'tall and an extraordinary handsome man, no lady having a finer complexion'.[3] He was esteemed 'the most learned Englishman in profane literature of the age of Elizabeth'.[4] He also did much for printing, and the fame of his Greek matrices was not only confined to the University Press at Oxford.[5]

The election of Thomas Blanchard.

'Johannes Hawarden aulae regiae et collegii de brasennose principalis,'[6] died in the spring of 156$\frac{4}{5}$; and in February Thomas Blanchard, a Yorkshireman, was elected third Principal. As there was some difficulty in the statutes at this time the majority of the Fellows sent two of their number, Master Leche and Master Shepley, 'ad dominum Episcopum Lincolniae pro interpretatione.'[7] It was during Blanchard's administration that Richard Harries, or Harris, then Junior Bursar, and J. Whytacres, M.A., were empowered to sell some small houses at Cold Norton,[8] and thereby raise extra funds for the College. An entry for 1568 proves that on one piece of property, at any rate, the Bursar had one good tenant, for he allowed 'Symone Wysdom' to continue to hold his tene-

[1] Dr. A. J. Butler, *Account of the Benefactions bestowed upon the College.*
[2] This was in 1572. *D. N. B.* (1st edition), vol. 1, p. 371.
[3] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 121.
[4] A list of his works is in the *B. N. C. Register.*
[5] Madan, *Chart of Oxf. Printing*, p. 15.
[6] V. P.'s Reg. A. 15.
[7] Ibid. 16. b.
[8] V. P.'s Reg. A. 56. b.

ments in Burford, as he had done since December 9, 1551.[1] This Simon Wysdome was a member of the celebrated wool-merchant family of that name, and was engaged in a considerable and lucrative industry during the greater part of the reign of Elizabeth.[2]

Thomas Ashbrooke and Richard Rogers.

Under Blanchard's rule the College increased considerably in numbers, for there were in $156\frac{5}{6}$ one hundred and two names on the books. These included the Principal, thirty-one graduates, fifty-seven undergraduates, both scholars and commoners, eight poor scholars, and five matriculated servants.[3] Some of the students of this period had afterwards interesting careers. Thomas Ashbrooke, of Lancashire, took his degree of Bachelor of Grammar on July 10, 1568, and is remarkable as being the last man to do so.[4] In the same year Richard Rogers, formerly an undergraduate of the College, was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Dover, a position which was not revived until 1870. In 1570, Philemon Holland, the historian, who gained the praise of Fuller, Hearne, and Southey, matriculated at Brasenose, though he afterwards migrated to Cambridge.[5]

Benefactions.

About this time the College was very considerably enriched by certain gifts from numerous benefactors. In the first place, John, Lord Mordaunt, gave by will in 1571 the manor of Tiptofts and Highams in Essex, and lands, to maintain three scholars called Mordaunt scholars. Secondly, Richard Harpur, of Swarkeston, left certain lands in Derby to found a Greek lectureship.[6] And thirdly, Alexander Nowell, who had been an undergraduate of the College,[7] and was destined to be its Principal, having ever the welfare of Brasenose at heart, not

[1] V.P.'s Reg. A. 72.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. Var.* i, p. 54. Vic: County Hist: *Oxfordshire*, ii. 244.

[3] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 272.

[4] O. H. S. x, p. 8. Clark says Ash(e)brooke was the last man, 'but the degree, is mentioned in the lists of degree fees as late as 1602.' He also says he has 'found no trace of a "Master" of grammar'. This man, Thomas Ashbrooke, must not be confused with an earlier Brasenose man, ordained in the reign of Mary, 1553, and entered as 'Mag. Iohannes Ashebrooke socius Collegii Brasynnose Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem'. Vide W. H. Frere, *The Marian Reaction* (1896), p. 215.

[5] A list of his works is in the *B. N. C. Register*.

[6] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*.

[7] Elected fellow in 1536.

only on April 20, 1565, procured from the Queen power for the College to hold an estate of £50 per annum,[1] but also in 1572 renewed the foundation made by Edward VI of a Free School at Middleton in Lancashire, appointing the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College as Governors, and founding altogether thirteen scholarships in the College. 'These benefactions were both of them established by Royal Patent (her Majesty also of her free bounty encouraging and assisting him); he chose that the school should be called Queen Elizabeth's School, and the scholars, Queen Elizabeth's scholars.'[2] Many years later, Nowell wrote to Lord Burghley concerning the foundation, and said, 'My brother *Robert*, late attorney of her Maties courte of wardes about vi houres before he dyed, said unto me: *Forget not Myddleton Schole and the College of Brasen-nose, where we were brought upp in our youth; and yf yow wolde procure any thynge to continue with my money, yow shall doe it beste and most surely in the Quenes Maties name, whose poore officer I have bene.* And uppon those woords I was occasioned to thinke of the fundation of Myddelton Schole, & of certen scholars to be chosen out of that schole unto the college of Brasen-nose, ther to be maynteyned with certen exhibition.'[3] It would be but mere repetition[4] to state here the actual property that went to form the income of this munificent bequest.[5]

Quarrels and generosity.

Thomas Blanchard resigned, and on February 16, 157$\frac{3}{4}$, Richard Harris was elected fourth Principal.[6] He had been Junior Bursar from 1566 to 1569 and Vice-Principal in 1572. A few months after his appointment there was some disturbance in the Senior Common Room, if such a term may be used, owing to a bitter quarrel on July 4 between 'Rodolphus Tompson',[7] the Vice-Principal, and Clement Colmer,[8] 'lecto-

[1] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*.

[2] Churton, *Life of Nowell* (1809), p. 199.

[3] MSS. Burghley, lxxx. 11, no. 48, dated on the back in pencil '1596'.

[4] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*. [5] See the *Hoby Controversy*, p. 20.

[6] In this year the arms of the College were officially recorded by Richard Lee, the pursuivant. Vide MS. H. 6, Heralds' College.

[7] V. P.'s Reg. A. 67. b.

[8] Clement Colmer again seems to be in trouble in December, 1579, but this time the charges against him are brought before Congregation. O. H. S. x, p. 41.

rem Dialecticae.' But though there may have been internal quarrels occasionally, the body of fellows seem to have worked together, and were ready to show generosity to any member of the College when it was possible. Thus, in 1575, it was unanimously agreed that Thomas Knollys, M.A., should have leave to travel into foreign parts for three years; and to assist him in this he was to be allowed five marks of the goods of the College because of the expense of travelling.[1] The College was evidently anxious to encourage learning by recognizing the merit of different individuals, amongst the most worthy of whom, at this time, was William Fleetwood of Lancashire, afterwards, for many years, Member of Parliament for London, and no mean historian.[2]

The Vice-Chancellor assaulted the Principal.

The Principal of Brasenose was at this time a very hot-tempered man, and possessed of a power of language which is in modern days associated with a celebrated fish-market. As a proof of this assertion, there is a record for the year 1580 of a most extraordinary and unseemly quarrel taking place between Principal Harris and the Vice-Chancellor, Toby Mathew, Dean of Christ Church. The story is narrated by Wood in his *Annals*, and, as an example of the manners of the period, worthy of quotation.

'I must now step back,' he wrote, 'and tell you of a minute controversy between two Heads of Houses, which though very inconsiderable in the beginning yet it bred a feud between their respective Colleges for several years after, and would have been much greater if it had not been corrected by public authority. You must understand therefore that the last year several Decrees being made for the orderly keeping of the Act,[3] Dr. Mathews, Dean of Christ Church, who was this year Vicechancellor, resolved to see them severely observed and foreseeing some rudeness that was like to be done by the Juniors on Act Monday,[4] kept the door lead-

[1] *Brasenose College Statutes.*

[2] Fleetwood wrote, among many other things, '*Annalium Ed. V, Ric. III, Henry VII and VIII.*' See *B. N. C. Reg.*

[3] O. H. S. x, p. 85, 30 June, 1579 '"quoniam nostra comitia scholarium et juvenum multitudine magnopere perturbantur", a committee was appointed to have "integram potestatem puniendi ejusmodi omnes qui graduatorum et peregrinorum loca in theatro praeripere audebunt"'.

[4] Fixed on 4 Mareh, 156$\frac{5}{6}$, as the Monday after the 7th July, and this was always adhered to except when there was plague in Oxford.

ing to the Scaffolds (built theatre-ways at the east end of the body of St. Mary's Church) in his own person. And among divers Academians that endeavoured to enter but were by him repelled, was Mr. Harris, principal of Brasenose College, who though a Head, and consequently had a place there, was with scorn (the Vicechancellor probably being in a passion) thrust down. Mr. Harris who was his senior in the University, taking it in great indignation, acquainted his friends and several of his Society with the affront, aggravating it also by telling them that it redounded to them also, and if they would not stand on his side he and they should be liable to the contempt of the Royal Foundation &c.

'On Wednesday after which was the 13 of July Mathews surrendered up his office of Vicechancellor, in a Convocation then held in S. Mary's chancel, which being done he went to his place and being there settled, Harris who sat a little below him, came out of his, and whispered him in the ear to this effect, "You do remember how you kept me down from the Stage the last day of the Act, wherein you showed your vile despite towards me—and therefore the Devil's . . . in thy teeth." Mathews being much startled at this, could not at present make any reply, but taking it as a great contempt cast upon authority sent his complaints to the Chancellor,[1] with the reason why and the very words that Harris said. So that he taking the said affront to himself sent his Letters to the Convocation that the members forthwith make reparation to Dr. Mathews. . . . Wherefore a Convocation being met . . . ordered a submission to be made by Mr. Harris.'[2] Whether he did so is not known, but it is hardly likely for Wood concludes by saying, 'Harris being of a high spirit, and his Fellows taking part with him, endeavoured to make it a public quarrel so that for several years after nothing but affronts and scuffles passed between them.'[3]

The Batt Letters.

It was during this period that Brasenose had as a loyal son one Robert Batt, of Birstall, in Yorkshire. He matriculated on November 9, 1579, at the age of nineteen. The interest that is attached to his name is that he was a fairly prolific letter-writer from the College, and many of these have been preserved.[4] The letters date from July 9, 1581, to February 10, 1584, and are for the most part written to his brothers Richard and Henry in Yorkshire, and Edward and William at Cambridge. They are interesting examples of what an undergraduate would write at that period, but they do not throw very much light upon the working of either the College or the University. In the first to Richard, the writer hoped that

[1] The Earl of Leicester.
[2] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 202.
[3] Ibid. p. 203.
[4] MS. Rawl. D. 985. Bod. Lib.

he would reply in Latin, but said that a letter of any kind would be most pleasing.[1] The reply which he received to this was distinctly bright, and there was an undercurrent of humour in the younger brother's remark that he did not wish by his letters to disturb his elder brother's grammatical studies.[2] The next letter came from Brasenose, where it is evident Robert has been progressing in his studies and receiving some flattery. He was much afraid that people would be disappointed in him, and asked 'what knowledge of great things, of the Liberal arts can be expected in an unskilled man'.[3] The younger brother's letters are either not preserved or were never written, but Robert continued to write friendly missives to Richard on numerous occasions.[4] The letter of October 28, 1582, is of considerable general interest as showing the prevalence of bubonic plague at that time; every one, however, seemed to be well in Brasenose.[5] In the following year he renewed his correspondence with Richard, and spoke of the severe illness of their relative Stephen Waterhouse, which tempts the reader to wonder if he had been struck down by the general pestilence.[6] The difficulty of sending letters is several times referred to, but it cannot have been so very extreme, as Robert wrote to his brother in Yorkshire at fortnightly intervals.[7] In the letter of May 13, 1583, he stated that it was purely trivial and contained no news, but the answer to it was written very soon, and the younger brother, proud of his scholarly elder, said that he would rather receive his praise than that of the whole Roman forum.[8] Other letters follow;[9] but the most interesting is one in which he depicted the sorry state to which an undergraduate of the period might sink.[10] He described himself as being without clothes and practically without food. He beseeched his brother to ask his parents to do something for him. This he had already mentioned to his brother Henry, where, in a very affectionate letter he appealed in a really pathetic way for assistance.[11]

[1] September, 1581. [2] September 26, 1581. [3] October, 1581.
[4] December, 1581. September 14 and 17, 1582.
[5] See Part II. Social Life. [6] May, 1583. [7] May 13, 1583.
[8] May 30, 1583. [9] July 10, August 30, 1583. [10] November 15, 1583.
[11] January 8, 1583.

The visit of the 'Dux Poloniae'.

Letters were also exchanged between Robert and his brother Edward; and in the first,[1] there is something, but very little, about University life.[2] He was very humble in addressing this brother and spoke of him as being far more clever than himself.[3] He dared, however, to ask him to come up and stay with him for Commemoration,[4] and mentioned mutual Cambridge friends who were in Oxford at the time of the visit of the 'Dux Poloniae'.[5] Only one letter has been preserved from Edward to Robert, and in it he referred to the grammar school at Bradford. Once, and once only, do we get an example of Robert's letter-writing to his brother William, but evidently he was a poor correspondent;[6] and Robert was not tempted to write often. The one letter which exists,[7] told William of the prospective arrival of the Earl of Leicester, who had long been Chancellor of the University.[8]

Batt asked for a fellowship.

Robert Batt's correspondence was not confined to his family, and some of the most important letters were written to his relative Stephen Waterhouse.[9] He also wrote to Principal Harris calling him 'vir illustris et praeses dignissime', and 'vir ornatissime'[10]; and then complained that a junior man had been put in his study or 'musaeum'.[11] 'With Yorkshire bluntness',[12] he asked 'doctissimo viro M^ro^ Broune',[13] for Mr. Warynge's fellowship at University College, and in the same year wrote to Dr. James,[14] Master of the College, for the same post. He brought forward three reasons for the fellowship being bestowed upon him. First, that he was in financial difficulties; secondly, that he was a Yorkshireman; and thirdly, that he felt that he could rely upon the kindness of Dr. James.[15] He added a fourth reason in

[1] July 9, 1581. [2] May 1 and August 8, 1582. [3] December 21, 1582.
[4] June 14, 1583. Compare letter to Mr. Cooke, May 22, 1583.
[5] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 215, says that he was a noble and learned Polonian named Albertus Alaskie who 'came to the court to see the fashions and admire the wisdom of the Queen'. Wood gives a full description of the visit.
[6] July 9, 1581. [7] September 19, 1582.
[8] He had been appointed in 1564.
[9] August 31 and December 18, 1583, February 3, 1584.
[10] Undated except for year 1581. [11] Undated except for year 1581.
[12] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 260. [13] Undated except for year 1583.
[14] Vice-chancellor in 1582. [15] Undated except for year 1583.

a second letter,[1] promising to be most diligent in his studies. Sometime later he wrote a still more pleading letter to the Master of University College,[2] saying that if he was not helped his affairs would collapse and he would have to leave the University altogether. He told Dr. James, with a certain amount of flattery, that if he gave him the fellowship, he could pursue his studies surrounded by a great multitude of most learned men. His main difficulty at this moment was to tide over the period of poverty until he obtained a post, and so he wrote to his 'avunculus charissimus'[3] stating his wants. In August, 1583, Robert wrote to his brother Richard hoping that his fellowship at University College would soon be granted to him, remarking at the same time that he was diligently pursuing the study of Cicero.[4] But apparently he was still uncertain about the post, for he wrote another letter to Dr. James, saying that he continued to hope, but at the same time feared. This letter is decidedly sad, and Batt concluded by pointing out that it would be a terrible blow to him if he had to leave Oxford.[5] It is with distinct relief after perusing these letters,[6] about his poverty and the fellowship, that we find that Robert Batt took his M.A. degree from University College on April 29, 1586;[7] and proceeded to his B.D. degree in 1594.

The Benefaction of Mrs. Frankland.

The year in which Robert Batt proceeded to his M.A. degree, Brasenose College received a splendid benefaction from Mrs. Joyce Frankland.[8] She was the daughter of Robert Trapps, citizen and goldsmith of London, a member of a Lancashire family which is still to be found in that county.[9]

[1] Undated except for year 1583.
[2] Undated except for the year 1583.
[3] August 2, 1583. Another letter, the date of which is unknown.
[4] August 30, 1583.
[5] Undated except for the year 1583.
[6] It is interesting to notice the different forms of address in these letters. They are :—ex Aeneanensi collegio; ex aedibus Aeneanasensibus; ex collegio Aeneanasensi; e collegio Aenei-nasi.
[7] A probable contemporary of Robert Batt at Brasenose, was John Guillim, the herald, who matriculated about 1585 from the Cathedral School at Hereford. Published, in 1610, his *Display of Heraldrie.*
[8] A full account of this benefaction is to be found in Dr. A. J. Butler's *Account of the Benefactions bestowed upon the College.*
[9] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 192.

Joyce Trapps was twice married; first, to a Mr. Henry Saxye, and had one son William; and secondly, to a Mr. Frankland, about whom nothing is known. During the latter part of her life she resided at the Rye House, Stansted Abbots, Herts, or at her town house in Philip Lane, Aldermanbury. Her will was dated February 20, 1586, under which she was not only a great benefactress to this College, but also to Lincoln College, Oxford, and Emmanuel and Caius Colleges, Cambridge. At the same time she left money to the Free School in Beverley, to be controlled by the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose.[1] 'By the liberal encouragement held out in the statutes Mrs. Frankland's fellowship was incorporated as an integral part of the Society', of Brasenose College.[2] The executors of the will were to be Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and Thomas Smallman, of the Inner Temple. The latter did not live long, but, at any rate, seems to have survived until 1592, as in that year he paid £100 to the College.[3] Joyce Frankland in her own name and in that of her son William Saxye also 'bequeathed some curious and very valuable articles of plate which was stolen not many years after "by breaking up of our treasure house",[4] as the register notes, without further specification of the robbery'.[5]

Difficulties connected with the benefaction.

There were evidently many arrangements to be made connected with the Frankland testament, because on November 4, 1588, Dr. Singleton and Mr. Cooke were sent by the other fellows to London, 'ad prosequendam causam inter executores Jocosae Frankland benefactricis nostrae beneficentissimae et collegium nostrum.'[6] Again Singleton, who was then Vice-Principal, went to London on October 5, 1589, 'ad prosequenda negotia.'[7] There were still further difficulties to be got over, as shown by an entry in the Register for February 11, 159$\frac{3}{4}$, where it says 'septem socii seniores

[1] Churton, *Life of Nowell* (1809), p. 342.
[2] Ibid. p. 344.
[3] Plate Book, pp. 17, 19.
[4] Dr. A. J. Butler, *The College Plate*, says 'The Treasure House . . . was the room at the top of the Tower, in which the College chest was and still is kept'.
[5] Churton, *ut supra*, p. 345.
[6] V. P.'s Reg. A. 55.
[7] Ibid. 56. b.

unanimi consensu causam quondam inter collegium nostrum et Doctorem Legge de bonis lectissimae feminae Jocosae Franklande per testamentum unum collegio nostro relictis tractandam et cum eodem Doctore Legge determinandam et . . . dam commendarunt Mr^o Richardo Harries Principali, clarissimo viro D^no Alexandro Nowell ecclesiae Pauli Lond. decano et Mr^o Thomae Singleton nostri collegii socio '.[1]

Mrs. Frankland's monument.

Anthony Wood makes a passing reference to Mrs. Frankland, and says, 'She was so liberal a benefactor that her name hath been and is still repeated in the common grace[2] after meat in Hall, and the Society also have, in gratitude to her memory, erected a monument[3] over her grave in St. Leonard's Church in Foster Lane, London; which monument was demolished (as I conceive) by the great fire that happened in London in Sept. 1666.'[4]

The position of the College.

The College had now taken a high position in the University, which is well illustrated by the fact that Principal Harris was one of the Commissioners appointed to draw up the Statutes for the recently founded Jesus College. His

[1] V. P.'s Reg. A. 65. b.

[2] Qui nos creavit, redemit et pavit, sit benedictus in aeternum. Deus, exaudi orationem nostram. Agimus tibi gratias, Pater Coelestis, pro Guilielmo Smith Episcopo, et Richardo Sutton Milite, Fundatoribus nostris; pro Alexandro Nowell et Jocosa Frankland, aliisque Benefactoribus nostris; humiliter te precantes ut eorum numerum benignissime adaugeas. Ecclesiam Catholicam, et populum Christianum custodi. Haereses et errores omnes extirpa. Edwardum Regem nostrum et subditos ejus defende. Pacem da et conserva per Christum Dominum nostrum.

[3] There are two pictures in the College of this noble benefactress. On the best known are these verses:—

'Trapsi nata fui, Saxy sponsata marito,
Guilelmo mater visa beata meo,
Mors matura patrem, sors abstulit atra maritum,
Filius heu rapida morte peremptus obit.
Parca quid insultas? quasi nunc effeceris orbam?
En ego multiplici prole beata magis.
Me namque agnoscit studiis Domus aenea matrem,
Prole sua semper nobilitata domus;
Digna domus meritis, et laeta et grata patronae:
Sola mea est soli laus placuisse Deo.'

Anno Dom. 1586, aetat 55.

[4] Wood.

presence 'probably accounts for the fact that the new Statutes were framed upon the model of the Brasenose Statutes'.[1] At the same time some undergraduates who afterwards earned reputations in the world were in residence. Richard Cromwell, of Huntingdonshire, who matriculated in 1587, was afterwards Member of Parliament for his county in 1598.[2] Some years later there was another Cromwell, Philip by name, who entered the College in 1592.[3] Between 1589 and 1592 Richard Barnfield was an undergraduate at Brasenose. He was only fifteen years of age when he matriculated, and was probably rusticated, but allowed to return. 'He was a poet with a peculiarly sweet and true lyrical gift, and some of his pieces had the rare honour of being for long attributed to Shakespeare.'[4] His first book, *The Affectionate Shepherd*, dedicated to Penelope, Lady Rich, was published in 1594: followed in the next year by *Cynthia*, and in 1598 by *Poems in Divers Humours*. He died in 1627 at Stone, Staffordshire.[5]

Robert Burton.

William Burton matriculated in 1591, and was therefore contemporary with Barnfield. He was a prolific writer, but never won the fame that was acquired by his brother Robert, who entered the College two years later.[6] Robert Burton[7] was the second son of Ralph Burton of Lindley, and was born in 1577. His notoriety to a large extent rests upon his *Anatomy of Melancholy*,[8] published in 1621; although he had many years previous written a Latin Comedy,[9] which was acted at Christ Church before Lent in 1606. 'He is recorded

[1] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 367.
[2] *Oxf. Mag.* ii. 161.
[3] Ibid., and *Fasti*, i. 281.
[4] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 45.
[5] *B. N. C. Register.*

[6] This year, 1593, is also marked by Charles Langford's gift of £8 per annum for two Exhibitioners.

[7] There is a portrait of him in the College Hall.

[8] The full title of the work is worth recording: *The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is: With all the Kinds, Cavses, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and several Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their several Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened and cut up. By Democritus Junior. With a Satyricall Preface conducing to the following Discourse: Macrob. Omne meum, Nihil meum.*

[9] Privately printed by Rev. W. E. Buckley of Middleton Cheney, for presentation to the Roxburghe Club.

by his contemporaries to have been "very merry, facete and juvenile" and to have specially excelled in "larding" his discourses with verses from the poets.'[1] Bishop Kennet tells of an amusing characteristic of this extraordinary man. 'Whenever he fell into despondency he could only get relief by going to the bridge-foot at Oxford and hearing the bargemen swear at one another, at which he would set his hands to his sides and laugh most profusely.'[2] He died in 1640 and was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church,[3] with which he had so long been connected as a student.

The visit of Queen Elizabeth.

The great event of the year 1592, in Oxford, was the visit of Queen Elizabeth.[4] The Committee to make arrangements for this unusual honour contained the names of Mr. Harris, Principal of Brasenose, who was 'appointed to frame & oversee the stage in St. Maries'; of Mr. Singleton, then Vice-Principal and Senior Bursar, 'to see the streets well ordred and prepared'; and of Mr. Colmer 'to oversee the exercises'.[5] The Colleges were to be rated for a contribution to the charges,[6] and it is evident from the *Bursars' Rolls* that a very heavy sum fell upon Brasenose. The Queen arrived on September 22[7] and visited the different Colleges, and amongst them Brasenose, to which a stupendous bill was sent in by the bakers and brewers.[8] The money to meet this unusual expenditure had, apparently, to be borrowed on promise of repayment 'ad certos dies'. Robert Batt, now of University College, wrote a Latin poem to commemorate this famous visit of the Virgin Queen.[9]

The election of Proctors.

Previous to the seventeenth century the election of the Proctors was not the simple matter that it is now; and as it was done in Convocation it marked the importance of both

[1] Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges* (1897), p. 180.

[2] Quoted by Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 124.

[3] On his bust is the immortal epitaph composed by himself: 'Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia.'

[4] She had also visited Oxford in August, 1566. O. H. S. x, p. 234.

[5] O. H. S. x, p. 230. [6] Ibid. [7] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 250.

[8] *Bursars' Rolls*, 1592, 'diversis pistoribus et brasiatoribus pro pane et potu.'

[9] MS. Rawl. D. 985. Bod. Lib.

the man and his College.[1] In 1594 there was a most unseemly disturbance about the election, but eventually Henry Foster, or Forster, of Brasenose, was chosen with Mr. Cuffe of Merton College. The scene described by Wood certainly had a humorous side, though the want of dignity displayed is surprising when viewed with modern eyes. The two Proctors were 'carried to their respective Colleges in chairs on the Masters' shoulders with great acclamations and ringing of bells'.[2]

'Sir Edward Hoby Controversy.'

Of all the years in the history of Brasenose College, during the Tudor epoch, that of 1595 is perhaps the richest in material though by no means in interest. In the early months of 1595 the Principals and Fellows were very busy in trying to bring to a satisfactory conclusion what may be called the 'Sir Edward Hoby Controversy'. The whole story is laid out in a document[3] written at the command of the Principal and the Fellows, and sent (probably) to Sir Robert Cecil, one of her Majesty's Privy Councillors.[4] The College says:

'The old school of Myddelton, co. Lancaster, where Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and his brethren were taught in their childhood, for the smallness of the stipend of the schoolmaster being almost forsaken, the Queen's Majesty, at the humble suit of the said Dean, founded there her free school, by the name of Queen Elizabeth's Free School in Myddelton, co. Lancaster, and gave unto the same £20 yearly, out of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, for the stipends of the schoolmaster and usher: and her Highness appointed thirteen her scholars to be chosen out of the same school unto the King's Hall and College of Brasenose, in Oxford, where the said Dean and his brethren were brought up in their youth, unto which college her Majesty annexed the school and made the principal and fellows of the said college governors of her said free school in Myddelton.[5]

[1] The Brasenose men who were Proctors during this period were: 1549 Leonard Lyngham; 1561 Oliver Wythington; 1566 William Leech; 1568 James Charnock; 1578 Clement Colmer; 1582 Robert Cooke; 1585 Thomas Singleton; 1594 Henry Foster; 1598 Edward Gee; 1601 Gerard Massey.

[2] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 258.

[3] *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii. 533. An old copy of this document is also in the College muniment room.

[4] Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, 1563?–1612.

[5] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*, gives a full account.

'The said Dean purchased of the Lord Cheyney, in reversion the manor of Upburie[1], and rectory of Gillingham . . . gave the same after to her Majesty. . . . The Queen gave the said manor and parsonage unto the said college for the exhibition of her thirteen scholars, and to the further amendment of the stipend of the schoolmaster and usher . . . and to the increase of the commons of the said principal and fellows, who had before by their first foundation but 14$^{d.}$ apiece weekly.

'And for that the said Lord Cheyney survived sixteen years after . . . the said Dean maintained six of her Majesty's new scholars . . . which besides the former purchase did stand him in £300 and more.

'And further, for that the old school house was very little and uncomely . . . the said Dean hath caused a fair large school house . . . to be builded . . . whereon he bestowed the sum of £180, which, with the purchase and finding of her Majesty's scholars during my Lord Cheyney's life cost above 2000 marks.

'The Lord Cheyney . . . had made a lease of the said manor and rectory unto one Peter Rowle, which lease is . . . come into the hands of Sir Edward Hobie knight[2], and the lease is charged with the yearly rent of 5 marks in money, and eight score and eight quarters of sweet straw-dried malt, to be [paid at] Christmas and Midsummer. . . .

'Sir Edward Hobie denyeth to pay any such rent, for that the college, being a body incorporate hath no hands, as he saith. He doth also allege that the said Dean is to have some benefit of the said rent malt, as a cause why he ought to pay no such rent.

'For that the said Dean hath been enforced by these charges to lay out £200 of Edward Blount, his child's portion being in his hand; which sum . . . to be paid out of the said manor . . . Sir Edward Hobie allegeth that also as a cause why he ought not to pay. . . .

'And although the Dean and College were humble suitors at divers times for the space of two years and more first unto the Lord Treasurer[3], the Lord Admiral[4], the Lord Chamberlain, Sir Edward Hobie's nearest and dearest friends, that some reasonable order might be taken . . . yet Sir Edward would not stand unto their order but would have the matter tried by law, that he might by long delay still enjoy the fruits of the said manor . . . without payment of rent.

'The said Dean and College . . . were obliged to make like humble suit

[1] Upberry and Gillingham are in Kent. The College possesses a large number of documents referring to these places; they may be found in Hurst's Calendar.

[2] Sir Edward Hoby, 1560–1617; educ. Eton and Trinity Coll., Oxford; knighted 1582; M.P. for Queenborough, Berkshire, Kent and Rochester; a patron of Camden and a favourite of James I.

[3] William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer 1572–98.

[4] Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral 1585–1618.

unto the Privy Council. . . . Their lordships referred the cause unto the judgement of the Lord Chief Justice[1] and of the Master of the Rolls[2], that now be . . . who . . . returned their opinions . . . that . . . the said rent malt with the arrearages were to be paid . . . which . . . came at that time to the sum of 700 marks. . . . Sir Edward . . . would still have the cause tried by law only.

'But the said Dean and College being wearied . . . thought it best jointly to make . . . complaint unto her Majesty . . . whereupon her Majesty committed the hearing of the cause to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury[3], the Earl of Essex[4] and the lord Buckhurst[5]. . . .

'And when Sir Edward made delays and excuses their lordships directed letters . . . unto him . . . yet did he as before make continued excuses . . . and kept those of the college who did follow the suit in attendance in London and in the time of progress above a year.

'During which long time, though the lords did take great pains to bring Sir Edward to some reason . . . yet he would not agree. Wherefore they set the college at liberty to seek their best remedy by law or otherwise. But when the College had brought their action in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster . . . he . . . refused to appear. And when for the lack of appearance he was at the point of outlawry, one Webb appeared as attorney, and . . . denied . . . that he had any warrant so to appear, and so has quite overthrown their long and chargeable suit in law. By means of all which . . . the college is now greatly impoverished. . . .

'Whereupon the said Dean and College shall be once again enforced to make their most humble supplication to her Majesty that the arrearages now 800£ may be satisfied according to her former commandment . . . and if that . . . may not be had, then that it might please her Majesty to command the said Sir Edward to appear to an action for the arrearages. . . .'

Letter from Alexander Nowell.

It is probably to this document that Alexander Nowell referred when he wrote on April 15, 1595:

'Understanding by my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury that your Honour[6] did wish some good end to be made between Sir Edward Hobie and the College of Brasennose, I, who have been a dealer for the college to my utter impoverishing would gladly have attended upon you, had I not been both very weakly and sickly by reason of extreme age,

[1] John Popham, Lord Chief Justice 1592–1607.
[2] Thomas Egerton, see p. 7.
[3] John Whitgift, Archbishop 1583–1604.
[4] Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, 1566–1601.
[5] The Chancellor of the University since 1591.
[6] Sir Robert Cecil.

and also feared that in so great multitude of your most weighty affairs, I might come out of time. Wherefore I thought it best to declare the state of the cause in writing which may stay your good leisure.'[1]

It is evident that Cecil must have informed Hoby that he had obtained full information on the subject, but the knight determined to 'bluff' the matter, and wrote to Cecil on April 30:

'For answer to your letter which I received this evening, I perceive the D[ean of St. Paul's] still exclaimeth that he can have no end, which my Lord of Canterbury knoweth contrary, for I have heretofore, almost more earnestly than became me, pressed both his Grace and my Lord of Buckhurst with the bag in my arms to have their orders performed, but their lordships could not draw the D[ean] to it . . . and surely they cannot justly lay to my charge any delay for at midsummer I sent my money to Oxford (though refused), according to the order to which I have the college hand to agreement, who but for Mr. D[ean]'s wilfulness, and one Singleton his creature, stand very well satisfied.'[2]

The College took definite action.

By May, 1595, the College had become really impatient and refused to be put off any longer by the specious words of either Hoby or the Archbishop. For this reason Nowell wrote on May 12 to Sir Robert Cecil, and said:

'Both I and they of the college finding my lord of Canterbury unwilling to deal any more in the cause between Sir Edward Hoby and the college . . . we certified his Grace that the college should be enforced to enter their articles before this term be ended, else they shall lose the whole benefit thereof; which yet they would not do if Sir Edward . . . could be brought to any reasonable order . . . and not to frustrate the college by not appearing and other more strange shifts as hitherto he has done by the space of five years and more, in which time he hath paid no rent . . . so that he owed the college now above 800*£*. Yet the college had rather . . . have the half thereof than seek the whole by long and chargeable suits in law, which both the college and I do protest for our true excuse against all surmises that we will no way but law.'[3]

[1] *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii, p. 172. The letter is signed by 'Alexander Nowell'. Further documents of this character may be seen in Buchan, *ut supra*, pp. 165–9.

[2] *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii, p. 193. A holograph 'From her Majesty's castle of Queenborough, late this last day of April, 1595'.

[3] *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii, p. 203. Signed by 'Alexander Nowell'.

Sir Edward Hoby gave way.

At last Sir Edward Hoby wrote on May 23 to Sir Robert Cecil agreeing to a conference. 'I hold it my ill-fortune still to be troubled with these clergy clamours in my absence. . . . For their proceedings which they seem for your sake to make stay of, I beseech you to be no whit beholden to them for it. If you have not already, send to Harris the Principal of Brasenose, or to the Dean . . . to attend the conference.'[1]

The agreement between Hoby and the College.

The much desired conference took place on June 6, 1595, when an agreement was drawn up by the intervention of the Archbishop and Sir Robert Cecil. Sir Edward Hoby gave his assent on the one side, and Alexander Nowell, on behalf of the College, on the other. Hoby covenanted to pay up his arrears; first £86 13*s.* 4*d.* at or before July 10; secondly, £60, upon or before November 27; and thirdly, £60, at or before November 27, 1597. At the same time he promised to pay for his malt rates £83 on July 10; and another £41 later. It was also agreed that Sir Edward was to continue his lease paying 5 marks per annum, and malt rent at the rate of 10*s.* a quarter. He, his heirs and assigns were to be liable for the repair of the chancel of Gillingham Church; and all payments were to be made to two or three persons, appointed by the College, in the Hall of the Middle Temple, 'near the city of London'. If everything was paid off by November, 1597, Hoby was to have a receipt and quittance. If, however, he failed to carry out his part the agreement were to be null and void, and the 'Principal and scholars can seek by all lawful means' to obtain their dues. It was further stated that the agreement should be registered in the books of the Privy Council.[2]

[1] *Rep. Hist. MS.* xlviii, p. 216.

[2] The college possesses a (probably) contemporary copy of the agreement with the signatures obviously written by the copyist. The witnesses were: Whitgift, Cecil, Hoby, Nowell, Harris, and Blount. It is curious that on the next day (June 7) Hoby wrote to Cecil, 'Brasenose knoweth I have goods and chattels and will not fly . . . P.S. I cannot be permitted by my jailor to write to Winefrid [cf. *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii, p. 533], I beseech you answer for me to her, and let her know what is become of me. I assure you I am a true man to her peradventure.' *Rep. Hist. MSS.* xlviii, p. 236.

So ended, practically speaking, the Hoby Controversy, though there were in future years occasional squabbles and bickerings about the method of payment. All through the weary case the College had been deeply indebted to the faithful 'venerabili viro Dño Alexandro Nowell, Decano Ecclesiae Cathedralis divi Pauli London., unum virum probum'.[1] *The end of the controversy.*

Alexander Nowell was elected Principal of Brasenose fifteen days after the resignation of Richard Harris, which took place on August 22, 1595. He was now on the verge of ninety, and the election 'was perhaps intended or accepted rather as a compliment than with a view to the performance of much actual service'.[2] He was born either in 1507 or 1511. Wood says, 'He was thirteen years when he came to the College [elected fellow in 1536], he gave thirteen places, and he died on the 13 Feb.,[3] on which day he is commemorated by the Society.'[4] Fuller speaks of him as 'a man of most angelical life';[5] while Izaak Walton wrote that he was noted for 'his meek spirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety'.[6] In 1553 he was elected a Member of Parliament, but was refused by the House of Commons as being in Orders.[7] During Queen Mary's reign he resided principally at Frankfort, but returned to England on the accession of Elizabeth. He was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1560, and did much for the restoration of Protestantism. *The election of Alexander Nowell.*

[1] V. P.'s Reg. A. 63, 1593; cf. O. H. S. x, p. 142, where it said that on the 10 June, 1578, Alexander Nowell, twenty years a student in Theology, supplicated for his D.D. without performing the exercises; 'quod partim reipublicae et ecclesiae negotiis ita districtus sit ut exercitia omnia quae ad eum gradum statutis requiruntur commode obire non possit'; cf. p. 235, where it said that Nowell was presented and created D.D. on October 1, 1595, 'pileo indutus, annulo insignitus, et libro donatus.'

[2] Churton, *Life of Nowell* (1809), p. 325.

[3] His epitaph says: 'Coll. Aenei Nasi, Oxonii, ubi ab anno aetatis 13, annos 13 studuit.'

[4] Quoted by Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 20.

[5] *Church History*, bk. x, sect. x.

[6] Walton, *The Complete Angler* (edition 1832), p. 74.

[7] The constitutional importance of this is considerable; cf. Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, i, p. 275.

As Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, he presented, in 1562, a catechism for its approval. Walton asserts, 'the good old man . . . knowing that God leads us not to heaven by many, nor by hard questions, like an honest Angler, made that good plain unperplexed Catechism which is printed with our good old Service-book.'[1] As a matter of fact Nowell seems to have been the author[2] of three catechisms, the *Large*, the *Middle*, and the *Small*, the last with alterations being adopted for the *Book of Common Prayer*.[3] There can be no doubt that the worthy Dean inclined towards Calvinism, though he loyally complied with Elizabeth's ecclesiastical settlement. As has already been shown, he was a very liberal benefactor of Middleton School and Brasenose College, particularly giving up time and energy for the welfare of the latter. Walton[4] says that 'he was well content, if not desirous that posterity should know that he was an Angler as may appear by his picture[5]'. The portrait referred to hangs behind the high table, and shows at the top of the canvas the old Principal's rods hanging on two hooks. Churton[6] remarks, 'here having mentioned his attachment to

[1] Walton, *ut supra*, p. 75. [2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (edition 1), xli, p. 243.

[3] Compare Fuller, *Church Hist.*, bk. x, p. 14. Nowell's most famous catechism was the *Large*, drawn up by the request of Cecil, and approved by Convocation, but not by Parliament. Cf. Strype, *Life of Parker* (ed. 1711), p. 202, 'He was put upon making his Catechism by some great persons . . . to stop a Clamour . . . that the Protestants had no Principles. And the Convocation . . . approved and allowed it as their own Booke and owned Doctrine. And when Mr. Dorman . . . reflected upon the Learning . . . of Nowel and charged him for some upstart Preacher . . . he spake thus in his own Vindication: "That he had endured sundry Years, both in his Country and Exile, reading, not scattered Scraps of old overworn Hereticks . . . but the whole Body of the Holy Scriptures . . . he was a Preacher fifteen years ago . . . yea and had preached in some the notablest Places and Auditories in this Realm before he went out of his Country."'

[4] Walton, *ut supra*.

[5] On this picture is the following inscription:—

ALEXANDER NOWELLUS, Sacrae Theologiae Professor,
S. Pauli Decanus, obiit 13 Febr. Anno Dom. 1601. R. R. Eliz. 44.
An. Decanatus 42. Aetatis suae 95; cum neque oculi
caligarent, neque Aures obtusiores, neque Memoria
infirmior, neque Animi ullae facultates victae essent.
Piscator Hominum.

[6] Churton, *ut supra*, p. 80.

the honest and quiet art and recreation of angling, with which Augustus used to relieve the cares of empire, one circumstance connected with it must not be omitted. Having either accidentally, or by design (for the accounts vary) left in the grass or buried in the ground, a bottle of ale, he found it again after some time " not a bottle but a gun such the sound of it when opened ". And this (as casualty, says Fuller,[1] is the mother of more inventions than industry) is believed the original of bottled ale in England.' This excellent old man only remained Principal of the College for about three months, for he resigned in December, 1595. He lived on for some years until he passed away at a ripe old age on February 13, 160½. A monument was raised to his memory, which was in existence when Walton wrote 'his monument stands yet undefaced'[2]; but it was unfortunately destroyed by the great fire in 1666.[3]

The election of Thomas Singleton.

Nowell's successor, Thomas Singleton, had long been connected with the College, and had held the offices of Vice-Principal and Senior Bursar on many occasions.[4] He was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1598–9, and again held that office for three years between 1611 and 1614.

Conclusion of Part I.

The troublous times of the Reformation had been safely passed through, and Brasenose College had weathered the storm. The College history displays no very peculiar or distinctive features during this period. A contemporary says that University life showed 'modesty, taciturnity, obedience and zeal for study'[5]; yet Wood's lament over the University as a whole would probably apply equally well to this College in particular. That there was very little hard work is practi-

[1] Fuller, *Worthies*, p. 115.

[2] Walton, *ut supra*, p. 74.

[3] The inscription on Nowell's monument is preserved in Stow's *Survey* (edition 1633, p. 362; cf. Athen. Oxon., p. 313). An engraving of the monument is in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral.* For further mention of Nowell, cf. Dr. Whitaker, *History of Whalley*, p. 482, and *Towneley Nowell MS.*

[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, 1588–94. While Singleton was Senior Bursar, Miles Smith, afterwards translator of the Bible, took his D.D. on June 19, 1594, having given 'sex solennes lectiones'.

[5] O. H. S. viii, p. xi.

cally a certainty, but the minds of thinking men, at any rate, were filled with far greater questions than disputations on Aristotle. The College turned out men fairly well grounded in the classics, who became great churchmen, great lawyers, great historians, and, above all, good citizens in those spacious days of Queen Elizabeth.

PART II

BRASENOSE COLLEGE SOCIAL LIFE

1547–1603

Brasenose College in the sixteenth century.

THE appearance of Brasenose College during the Tudor period was very different from that familiar to all University men of modern times. The old quadrangle had not the quaint windows and upper story that were destined to be added in the reign of James I. No spacious dome of the Radcliffe Library towered above the old gateway, which was then the commanding feature of the College, and formed the lodgings of the Principal. Where now there is the Radcliffe Square there were many buildings divided from the College front by the 'vicus scholarum' or 'vicus scholasticus'.[1] Among these old tenements were Glasyn Hall and Staple Hall; the latter passing into the hands of the College on November 2, 1556, when leased by Lincoln College to Brasenose for ever at a rent of 20*s*. per annum.[2] Besides these, to use the words of contemporary description, 'att the west end of St Marie's church wee see the East side of Brasen Nose Colledge . . . opposite to Brasen Nose, there are two old Halls, Black Hall and White Hall now in their tenure and serving for their use.'[3] The first of these halls is mentioned in the Vice-Principal's Register in 1556.[4] Where now the modern chapel stands there was little St. Edmund's Hall, which was used for undergraduates' rooms throughout the sixteenth century.[5] Behind the present

[1] O. H. S. xv, p. 83. [2] Clark, *ut supra*, p. 257. [3] O. H. S. viii, p. 99.
[4] V. P.'s Reg. A. 72. b.
[5] V. P.'s Reg. A. 75. 'Mr Henricus Slocumbe admissus fuit per principalem in cameram vocatam parvam aulam Edmundi.'

old quadrangle the grove of Lincoln College is contiguous, and the two colleges are connected by a door;[1] but in Tudor times an ancient pathway divided the two properties and had its outlet in St. Mildred's, or as it is now called, Brasenose Lane. Such, then, were the immediate surroundings of the College during the whole of the period 1547–1603.

The College Register and Statutes.

When the undergraduate first presented himself at Brasenose College, in the reign of Edward VI, no question would be asked about his income, because he was 'filius aut consanguineus nobilium et magnatum'.[2] But by a rule of June 4, 1549, he would have to enter his name in the College books, for according to the Vice-Principal's Register, 'convenit inter principalem et 6 socios seniores quod quilibet scolasticus in aedes nostras ingressus statim nomen suum in hoc volumine inscribendum curet sub poena ii^{s}.'[3] University life at this time was said to be entirely out of order and so generally disturbed, that fresh statutes were enacted for its better governance, and these *Edwardine Regulations* continued with additions and alterations until the celebrated enactments of Archbishop Laud.[4] Nevertheless, the College itself had a strict code of law for the guidance of its students. Every one was compelled to have a tutor, and after August 18, 1576, the tutor must be one of the Fellows, and the undergraduates must not pass from one to another.[5]

Poverty of undergraduates.

Wood affirms that about 1551 all the colleges became 'the receptacles of poor religious people turned out of their cloysters'.[6] The Brasenose records, however, are not sufficiently minute and complete, at this period, to say whether the College did extend the hand of charity to the numerous educated poor who had been expelled by a rapacious and greedy government. It is not until 1562 that any mention of an unusual type of scholar occurs; but in that year John Hepethe is mentioned as being non-resident.[7] Two years later there is the

[1] Opened on Ascension Day every year, when the bounds are beaten.
[2] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 40.
[3] V. P.'s Reg. A. 2. b. This was first done on June 24, 1549.
[4] Wood, *Annals*, ii, pp. 95 and 100. [5] V. P.'s Reg. A. 40.
[6] Wood, *ut supra*, p. 110; cf. Ditchfield, *The Old-Time Parson* (1908), pp. 98–9.
[7] *B. N. C. Reg.*

first reference to 'pauper scholaris',[1] and from that moment this kind of student was well known in every college. That many students were really desperately poor is seen from the Batt Letters;[2] and also from the entry in $158\frac{6}{7}$ that Thomas Davies had to leave because 'from poverty he could not stay longer in the University'.[3] It would be almost impossible to say what was the ordinary allowance of an undergraduate. Many of them had practically nothing, and had to eke out their livelihood by teaching and by service. Even the sons of wealthy men often had no more than £30 per annum to pay for travel, clothes, food, lodging, and tuition. In one instance, however, a far larger sum was allowed, for in 1559, the father of James Bisse was ready to give him £100 per annum.[4]

Rooms and room-rent.

Out of a small income room-rent must have been a very great strain. What the actual rent was in early times it is difficult to say, but on May 11, 1596, the best room in Staple Hall, then part of the College, was let at 20*s.* per annum; the smaller rooms at 10*s.* each.[5] The furnishing of these rooms must have been very simple, and probably lacking in all comfort. The top floors were probably broken up into dormitories, and in these two undergraduates were often forced to share a bed; while at the same time there seems to have been no chance of a morning bath. The College rooms must have been distinctly uncomfortable in the period previous to Queen Elizabeth, for Nowell records that in 1572, as 'the lower chambers of the college were dampeshe and unholsome beyng unboorded, I caused the same throghly to be boorded, which cost about XL^li'.[6]

Lectures and tuition.

Lectures were held in the Hall, at any rate after 1571, when Richard Harpur laid down in his bequest that Greek Grammar and authors should be discussed there three days a week.[7] It is very evident that fires, even in this common meeting-place, were rare, for Harpur also left two shillings and sixpence for special fires on St. Andrew's Day.[8] Even then

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.* The college was founded as 'perpetuum Collegium pauperum et indigentium scholarium'.

[2] Compare p. 14.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*

[4] Ibid.

[5] V. P.'s Reg. B. 6.

[6] MSS. Burghley, lxxxii, no. 48.

[7] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra.*

[8] Ibid.

there was a strong tendency to 'cut' lectures, which was punished by fine; and in December, 1599, some Brasenose men got into serious trouble on this account. The authorities informed them that they had taken an oath (probably at the time of their matriculation) to attend this essential part of university education, and that by their non-attendance they were guilty of the serious crime of perjury. These 'scholares facultatis artium' supplicated for indulgence 'pro absentia a scholis suis'; their plea being 'audiendi neglectum obligare ad poenam tantum, non ad perjurium'.[1] The undergraduate of the sixteenth century had weekly lectures on theology, and twice a week on logic; he had also 'his lectures on Rhetoric to attend and the works of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian to study. He had a certain smattering of grammar and philology to acquire from the works of Priscian, or Linacre, or some such approved authority. A little geometry, the rudiments of the Greek language, and a certain course in moral philosophy based on the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, made up the whole of his possible studies.'[2] The lecturers themselves did not always show any very keen desire to give their lectures, and in 1572 it was decided that if the Greek lecturer failed in his duty, the Bursar was to deduct 12*d.* from his stipend for every occasion.[3] There is a similar complaint of laziness, mentioned by Wood ten years later, when he remarks that the tutors showed little or no interest in the undergraduates.[4]

The College Library.

It must also be allowed that the students of the sixteenth century were not remarkable for their readiness to learn. This fact is partly illustrated by the windows of the first Brasenose Library[5] facing north and south, and not east and west, so as to catch the light. The library itself did not contain very many books during the period, and it may possibly have suffered 'the Great Pillage'[6] of 1550, when nearly all college libraries lost many of their treasures. Even if it escaped this

[1] O. H. S. x, p. 10. [2] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 44.

[3] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*; cf. also O. H. S. x, p. 100. Dispensation for the Music Lecture, granted to Robert Brooke, Brasenose, because 'nulli solent interesse auditores'.

[4] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 212. [5] On No. IV Staircase.

[6] The name given to the period by Dr. Augustus Jessopp.

danger it must undoubtedly have been forced to give up its English Bibles when Cardinal Pole visited the University in $155\frac{6}{7}$.[1] The first man to leave any books to the 'liberay' of the future College was Edmund Croston, late Principal of Brasenose Hall in 1508.[2] This gift was handsomely supplemented by Bishop Smyth out of his own collection.[3] Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter[4] in 1511, is supposed by Wood to have given some books, or at least contributed to the furnishing of the library, in the windows of which his coat of arms was emblazoned. John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln,[5] added to the growing collection, which was much assisted in 1547 by the bequest of John Booth, Canon of Hereford.[6] In 1587 Richard Barnes[7] bequeathed £20 to the College to purchase books. And by the will of Alexander Nowell[8] the library was enriched by 'the thirteen centuries of the Ecclesiastical History begun at Magdeburge, and the great Greek Lexicon of Henry Stephanus, in three volumes, strongly bound and armed, and all the History of Martyrs written by Mr. John Foxe, in ten volumes of the best paper and fair bound'. It was not, however, until the next century that the scholars of the College really had a fine collection of works to which to go for their studies, and for which they had to thank the generosity of Henry Mason, whose gift was valued at £1000.

Length of Residence.

Before an undergraduate could proceed to his degree, a certain period of residence was necessary. Sometimes dispensations were given for this. Thus William Fleshware, who was appointed a Fellow of the College on April 14, 1576, did not take his B.A. degree until January 15, $157\frac{7}{8}$.[9] But even then he had to obtain in the previous December a dispensation for three terms, the reason stated being that as he was a Fellow 'it will be to his great advantage to take his degree'.[10]

[1] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 132.
[2] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*.
[3] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 90.
[4] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*.
[5] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 90.
[6] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Churton, *ut supra*, pp. 420–5.
[9] *B. N. C. Reg.*
[10] O. H. S. x, p. 17. For the disputations which took place in Lent, cf. O. H. S. x, p. 54, where it is said that in $154\frac{8}{9}$ the 'scholares' of Brasenose are to observe the days of determination 'juxta ordinem classis'. There are many examples of dispensation, e. g. O. H. S. x: p. 17, February 22, $159\frac{4}{5}$, Robert Moore of Brasenose

As a general rule these dispensations for time would hardly be necessary, for the undergraduates of the Tudor period remained in residence far longer than they do to-day, and spent more time in the year in Oxford. In 1538 it was stated that the scholars appointed under the benefaction of John Claymond were not to be absent for more than forty days;[1] and from the 'Batt Letters' it is clear that men often did not go down for vacation owing to the expense of travel.[2] By the year 1555 Hugh Conway, of Brasenose, had been a 'scholaris' for twelve years;[3] and William Dyer, who matriculated in 1578, seems to have continued his studies with intervals for a period of ten years.[4]

The age of undergraduates

It is often asserted that the age of the undergraduate, when he matriculated, was very different from what it is now. The fact that in 1578 it was decreed that only those over the age of sixteen years should subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles[5] is a proof in itself of there being students under that age. Certainly, in 1578, when seventy undergraduates matriculated at Brasenose, there were boys of twelve, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen; but by far the greatest number were seventeen and

dispensed from disputation through illness, for an absence of three terms; p. 24, October 30, 1595, Henry Philips of Brasenose, dispensed for modifying the exercises, owing to illness; p. 32, July 1, 1592, Robert Goddard, of Brasenose, asked for a dispensation that his grace might be proposed in his absence, as he had to go down on urgent business; on March 9, 159$\frac{8}{9}$, William Billingsley asked the same, as he was teaching boys in the country;—[Graces were, however, sometimes refused; cf. p. 40, where, in May, 1586, Robert Milward, of Brasenose, supplicated for his M.A., 'sed gratia negata est in perpetuum.' Clark says, 'This sentence must have been forgotten or revoked, because Robert Milward suppl. Feb., lic. 22 Feb., 158$\frac{7}{8}$, inc. 1588';]—p. 46, dispensation for 'circuitus' was granted on June 21, 1590, to Edward Gee of Brasenose, because he did not know that Congregation was to be held that day; p. 57, dispensation for absence on Egg-Saturday was granted on February 17, 159$\frac{1}{2}$, to John Hodges of Brasenose; p. 69, dispensation for shortening the period of residence for the M.A. degree was granted on January 21, 158$\frac{9}{7}$, to Robert Heton of Brasenose, because he must go to his benefice; p. 370, on January 24, 159$\frac{9}{7}$, Thomas Hulme, now of Brasenose, was allowed to count ten terms at Cambridge.

[1] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra*. 'During their absence, their stipend is to be converted to the use of the College.'

[2] See p. 13.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*

[4] Ibid.

[5] O. H. S. x, p. 5. The ceremony was not enforced until 1581.

eighteen; while the eldest was twenty-four years old.[1] The year 1589, when the matriculation list shows only fifty names,[2] was peculiar for the youth of the undergraduates. Edward Nurse was only nine years old when he entered the College, but he had companions of much the same age, for John Egerton[3] was ten, and William Norris eleven. It is probable, therefore, that the ages varied very much more than they do now, but that the average age was only slightly below that of 1909.

Games and Recreations.

By late Tudor times the 'robustious and aggressive person', who had been the typical student of the Mediaeval Hall had disappeared, and better discipline had been facilitated by the character of the College buildings. There were now strong walls and a massive door, which was closed in summer at nine o'clock, and in the winter one hour earlier.[4] There was also a garden, though whether this was used by Brasenose students for recreation it is difficult to say.[5] Their games and amusements were indeed of a limited character. There were no playing fields, and probably the old fifteenth-century custom remained of walking into the country 'for the recreation, convenience and honour of the community'.[6] It is noticeable, however, that no one was to walk out alone, to avoid 'scandal'; 'doubtless it was a wise precaution, for two men are better than one in a street row. Strange practice though it was, it survived till comparatively recent times.'[7] As for playing football, it was absolutely tabooed, and was regarded as an 'insolent' game till late in the sixteenth century. There was a complaint, in 1584, that men were openly playing football

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.* of this year gives a complete list of ages.

[2] For B. N. C. matriculations 1576–1897 see Buchan, *ut supra*, App. G.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.* He was M.P. for Callington at 19 years old. Afterwards the Earl of Bridgewater.

[4] O. H. S. viii, p. xi.

[5] V. P.'s Reg. A. 74. b. 1561, May 5, 'Concessum est Gualtero Baylye ut utatur dimidio horti nostri jacentis inter collegium nostrum et Cat Streate ad terminum triginta annorum.' Cf. Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra.* Sir John Port of Etwall in Derbyshire gave, in 1516, 'all that garden place or vacant ground in Oxon adjoining to the Colledge of Brasynos upon the South side.'

[6] Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii, p. 625.

[7] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 43.

'to the great disorder of the University', and the Earl of Leicester therefore ordained that if any Minister or Deacon dared to play football, he should be expelled from Oxford.[1] At the very end of the century the game seems to have been played 'in a place on the north of the town near Balliol College called the Beaumont'[2]; and by 1608 it was regularly indulged in on Bullingdon Green. There were, of course, illicit forms of amusement, such as poaching on Shotover Hill, or, for more daring spirits, in the Queen's Manor of Woodstock. Besides this there were many merry meetings in the taverns of Oxford; although when Cardinal Pole was Chancellor, in November 1556, there was a petition to enforce the statute 7 Ed. VI limiting the wine taverns of Oxford to three in number, as they had increased to eight. The result of this increase had been that the price of wine had gone up, to 'the impoverishing of the poor scholars who will have wine whatever it cost'.[3] This petition seems to have been quite ineffectual, for the chief amusement of the undergraduate in 1582 was 'tipling, dicing, carding, tabling' in Ale Houses.[4] As a matter of fact, the Brasenose students were particularly forbidden to play dice, or ball, or cards, but the last was allowed in Hall at Christmastide.

Flogging and Fines.

There were many things that the undergraduates were forbidden to do, which no doubt occasionally spurred them on to insubordination; but 'The statutes of Brasenose are the first which exhibit the undergraduate completely stripped of all his medieval dignity, tamed and reduced to the school-boy level... here he is subjected to the birch at the discretion of the College lecturer for... making "odious comparisons"... as well as for unpunctuality or non-attendance at chapel, and other offences that fell under the cognizance of the Principal.... The sixteenth century was the flogging age *par excellence* in the English Universities.'[5] Flogging, however, was not the only punishment, and we should imagine that it was confined to the younger members of the College. One can hardly believe

[1] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 220.
[2] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 40.
[3] *Cal. S. P. Dom. Add.* 1547–56, p. 447.
[4] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 213.
[5] Rashdall, *ut supra*, p. 622.

that the dignity of the authorities could have been maintained if the Principal or Vice-Principal attempted to flog a burly and ruffianly undergraduate of twenty-four years of age from the wilds of Cheshire or Lancashire. Impositions were a more dignified form of punishment, and were instituted in the sixteenth century,[1] and continued until recent years. But the system of fines was the more common method of curbing the too exuberant spirits and discouraging the casual forgetfulness of the Brasenose student. Anything from a farthing to twopence was the fine imposed for no surplice in chapel; coming late to a lecture; and entering the buttery, pantry, or kitchen without leave. From these small sums the scale gradually rose; and eight-pence was the penalty for swearing; one shilling for leaving open the windows of the library. That three shillings and four-pence was the fine for assault shows that such a thing was not uncommon; and this was doubled if the fiery young man dared to use either stick or stone; and this again was doubled if he wounded his antagonist and caused the shedding of blood. But if at last this unhappy undergraduate's love of fighting caused him to assault either the Principal or the Vice-Principal, he suddenly found himself called upon to take his horse and ride away from the old gate of Brasenose, never again to return.

Private Servants.

The undergraduates of the day were evidently quarrelsome, and there are frequent references to fights and struggles in the fields.[2] In these, no doubt, they were assisted by their personal attendants, for it appears to have been a common custom for the wealthier undergraduates to have their own body servants, who were 'personae privilegiatae'[3]. There are several examples of these in the Brasenose Annals. In December, 1577, George Bonner was the servant of Edward Winter; in $157\frac{8}{9}$, Master Edward Stanley had three Lancashire men, Thomas Bootle, John Wainwright, and

[1] The first case of punishing by imposition was at Corpus Christi College in 1517.

[2] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 219.

[3] They could engage in trade without admission to a corporation; they were exempt from the Mayor's jurisdiction; they could only be sued in the Chancellor's court; and they paid no dues to the city.

Henry Whitacres, as his servants; in November, 1579, Rowland Pilyn attended Master Robert Harrison; and in May, 1582, William Cullame was servant to Master Leeche.[1]

College Servants.

Besides these private servants there were also the regular servants of the College. (1) The Bible Clerk, who received throughout the sixteenth century £2 per annum; at the same time his commons were paid for, and the sum for these varied in different years from £1 10*s.* to £1 13*s.* 4*d.*[2] (2) The Manciple, who received the same stipend as the Bible Clerk, but was evidently fed more luxuriously, for his allowance for commons was £2 3*s.* 4*d.*[3] (3) The Butler, to whom an allowance for commons was made at the same rate as that of the Manciple. In 1552, his name was Baldwin Smith, and he was apparently an undergraduate receiving a yearly stipend of £1 10*s.*[4] (4) The Cook, whose income and allowance came to £4 3*s.* 4*d.* per annum; besides this he had certain extras, for in 1552 there is an entry that Corbett, the cook of Brasenose, 'hath drippings only' as his perquisite.[5] The kitchen utensils did not belong to the College, but to the cook, as shown by the fact that in 158$\frac{8}{9}$ James Murren, the Brasenose cook, bequeathed all his to the College.[6] (5) The Porter, who was also the 'tonsor' or 'barbitonsor'; his stipend was £2 per annum, and sums are regularly entered in the Rolls for tonsorial necessaries, whatever they might be. Thus in 1552, 3*s.*; in 1557, 9*s.*; in 1565, 'nihil'; in 1589 and 1592, 10*s.*[7] (6) A Clerk of the Accounts, who does not appear in the College books until 1572. He was a Master of Arts, and received an income of £1 6*s.* 8*d.*[8] (7) Battelers, who were poor scholars and waited on their richer brethren before they themselves were allowed to sit down. (8) A Laundress, who was the only woman connected with the

[1] O. H. S. x, pp. 390–3. This Master Leeche, in 1600 received as a compassionate grant £2 from the college because he was suffering 'gravi morbo in patria'.

[2] *Bursars' Rolls.* Kept in the muniment room of the College. The stipend was increased by Joyce Frankland.

[3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. and *B. N. C. Reg.* [5] O. H. S. x, pp. 287, 288.

[6] O. H. S. xi, p. 27. [7] *Bursars' Rolls.* [8] Ibid.

College,[1] and was not admitted within the gates. 'Quam aetatis talis talisque conditionis esse volumus in qua omnis suspitio sinistra evitetur.'[2] It is of some interest to note that in 1552 the School of Arts was used by the laundresses to dry their clothes.[3]

Stipends of the Fellows.

The payment of the servants was but a small item in the expenditure of the College. The *Bursars' Rolls* of this period illustrate many curious facts with regard to the difference of money, then and now. When the College Authorities went on progress, their expenses for horses, food, and lodging were, in 1552, £12 18*s.* 9*d.* The Principal's stipend was £5 per annum, but once, in 1564, it dropped to £3 15*s.* Of course, in addition to this, he, with the other Fellows, had their commons and lodging. The Vice-Principal received, in 1552, £1 15*s.*; but after that, to the end of the sixteenth century, it was £2 6*s.* 8*d.* The Bursar's stipend long continued at the comparatively small sum of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* The Lecturer in the Hall received £4; so also the Lecturer in Greek after 1565. Sutton's Chaplain had £10 per annum until 1561, when the term 'chaplain' was converted in the *Rolls* to 'scholar'; but once again, in 1572, the title chaplain is restored, and from this moment the office is held by one of the Fellows. Elizabeth Morley's Chaplain had, in 1552, £2; but in 1557 the income seems to have been *nil*; and after 1561 there was the same change as in the case of Sutton's Chaplain. Cox's Chaplain (in 1552 a Mr. Roger Edwards) had £4 per annum, until like the others, in 1561, the sum was given to a scholar. The Priest at Cold Norton received £6 13*s.* 4*d.* out of the College funds, but after 1561 this item of expenditure disappears.[4]

Scholars and their emoluments.

The sum expended on the six Claymond scholars was supposed to be 13*s.* 4*d.* a quarter; but the actual amount varied very much from year to year. Thus, in 1552 it was £10 7*s.* 8*d.*; in 1557 it fell to £9 16*s.* 10*d.*; in 1566 it had risen again to £13 2*s.* 4*d.*, which was the highest amount

[1] 'Mapparum et aliorum usualium vestimentorum lotrix.'
[2] College Statutes.
[3] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 113.
[4] The figures are from the *Bursars' Rolls*.

reached during the period. The two Ogle scholars always received £4 between them, 'paid on the four great feast days';[1] but in 1565 the total fell to £3 15*s.* The Henry Fisher scholar, first mentioned in 1564, got £2 13*s.* 4d., but in the next year received £3 6*s.* 8*d.* The Queen Elizabeth scholars, first mentioned in 1575, received between them £20.[2]

The Commons of the Principal and Fellows.

The largest item in the Rolls is that which is entered for the Commons of the Principal and Fellows. In 1551 it was £59; in 1570, £39 11*s.* 10*d.*; the next highest year was 1589, when it was £56 14*s.* 10*d.*; but in 1599 it had reached £61 9*s.* 2*d.* After 1586 there was the augmentation of Joyce Frankland of £57 2*s.* 8*d.*; and two years later there is a reference to Nowell's augmentation of £29 1*s.*[3]

Miscellaneous items of expenditure.

Fuel was a very considerable item, but it varied in a remarkable way. In 1561 it was £20 16*s.* 5*d.*; in 1564, £22 5*s.* 10*d.*; in 1577 it had unaccountably dropped to £5 0*s.* 10*d.*; and in 1588 it reached its maximum, £29 1*s.* Another curious item, which very naturally fluctuated according to circumstances, was the entry of different sums as presents to servants who brought game, venison, &c. to the College.[4] In 1552 these amounted to only 3*s.* 4*d.*, but in 1567 they came to the large total of £6 5*s.* 1*d.* Amongst other miscellaneous entries of expenditure, it is remarkable how very little was wanted for the Chapel. In the entry for 1552, the 'necessaries' for the College Chapel also included those for the Chapel at Cold Norton, and together were only 16*s.* 2½*d.* In 1557, however, the Brasenose Chapel necessaries were £4 19*s.* 3*d.*, which may have been due to the restoration of a more elaborate ritual; but at Cold Norton there was no corresponding increase, as the sum entered was only 7*s.* 6*d.* Never again during the period do the College Chapel 'necessaries' amount to more than 15*s.* 7*d.*, and in some years they are entered as 'nihil'.

The cost of maintaining the sea-banks.

One of the most interesting payments that occurs in the *Rolls* still continues, and consists of a rate levied for the maintenance of the sea-banks in Lincolnshire. The College

[1] Dr. A. J. Butler, *ut supra.* [2] *Bursars' Rolls.* [3] Ibid.
[4] 'Dona et regarda' included 'Christmas boxes to the servants', &c.

at one time possessed property[1] which was actually on the east of the ancient Roman bank, and no doubt it was a great labour to preserve the sea-wall against the inroads of the North Sea. 'Pro littoribus marinis' first occurs in the *Rolls* in 1570, when £6 was paid. For six years there seems to have been no payment, but in 1576 £49 13*s.* 4*d.* was expended to make up for all the deficiences of the past.[2] A curious letter of 1572 on this subject has been preserved from the Bishop of Lincoln,[3] 'to my lovinge freends the Principall and fellowes of Brasenoose College in Oxon.' The College authorities had apparently written to ask if they could alienate their lands in Lincolnshire, as the sea made great inroads and the cost of keeping up the banks was becoming very heavy. The Bishop replied that he thought they might be allowed to do so, but that the funds must be used to buy other lands, or be 'reserved in the University chest, Magdelen Colledge, or ells some other the like safe place untill better oportunity serveth for the disbursiage of the same'.[4]

The payment of battels and caution money.

As the College was called upon to spend money in such large sums, it must have been most disturbing for the Bursar to find that men continually avoided paying their battels for as long as possible. In 1569 it was decreed that all persons be obliged to pay their battels within a certain time;[5] but this seems to have had no effect, and once again the authorities called in the Visitor. On October 6, 1578, the Bishop of Lincoln wrote, 'Furthermore for as much as in conference with your principall I understand that manye, partelye fellowes, partelye other comminors, owe unto your colledge large somes for their battailes . . . these are to require such . . . to provide the same bee payde, before the audit or at the uttermoste before Christmas next: or ells I order and appointe them yf he bee a comminer to departe from the house, yf he bee a fellowe to leese [?] his commons and not bee chosen to any office in the house untill yt bee

[1] This is now under the sea. In the old leases preserved by the College there are several curious references to this property.

[2] *Bursars' Rolls.*

[3] He was and is the Visitor of the College.

[4] V. P.'s Reg.

[5] Decree of the Principal and Fellows.

fullye satisfied.'[1] Even this, however, did not seem to have the desired effect; and in 1587 caution money was introduced, for it was decided by the Principal and Fellows that every scholar should deposit 40*s.* into the hands of the Junior Bursar.[2] As late as 159$\frac{2}{3}$ Archbishop Whitgift, Richard Cox, and Richard Bancroft,[3] wrote insisting on the payment of battels and caution money;[4] and it is to be hoped that their action had satisfactory results in the next century.

The style of feeding.

Presumably a large proportion of battels would be the cost of food. Feeding was very bad in Oxford at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was indeed so notorious that Sir Thomas More was able to say, 'My counsel is that we fall not to the lowest fare first: we will not therefore descend to Oxford fare.' A hardy student had no breakfast and worked from six o'clock till ten. Dinner was served at ten or eleven o'clock, and supper at five. In Hall, the Bible, or a 'useful book' had to be read, and everybody had to converse in Latin. After the meal was over, Brasenose men were forbidden to stay on in the Hall, or to gather in little groups for discussion. Whether these discussions were nevertheless held and complaints made, it is now impossible to say, but that there had been difficulties and disagreements about the food served in Hall is to be inferred from the decree of 1560, 'that the steward of the Hall go with the manciple to market to buy meat.'[5] It was during Blanchard's period of office that the larder was ordered to be enlarged,[6] which certainly seems to point to a better state of feeding than had hitherto existed. It was, however, at this time that we read of small beer taking the place of wine, and salt-fish, beef, and mutton being the ordinary fare.[7] That the scholars had to wait upon themselves is obvious from the scarcity of servants, and also from

[1] V. P.'s Reg. A. 84. b. [2] Decree of the Principal and Fellows.

[3] Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) was then chaplain to Whitgift; became Bishop of London 1597, and Archbishop of Canterbury 1604.

[4] V. P.'s Reg. A. 77. b.

[5] Decree of the Principal and Fellows.

[6] Ibid., 1568.

[7] Thorold Rogers, *Econ. Inter. of Hist.* (ed. 1891), p. 199.

the entry in the *Statutes* in 1598, that they were not to take any dishes or saucers out of the kitchen or buttery except into the Hall at meal times.[1] Throughout the whole century there are regular references in *the Rolls* to the amount of salt and flour used in the kitchen. These sums fluctuated year by year. In 1563 salt was entered at 18*s.* 6*d.*, and flour at £1 3*s.* 10*d.*; in 1594 £2 12*s.* 4*d.* was spent on the former and £7 15*s.* 6*d.* on the latter; in 1595 £3 8*s.* 8*d.* for salt and £9 8*s.* 8*d.* for flour; in 1596 flour had risen to £12 5*s.* 7*d.*; while in 1599 salt reached its maximum at £4 3*s.* 11*d.*; in 1600 the prices were rather more normal, salt being £2 16*s.* 7*d.*; and flour £7 5*s.* 9*d.*[2] It is curious to find so few references to other kitchen necessaries; they do, however, occasionally occur, as 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1573 and 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1576.[3]

The dinners of the Fellows.

The Fellows naturally had better fare and had numerous dinners, gaudies, and anniversaries. There was a dinner every year at the making up of the accounts; in 1552 this cost £2; in 1565 it was as much as £3 3*s.* 10*d.* Then there were the anniversaries, in 1552, of Smyth, Sutton, Porter, Darbie, and Cox, which came, in the total, to £4 11*s.* 11½*d.* In 1557 there were the same anniversaries, but the name of Ogle was added, and the expenditure was £6 16*s.* 8*d.* Two more names, Sir John Port, junior, and Master Smyth, were added in 1561,[4] with the result that the cost of these celebrations reached £7 6*s.* 7*d.* The highest sum arrived at during the period was £9 3*s.* 6*d.*, in 1579, after the anniversary of Richard Harpur had been added to the rest.[5] Fortunately a small document has been preserved[6] which contains the items of such a gaudy.

[1] College Statutes.

[2] Between 1564 and 1572 the average price of wheat was 12*s.* 1*d.* per quarter; after 1576 there was a steady rise in the price of food; in 1590 the average price of wheat was 20*s.* 6*d.*; but 1596–97 were two years of famine when wheat was 46*s.* 3*d.* and 56*s.* 10½*d.*

[3] *Bursars' Rolls.*

[4] Ibid. Sir John Port junior gave an annual rent of £3, which in 1580 was transferred to Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, for the conveyance by the Earl to Brasenose of the dissolved college of 'St. Marie in Oxon'. This is mentioned in the Rolls of 1580.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Preserved in the muniment room of the College.

Layed out for dinner in the Tower, 14th of November 1597.

	s.	d.
Inprimis for a cabbadge . . .		2
Item for a p[iece] of beefe . . .	1	0
Item for a legge of porcke . . .	1	6
Item for 2 coople of rabbets . .	2	8
Item for a quarte of wyne and sugar .	1	1
Item for ale, apples & cheese . .		10
Item for table cloath and napkins .		6
ffor supper dod[o]		
Item for a loyne of mutton . .	1	6
Item for [a couple of rabbits] . .	1	4
Item for a quarte of sacke . . .		10
Item for ale, apples & cheese . .		10
Sum	12s	3d ita est.

The wch sum of 12s 3d I have received of Mr. Dalton on the day above written.

Rich. Billingsley.

The regulation of dress.

If the expenses of living in Oxford were great, neither Scholar nor Fellow need have spent very much upon dress. At that period the Statutes allowed the Principal of Brasenose to regulate the attire of both dons and undergraduates; and long hair and all the attendant foppery were particularly banned.[1] Costly furs, silks, and cloth of velvet were strictly prohibited by the College authorities; and this was also done by a University Statute of 1564, stating that the senior and junior members 'should not openly wear any dublet of any light colour, as white, green, yellow, &c.'[2] The students were obliged to wear academic dress far more frequently than at the present day. It is noticeable that this dress was quite different from that of modern times, and amongst many other variations, in 1592, Commoners wore 'rounde cappes'[3]; and woe to the young man who was not properly attired, in the earlier years of the period, if he met the Proctor with his pole-axe and guarded by his armed attendants.

[1] 'Quod nullus sociorum inordinatos crines nutriat.'

[2] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 153.

[3] O. H. S. x, p. 231. If, on the occasion of the Queen's visit, they failed to wear 'gownes hoodes and cappes', they were to be fined and imprisoned.

The effect of the plague upon University work.

An Elizabethan, writing of Oxford, described it as particularly healthy;[1] but this must have been an exaggeration, for the city seemed peculiarly liable to the attacks of bubonic plague. In 1557, the greater part of the Students, and presumably Brasenose men amongst them, were driven out by a pestilential disease.[2] Six years later it is recorded that all the disputations, lectures, and scholastic exercises of Michaelmas Term were postponed until the next spring, 'causa est pestes praesens.'[3] That this continued into the next year is shown by the Vice-Principal's Register, where it is provided 'modo hec [sic] concessio statutis nostris non sit dissona eo quod Dedingtoniae facta est, uno de sex senioribus sociis tunc temporis Oxoniae existente'.[4] The same disease broke out in 1571 'to the terror of all as well Laicks as clerks',[5] and 'ordinariae lectiones et publicae lectiones necnon publica et scholastica exercitia in qualibet facultate'[6] were deferred from April 26 to the first day of Michaelmas Term. At the same time a decree was passed by the Brasenose Authorities that the Principal and certain Fellows should be allowed leave of absence because of the plague, but that four must remain according to the Statutes.[7] This year, there can be no doubt, the plague was particularly virulent. Six hundred persons died in Oxford before April 1572, while it is asserted that 700 recovered.[8] The Scholars were so impoverished that they were allowed to beg, 'having license so to do, as an act of parliament required, under the common seal of the University.'[9] Three years later the pestilence seemed worse than ever, and affected Brasenose like all the other Colleges. Term was postponed, and 'as for ordinary lectures the masters laid them aside, either for the fewness of auditors, and perhaps fear of danger'.[10] The same thing occurred in 1577,

[1] O. H. S. viii, p. xi.
[2] Wood, *ut supra*, p. 138.
[3] O. H. S. x, p. 158.
[4] V. P.'s Reg.
[5] Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 170.
[6] O. H. S. x, p. 158.
[7] College Statutes.
[8] O. H. S. iv; cf. Wood, *Annals*, ii, p. 171.
[9] Churton, *ut supra*, p. 207; cf. 14 Eliz. C. v, 'all scholars of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of the said Universities,' are to count as rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars.
[10] Wood, *ut supra*, p. 179.

when 'the Doctors and Heads of Houses all, almost to one, fled, and not any College or Hall there was but had some taken by this infection'.[1] On January 27, 157$\frac{8}{9}$, an application was made that St. Mildred's, or Brasenose Lane, should be closed owing to its unhealthiness at the time of the plague.[2] Robert Batt wrote from Brasenose College to his relative Stephen Waterhouse,[3] and told him of the terrible plague then raging in London.[4] When he wrote to his brother Edward,[5] the plague had spread from the Metropolis to the University;[6] but, although collegiate work appears to have entirely ceased, the unfortunate Batt, owing to poverty, was obliged to stay on in the infected area. For the next ten years, Oxford seems to have been free from this scourge of Tudor times, but in 1593 it broke out with renewed vigour, so that Michaelmas Term had to be prorogued until November. This, however, did not again occur until the first year of James I, when on September 17 'Vice-Cancellarius significavit pestem magis magisque indies grassari per Universitatem',[7] and therefore Convocation postponed the first day of Term to November 2.

The College stable.

These frequent recurrences of plague must have been not only terribly disturbing to work, but also fell upon the poor scholars with the greatest severity.[8] It was practically impossible for them to leave Oxford at a moment's notice. The cost of horses at that time was very excessive and quite beyond

[1] Wood, *ut supra*, pp. 189, 190.

[2] O. H. S. x, p. 159, 'ut angiportum inter coll. Exon. ex una parte et Coll. Linc. et Aen. Nas. ex altera medium ferens intercludi publicis Universitatis sumptibus liceat.

'Causa est partim quod sterquiliniis eo undique conjectis publico aspectui deformitas fiat, partim quod a nocturnis grassatoribus nec fenestrae tutae nec studentes securi esse possint.

'Concessa est, modo praefata collegia Exon. Linc. et Aen. Nas. ostia suis sumptibus fieri procurent.'

[3] October 24, 1582. MS. Rawl. D. 985. Bod. Lib.; see p. 13.

[4] There died in London that year 2,976 persons. [5] December 21, 1582.

[6] O. H. S. x, p. 159 '28 Nov. 1582 "propter pestis suspicionem" the sermons, lectures, and public exercises at the end of this term were ordered to be omitted'.

[7] O. H. S. x, p. 160.

[8] Latimer said in one of his sermons in 1552, 'physic is a remedy prepared only for the rich folks not for the poor, for the poor is not able to wage the physician.'

the means of the 'pauper scholaris' who, once having left his native wilds, was obliged to stay until he had completed his period of study. This difficulty, however, did not exist for the Principal and Fellows, as Brasenose kept its own stable,[1] and evidently a good supply of horses. The position of the College stable is well known, for it stood in what is now Radcliffe Square, and Twynne says, 'Glasyn Hall alias Pyletts is the litell old buildinge nowe Brasennose College stable.'[2] There are several references to the College horses in the Vice-Principal's Register; thus, on December 4, 1550, there is mention of 'et equos et omnia ad equitandum necessaria'.[3] Sometimes extra horses were hired, and on December 3, 1556, John Hawarden 'recipere de bonis collegii decem libras' to pay for the expense of horses when executing the business of the College.[4] The cost of the up-keep of the stable varied very much from year to year. In 1552 it was £11 11*s.* 0*d.*; in 1556, £3 6*s.* 5*d.*; in 1575, £6 2*s.* 11*d.*; while in 1585 it had risen to £17 7*s.* 7*d.*[5] It is of some interest to notice that the College coachman, or 'custos equorum', received £4 0*s.* 0*d.* per annum, which was the same stipend as that of the Greek Lecturer.[6]

Jesuits and plots.

It is a charming feature of college history that men tend to send their sons where they themselves have been. Generation after generation men have come from Lancashire to Brasenose, and brought no little credit upon their county and their college. This connexion with the ancient Palatine county, even now loyal to the old faith, may possibly account for the number of Brasenose men who became Jesuits and Roman Catholic priests during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. One of the earliest of these was Edmund Ansley[7] (matric. 1552), who in 1557 was dismissed from his Fellowship at Merton

[1] 'Concessum est Thomae Gente de Stroud et suis assignatis occupare domum quam nunc inhabitat ad terminum 30 annorum eodem modo quo nunc ipse occupat sub conditione ut stabulum idoneum equis collegii servet et ipsos honesta summa nutriat prout plenius in indentura apparebit sub quibusdam conditionibus in indenturis explicandis.' December 1, 1547, V. P.'s Reg. A. 69.

[2] O. H. S. xxxix, p. 162. [3] V. P.'s Reg. A. 71. [4] Ibid. 70. b.

[5] *Bursars' Rolls.* [6] The Lecturer had, of course, lodgings and commons.

[7] *B. N. C. Reg.*

College on account of his religion; and was finally imprisoned in 1573 on the suspicion of carrying on correspondence with Mary, Queen of Scots, then a captive at Sheffield. Most of the men who became Jesuits after receiving their education at Brasenose passed to the newly founded college at Douai.[1] Thus Arthur Pittes (matric. $156\frac{5}{6}$), having spent some years at the Douai seminary, became Chancellor to the Cardinal of Lorraine.[2] On May 28, 1582, John Shert (matric. 1564) was hanged, drawn and quartered in London for being a priest and denying the Queen's supremacy.[3] Two days later, Thomas Cottam (matric. $156\frac{8}{9}$) was also executed at Tyburn.[4] He had been to Rome and Rheims, and on landing near Dover in 1580 had been taken captive and imprisoned. He seems to have been a determined character, for while in gaol he became a Jesuit. He was accompanied to execution by an old Brasenose friend, Lawrence Johnson,[5] who, having been trained as a priest at Douai and Rheims, was sent on a mission to England in February, $158\frac{0}{1}$, but having been captured he paid the penalty of his rashness on the scaffold. John Nicolls[6] was a contemporary of Cottam at Brasenose, and he also became a Jesuit, but apparently escaped detection. Another contemporary, Thomas Worthington,[7] obtained more worldly distinction, for after leaving Brasenose and spending some time at the seminary at Douai, was finally raised to its Presidency in 1599. Francis Ingleby[8] was in residence before these men (matric. 1562), but like Shert, Cottam and Johnson became a Roman Catholic priest, and was hanged for it at York on June 3, 1586. Some years after, Humphrey Leach[9] (matric. 1589) became a Jesuit, but little more is known of him. It is not surprising, after so many Brasenose men became ardent supporters of Pope Gregory XIII, that Robert Batt took considerable interest in Jesuit plots against Elizabeth.

[1] Lingard says that this college was founded in 1568 or 1569; Strype thinks that it was some years later. It was most probably founded by William Allen in 1568, after he had left Oxford some seven years. The seminary was suppressed by Requesens, but revived in 1578 at Rheims. It returned to Douai in 1593.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.* [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid. [9] Ibid.

On December 18, 1583, Batt wrote to Stephen Waterhouse, and mentioned Somerville's conspiracy[1] 'to shoot the Queen with his dagg, and he hoped to see her head set upon a pole for she was a serpent and a viper'.[2] Batt also mentions the celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion,[3] who had been executed in 1581; and 'Trogmortonus', or the famous Francis Throgmorton of Cheshire, who had plotted against Elizabeth in November, 1583, and was executed at Tyburn in 1584.

Expulsion of Fellows under Cardinal Pole.

Although so many Brasenose men became Romanists, there are no definite references to Fellows being dismissed for the same reason. It is more than likely, however, that the first instance of expulsion after 1550 was based on religious differences. In the case of Christopher Cary,[4] of Buckinghamshire, the reader cannot refrain from wishing to know more, but the record merely tells the simple fact that he was expelled from his Fellowship by the Principal, 'propter manifestam contra eum inobedientiam et rebellionem.' This stern decree, like a similar one against Morgan Carr,[5] an Irishman, was confirmed by the Commissioners of Cardinal Pole on August 14, 1556. Some interesting letters have been preserved with regard to the expulsions at this time. On January 10, 1556, Cardinal Pole, 'legate from the poppes holynes,' wrote to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Marshall, of Corpus Christi College, and said, the 'princypall of brasinnose' had expelled certain of 'hys scolleres' for misbehaviour. The Cardinal told the Vice-Chancellor to see that they were allowed to remain until he came, 'when I wolde resolutlye dyspose of them myselffe.' But the Principal evidently did not understand the Chancellor's commands, for he had 'dyscharged them of there feloshyppes'. Dr. Marshall was now commanded to investigate this serious state of affairs, and if the men dismissed had really been genuine Fellows, they were to remain so until the Cardinal arrived; but if it were found that they were not Fellows, 'my

[1] MS. Rawl. D. 985. Bod. Lib.

[2] Froude, *Hist. of England*, xi, p. 396.

[3] Edmund Campion, of St. John's College, had been fellow-proctor with James Charnock in 1568; cf. Clark, *ut supra*, p. 351.

[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*

[5] Ibid.

mynd is that thaye shall quietlye enioye the commodityes of the house' till he came.[1] The Bishop of Lincoln also thought that it was necessary to interfere, and wrote to the Vice-Chancellor saying, with 'all diligens to execute th effecte of my lord cardinall his graces request as in quyetting that troubleous house of Brasynnose', and then proceeded, 'Further in my name ye requyre theym that according to they statutes and commandment by me gyven upon complaynt in my said visitation they and evye of theym be at the dyuyne service from whense as I am informed certeyn absented theym selfes upon Christmas daye last . . . and lastlye of all to exhort as well the principall as the felowship to quyetnes and charytye.'[2] The matter was satisfactorily settled according to the original action of the Principal, for Dr. Marshall replied to Cardinal Pole, 'the contention betwene John Hawrdyn, principall of brasinnose in Oxforde' and William 'ellye',[3] John Hodson, Christopher 'Carye', and Patrick 'Sachauerell' was decided, and that he had left them 'as theyre statute did gwyde us in our doinges hereof, no felowes'.[4]

Dismissal of Fellows for absence and matrimony.

The most ordinary cause of dismissal was for being absent without leave. Hugh Long[5] and Rhys Philips were expelled for this reason in 1565; and Ralph Whitehead,[6] of Lancashire, suffered the same fate in the spring of $15\frac{69}{70}$. In much the same way, on June 26, 1579, Zachary Jenkinson,[7] of Leicester, 'declaratur non socius per Principalem quia abfuerit diutius quam statuta ferunt'; and Ralph Robinson[8] was dismissed for the same cause in 1581. Matrimony was naturally a reason for expulsion, and this brought about the dismissal of William Massey,[9] in November 1588, and of Edward Hutchins[10] in 1590. Two other reasons are supplied by the records; the first, in the case of Thomas Colmere,[11] June 29, 1593, who was expelled 'quod infra septem annos postquam susceperat gradum magi-

[1] V. P.'s Reg. A. 85. b. [2] Ibid.
[3] This William 'Ely' was clerk of the Market in 1552; cf. O. H. S. x, p. 253.
[4] V. P.'s Reg. A. 85. b. [5] *B. N. C. Reg.* [6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. [8] Ibid. [9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.; cf. O. H. S. x, p. 36. On April 15, 1592, Edward Hutchins of Brasenose, had had to get a dispensation for not having his grace for B.D. registered.
[11] Ibid.

stratus sacros ordines non habuerat et Presbyter non fuerat'; the second, in the case of Jasper Colmer,[1] who in September 1598 was expelled by the Visitor for insubordination; it may have broken his heart, for he died within the next three weeks. The Principal's decision that a man was worthy of expulsion was not always supported by the Visitor or others in authority. Thus John Lowe[2] escaped expulsion, and so also Henry Walmesley,[3] whose dismissal was declared null and void by Elizabeth's Commissioners.

How fellowships were 'run'.

The Fellowships of this period were not granted for any great learning or for capacity for teaching others. It is obvious from the already mentioned piteous letters of Robert Batt, that the posts were given by favour. So, too, in 1596, Queen Elizabeth 'recommended', which meant 'commanded', All Souls College to give the next vacant Fellowship to Richard Mokett, B.A., of Brasenose, 'he being destitute of other means to continue his studies';[4] and it is hardly likely that the College dared to refuse the hot-tempered sovereign. Some six months later, in June 1602, All Souls College entered into an agreement by which Mathew Anderton, of Brasenose, was to have a Fellowship when vacated by Dr. W. Bird.[5] Bad as the system was, in later years it became worse still, until in modern times an entire revolution took place and the University was drastically reformed.

Conclusion of Part II.

The social life of Brasenose College in the sixteenth century displayed some of the elements that distinguish it to-day. There was nothing foppish; something perhaps a little rough; but roughness is not always a sign of boorishness, and is rather to be welcomed in a world of too great softness. The College has 'always been remarkable in an unusual degree for its vigorous patriotism'.[6] And those to whom the grey and ancient walls of the old quadrangle are endeared by many memories of a happy youth, have a certain belief that a College which held so high a place in men's affection and esteem in

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.* [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1595–7, p. 496. [5] Ibid. 1603–10, p. 123.
[6] Wells, *ut supra*, p. 180.

the past, will continue to arouse such feelings in the hearts of many future generations.

'Shall Brasenose therefore fail to hold her own?
She nerves herself anew for coming strife,
Her vigorous pulses beat with strength and life.
Courage, my brothers! Troubles past forget!
On to fresh deeds! The gods love Brasenose yet!'[1]

[1] *Brasenose Ale*, p. 303, Shrove Tuesday, 1886.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of Brasenose Admissions.

1576–1600.

1576	39
1577	34
1578	74
1579	58
1580	34
1581	53
1582	43
1583	30
1584	32
1585	25
1586	34
1587	37
1588	21
1589	55
1590	32
1591	14
1592	30
1593	16
1594	55
1595	22
1596	21
1597	31
1598	40
1599	32
1600	22

APPENDIX B

Specimen of the Towneley Nowell MS. from 'The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell' —A. B. Grosart. (1877.)

Too one Alexander Aspinall, a poore ſcholer, the xxv^o^ of Octob^r^ A^o^ 1572 at the sute & commendacion of the of Brasynoose vice principall & m^r^ Rycharde harries, m^r^ James whitakeres, ande Willm Crowther fellowes of the same house of Brasynnoose colledge in Oxforde . . . . . xiij^s^ iiij^d^

. . . . . .

viij^o^ of martch A^o^ 1573. Too iij ſchole^rs^ of Brasynnoose Colledge in Oxforde, by thandes of m^r^ harries vice p'cipall one henry Smythe, Rycharde hollande, Thoms Lawe xiij^s^ iiij^d^ apece in the whole . . . . . xl^s^

geven more to the said Lawe & hollande to bringe them to oxforde the viij of martch A^o^ 1573 . . . . iiij^s^

a note of all sutch fomes of money as my m^r^ hath laid out for Brasynnose sethence the foundation of mydelton schole. A^o^ 1573: over & besydes certen money gyven to Schollers of that house, sethence yt tyme afore said. Md that my m^r^ hathe sente at iij severall tymes to the vice p'ncipall & fellowes of Braſynnose college the viij^th^ of martche A^o^ 1573 at michalmes, christenmas, & at o^r^ ladies daie A^o^ 1573 at eu^r^ tyme or feaste xx^li^ . . lx^li^

to willm Kirkame poor ſcholler of brasynnose college in Oxforde the viij of martch A^o^ 1573 . . . . xiij^s^ iiij^d^

To Rycharde ffynche poor ſcholler of Braſynnose Colledge in Oxforde at the sute of m^r^ Docter humfreye, & m^r^ Docter cole by m^r^ harries, & iij^s^ iiij^d^ to him selfe xxiij^s^ iiij^d^. these pcells are entred in the iij^d^ lea nexte afte

Too one Robte Jacksonne the xxij^th^ of novemb^r^ A^o^ 1573 . . . . . iij^s^ iiij^d^.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

this money was sent by John wastoncrofte of Burrie Cotton man.

m^d receyved of m^r Archdeacon wattes the xxvj^th of aprell A^o 1575: the some of xl^li wch said some was receyvid of the Deane & Chapter of powles, to the vse of the Principall, fellowes & Scholleres, of Braysynnoose college in Oxforde. and receyvid more the same tyme of hyme the some of xlvj^s viij^d for the moytie of Boyton hall. whereof paid of the fame to the fcholmaister of the Quenes ma^ties free schole of myddleton, for his half yeares stypende due at the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin S^te marie laste paste vj^li xiij^s iiij^d and iij^li vj^s viij^d to the Vsher due at the same tyme. and gyven more to the said vsher of free will xiij^s iiij^d. & so rem in my m^r handes xxxiij^s iiij^d of the sum recepd.

APPENDIX C

Specimens of the letters written by Robert Batt. To Richard Harris.

(Bodl. MS. 13744 = Rawl. D. 985)

Viro ornatiſsimo collegii Aeneanacennſis præsidi digniſsimo Magistro Richardo Harris Salutem. ff. 9–10.

Mirum fortaſse videri potest, et inſolens admodum (vir illustris et præſes digniſsime) quod ego, ex ima quod dicitur hominum fece unus, cuius aut perexigua est, aut plane nulla eruditio, cuius ſcripta Scotos et barbaros potius quam Cicerones et eloquentes olent, auſim tamen dignitati tuæ gravioribus fortaſse negotijs diſtrictæ literis obstrepere. At ſi rei huius tam inſolentis et novæ occaſio diligentius paulo perpendatur, novum fortaſse, et invſitatum, neceſsarium tamen, et vtile hoc meum conſilium videbitur. Cum enim ex hesterno cum dignitate tua colloquio collegiſsem, quendam eſse, qui literis cuiuſdam tum tibi amiciſsimi, tum vniverſo collegio bene cupientis, et posthac fortaſse bene facturi, instructus, conetur in alienas poſseſsiones irruere, non potui ſane, aut tam eſse in iniuria ferenda levis, et patiens, aut in vtilitate mea tam negligens, et diſsolutus, vt paterer hominem hunc abſque aliqua contradictione tum dignitate tua, tum herois illius literis, et benevolentia ad iniuriam adeo manifestam abuti. Nec certe adduci poſsum, vt credam, eum fuiſse viri illius animum, vt dum huic benefiat, ab antiquo et vſitato huius collegij more recederetur, aut manifesta alteri inferatur iniuria. Quod enim ius, quæ ratio, qui mos, quæ consuetudo, aut huius aut cuiuſvis collegij permittit, vt iuniores

ſenioribus, alieni domeſticis præferantur, vt illi cui debeatur adimatur, cui non debeatur in illum conferatur muſæum? Si liceat cuivis adeptis nobilium quorundam literis, contra collegij morem per multa iam ſecula vſitatum, a muſæis ſenioribus per ius ſucceſsionis debitis, quemvis expellere, valeant iura, demantur ſtatuta, abrogentur leges, violetur mos, infringatur conſuetudo, pendeat omnis huius collegii authoritas a nobilium literis commendatorijs, quidvis potius pertentetur, quam tam diu expectandum donec per ſucceſsionis ius muſæa nobis deferantur. At diligenter quæſo perpendat tua dignitas, quam ſit periculoſum antiquos huius collegij mores abrogare, et novos introducere. Quod enim huic eſt conceſsum, illud alter, itemque alter ſperabit, donec inveterata tandem conſuetudo fiat: at meliora dij faxint. Ignoſcat mihi quæſo dignitas tua (præsul illuſtriſsime) ſi acrius quam oportebat, ius meum urgeam, ſuadet enim ratio, perſuadet conſuetudo, cogit neceſsitas. Vix enim dici potest, quam grave detrimentum ſtudijs meis acceſserit, quod per tantum temporis ſpacium, a quo primum huius collegij alumnus factus ſum, non habuerim locum studijs meis ſatis aptum et idoneum. Quod ſi iam cum maxime ſperabam ſtudijs meis conſultum optime iri, opinione frustrabor mea, quæ mihi ſpes reliqua ſit non video, quin aut domui, quod ipſum niſi vrgente neceſsitate nollem, ſit valedicendum, aut muſæum alicubi, quod per facultates non poſsum, erigendum ſit. Tuam igitur dignitatem oro et obtestor (ornatiſsime vir) vt petitioni huic meæ tam honestæ et neceſsariæ ſatisfacias, vt studijs meis conſulas, vt æquitatem cauſæ meæ altius apud animum perpendas tuum, ne forte omne huius collegij vtilitate orbatus, et studijs valedicere coactus, iustam habeam fortunæ meæ deplorandæ cauſam. Sed longius quam statueram progreſsa est oratio mea. Tu quæſo (vir ornatissime) ignoſcas ignorantiæ meæ, et in scribendo imperitiæ, et petitionem meam inanem redire ne patiaris, ſed cum orans ad tuam accedo dignitatem, fac quæſo vt exorans revertar. Hæc ſi pro aſsueta tua in adoleſcentiam studijs fovendis humanitate et clementia, a tua dignitate impetravero, ſic me tibi obstrictum reddes, vt tui memoriam ab animo meo, nulla vnquam abolebit vetustas. Quicquid autem statuerit dignitas tua, certum est obſequi, nec omnino committam vt dum ius meum nimis acriter vrgeam, authoritati tuæ aliqua ex parte restitiſse videar, quam ſic revereor, ſic colo, vt nihil supra. Valeat tua dignitas.

Reverendæ tuæ dignitatis studioſiſsimus

Robertus Battus.

Cognato ſuo chariſſimo Stephano Waterhouſe Salutem ff. 52-4.

Vix dici potest quantopere tuas expecto et expeto literas . . . Quid rerum apud nos geratur, illud paucis accipe. Acceſſit Oxoniam Corranus paucis abhinc diebus et diſceſſit. ſi non oculatior, at certe honoratior. Est enim creatus in artibus bacchalarius. Hominem nec vidi, nec conveni vnquam: dedignatus est enim amicos veteres aut adventus ſui certiores facere, aut salutatione quamvis vulgari compellare. Omnino, niſi me fallit animus, elatos gerit nebulo ſpiritus, nosque homunculos deſpicit, aut Hispanorum implicitus ſocietate non potuit illorum ſe ſodalitio expedire niſi conterraneos aut contempſiſſe aut odiſſe videretur. Expectamus avide Tempelli Cantabrigienſis refutationem ab Oxonienſibus elaboratam. Authorem quæris? Is vnus non est, multorum manibus grande levatur onus, vt inquit ille. Contra tantum Herculem, quia vnus non ſufficit, prodeunt in arenam coniunctis viribus Athletæ duo, in artibus bacchalarij, alter nostras, alter plane nobis ex diametro pugnans, Eboracenſis ille, hic Carnervanienſis. Hæc ſi tu nimis αἰνιγματωδῶς dici putes, quia Oedipus non es dicam apertius. Mertonenſis Sayvillus; et collegij Omnium Animarum socius Williams. Constanti hoc fama audivimus, verum an ſit, eventus tandem aliquando comprobabit. Sunt etiam aliqui qui Fulbeckum huius operis architectum existimant. Deprehenſus est superiori mense quidam cui Sommerſſeldio nomen est inditum, læſæ maiestatis reus, qui palam neſcio quo furore inductus, profeſſus est ſe Reginam nostram Sereniſſimam morti traditurum. Hic Londinum tranſvectus et torturae appoſitus multos magni nominis generoſos et nobiles eiuſdem propoſiti reos nominavit. E nobilibus præter cæteros nominatur [Dominus Henricus Hawarde comitis Arundelij germanus frater], quem papalis bulla archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem creavit, qui sacerdotalibus etiam ſacris animam agente Campiano initiatus est. E generoſis præter alios reus designatur quidam Frogmortonus, in cuius bibliotheca repertus est codex manu scriptus, qui portus omnes per vniversam Angliam recenſebat, earum tum latitudinem tum profunditatem depingebat, quotque navium vnaquæque capax eſſet demonstrabat. In illo etiam codice continebantur deſcripta generosorum omnium et nobilium qui Romanæ ſeu Babilonicæ faverent ſuperstitioni, nomina, quidque tandem auxilij habituri eſſent Pontificij, ſi collectis copijs, militeque conſcripto Angliam invaderent. Quid multa? Non ſatis mirari poſſum, quid impio et inepto raſorum gregi animi ſit, vt post expertam toties tam præſentem divini numinis

(erased in original.)

opem pergerent etiam adhuc nefarie θεομαχεῖν. Habitans autem in cælis videt, et Dominus ſubſannat eos. Sed θεολογεῖν nolo. Novorum præterea nihil. Cauſa mea nondum eum conſecuta est, quem opto exitum. Expecto ſingulis horis magistri reditum: aulam enim regiam iam diu frequentavit: vbi advenerit videbimus quorſum evadent omnia. Ego interim optima ſperare non deſino. Si ea qua ſperabam maturitate tranſactum fuiſſet hoc negotium, in agro Eboracenſi festum hoc proximum celebraſſem . . . Vale mi Stephane, Battumque tuum vnice amantem perge amare.

E collegio Aeneanaſenſi. Dec. 18. 1583.

Cognatus tuus tui amantiſſimus

Robertus Battus.

APPENDIX D

Letter from the Bishop of Lincoln. May, 1572.

To my lovinge freends the Principall and fellowes of Brasenoose colledge in Oxon give these

Salutem in Christo: whereas I have bene moved by certaine of your fellowes and by your letter signed with your common seale to grant my consent touchinge the alienations of your landes in Lincolnshire subiect both to the overflowinge of the seas and the Leavey for mantenance of the sea bankes: These shal be to let you understand that I thinke it convenient and agreable with your statutes (perceaving as well by your rowles of accomptes heretofore hadde as also by other provable circumstances the common charges of the sayde landes to be gretter than your colledge is able to sustaine) that you make sale thereof: and by these presentes I give my consent to the alienation doinge away and selliage of all your landes in the countye of Lincolne, taxable for the maintenance of the sea bankes neverthelesse this I will and require that the sayed alienation be made by the discreete advise of the principall and sixe senior fellowes of your colledge, or at the last by the maior part of them: Allso that such sommes of money which shal be receaved uppon the sayde sale, be

eyther presently bestowed in purchasinge more profitable landes to the comodity of your colledge, or ells reserved in the university chest, Magdelen Colledge or ells some other the like safe place untill better oportunity serveth for the disbursiage of the same to the effect and use before expressed thus wishinge to you encrease of vertue and lerninge but especially god his true religion to be planted in all and singular members and studentes of your Colledge, I bidde you most hartely farewell

At Lambeth the 15 of Maye anno domini 1572

Thomas Lincoln.

XI

History of the College 1603–1660

The Early Stuarts
The Civil War
The Commonwealth

By G. H. Wakeling M.A.
Fellow of the College

Illustration to Monograph XI

Receipt for the Loan of the College to Charles I . *to face p.* 31

PREFACE

THE books and documents preserved in the Muniment Room of the College contain the chief sources from which this sketch is derived. Of these some of the more important are mentioned in the text. There are also MS. records in the Bodleian Library of some interest in the history of the College, and, by the constant kindness of Mr. Madan, I have been able to consult these. Of printed books the famous volumes of Anthony Wood are, of course, indispensable. The Oxford Historical Society's series, the Calendar of State Papers, the publications of the Historical MSS. Commission, and Burrows's *Register of the Visitors* (Camden Society), all contain references to Brasenose.

I wish to thank Lady Newton for allowing the College to have a copy of the *Taylor Letters*, and Mr. P. T. Davies-Cooke for permitting me to read Eaton's *Pupill Booke of Accounts*. Mr. W. T. Coxhill has placed at my disposal his remarkable knowledge of the College Muniments, and thus made possible the reading of these in the short time which I could give to the work. In a monograph of this kind I have not thought it necessary to burden the text with constant references, though a few seemed unavoidable.

G. H. W.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

1603–1660

DURING the seventeenth century a medley of religious and political disputes convulsed the lives and shaped the conduct of Englishmen. Of these divisions Oxford became and remained, to a remarkable degree, the witness and the victim. Every wind of doctrine, every breath of partisanship swept into the atmosphere of University life. The Reformation had passed and the real issue was still unsolved. For the Church of England must either destroy, absorb, or tolerate the great body of religious thought represented by the term Puritanism. The Stuart Kings and their allies the Bishops felt that Puritanism must be destroyed. But they added to the trouble by formulating a conception of monarchical rule which seemed to challenge English rights and liberties. Thus authority, alike in Church and State, was confederate against a religious and political opposition, strong in Parliament, and determined to be stronger.

These storms beat upon Oxford throughout the first half of the century with a force unknown before or since. Here Hobbes learned to fear the disruptive tendencies of Puritanism, and here Laud lived and ruled in order to uproot them. Here Charles and his court frolicked and fought. Here Cromwell and Prynne became Chancellor and Visitor. It was thus that the simple life of an Oxford College was made the sport of circumstances outside itself and alien to its province. No College could escape this, and the history of Brasenose was dominated and controlled by the events of the greater world of civil and religious strife.

The period covered in these pages admits of an easy arrangement. During the first four decades of the century,

these seeds of combat were maturing in the national life, and in the fifth they brought forth war. It will be best to take first a general view of the life and history of Brasenose at that time, and then to show how the College was affected by three critical epochs—the War, the Puritan Visitation, and the Commonwealth. The views held by Brasenose men upon the momentous questions of that time will, in this way, be displayed by their deeds. It would be easy to dwell, at the outset, upon the northern connexion and royalist tendencies of the College. And, as men stayed in College all the year round in those days of laborious and expensive travelling, becoming, to an extent unknown in these days, what the College could make them, there might seem to be some justification for such premises. But to argue from them would be erroneous. Brasenose men were found on both sides. Lancashire was a strong Presbyterian county. The period is too long for a dexterous and inclusive statement. The College must be left to tell its own tale. And if, among other greater institutions, the part played by her sons appears at times inconspicuous, it was never lacking in spirit, and never paltry.

I. GENERAL HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE, 1603–1660

It requires some effort of the imagination to picture the appearance of the College at the opening of the seventeenth century. It consisted solely of the present old quadrangle, divested of the gables and attics. Citizens' houses ran along the High from St. Mary's, while the place now occupied by the Library, Chapel, Cloisters, and new buildings held a few old Halls. Some of these were connected with the College, and formed a residence for Tutors or scholars. From this small space a further reduction must be made. The present Senior Common Room was the Chapel, the large rooms behind the sundial formed the Library, and most of the east side of the quad, with the tower over the lodge, was used as the Principal's lodgings.

It comes as a shock to be told, in the famous census of 1612,[1] that into these narrowed confines were packed no less than 227 Brasenose men! These numbers are twice our own, and the available space was scarcely half. Such a total constitutes a challenge, and fortunately the Buttery book for 1612 is available. The figures printed by Gutch are:

Principal
21 Fellows
29 Scholars
145 Commoners
17 Poor Scholars
14 Batellers and matriculated servants.

The census was taken in the Long Vacation, and the numbers on the books during July and August prove that it is not accurate. There were only 20 Fellows, and the compiler has counted *Domus* as the 21st. He has probably reckoned the poor scholars a second time as batellers, and a third time as receiving commons. But the commoners actually reach a total of 133, and the whole company just touches 200.

This figure is sufficiently astonishing, and would still be inexplicable but for the system under which they lived. The large rooms, each of which is now a man's sitting-room, were then bedrooms. Each was used by one Fellow or senior member, and several of his 'schollars' slept in truckle-beds in the same 'great chamber'. The present bedrooms were 'studies'. This solves the mystery of space, and that of comfort remains. The numbers in College continued high throughout the first forty years of the century, despite frequent plague in Oxford. And if the year 1612 seems to have constituted a record, yet the Buttery books show a company of well over a hundred till the approach of civil war threatened vacant rooms and empty coffers.

Compared with other Colleges at this time, Brasenose appears to have occupied a strong position. In numbers, accepting the census of 1612, it stands fourth, the order being

[1] Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, I. 197.

Queen's, Magdalen, Christ Church, Brasenose, Exeter. The income of the Principal is returned at £80, and here there are six Colleges showing higher figures. In the matter of revenue from endowments Brasenose falls to eighth, while in the number of Fellows it is again seventh on the list. In rateable value the College stands once more in the eighth place. The figures for matriculation, extending over a longer period, will be a fairer test of numbers than a census in any single year can give; the University Registers from 1600 to 1620 show that Brasenose recorded more matriculations than any College except Exeter, Queen's coming third, and Magdalen Hall fourth.[1] These comparisons sufficiently indicate the relative position of the College, though a few more figures on the same subject will be given later.[2]

The Head of the College from 1595 to 1614 was Thomas Singleton. He became Vice-Chancellor in 1611, and successfully dealt with some refractory Masters, who wished to keep their caps on during Congregation. Long before Singleton's death King James I, with prying tactlessness, wrote to the Fellows and asked them to elect as Principal one of their body, Henry Walmesley, 'who had deserved well of the College for his pains in reforming disorders'. But this accumulating zeal went unrewarded, for on Singleton's death he was succeeded in 1614 by Samuel Radcliffe, who will be in some sense the hero of this story.[3] Born in 1580, at Rochdale, and joining the College at the age of seventeen, he became Fellow in 1603. He held the Junior Proctorship in 1610, during the Chancellorship of Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, who was a Brasenose man. Thus, during the years 1610–12, the College supplied Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Proctor. Radcliffe attained to the highest post

[1] Even the Matriculation Registers are probably not a final authority as to numbers. It is possible that many members of Colleges evaded matriculation. This is partly explained by the increasing desire to avoid subscribing to the XXXIX Articles as required by the University. In Brasenose there was a College order exacting this conformity.

[2] See pp. 33, 35.

[3] For the Visitor's confirmation of his election, cf. Appendix A.

in his College at the age of thirty-four, and remained Principal for four and thirty years, dying in 1648. He guided Brasenose, with what success later pages will show, amid constantly increasing difficulties, through the miseries of civil war and tumult, and finally challenged successfully the efforts of the Puritan Visitors to remove him from his lodgings and his headship. He left to the College a noble benefaction, and an attempt will be made to remove some aspersions by which Wood has impugned his honour. He was not a distinguished literary man, nor a great scholar, though he contributed many copies of verses to the elegant anthologies of the day. The following was written in honour of the Queen's visit to Oxford in 1636:

Felix affulsit sydus Nutricibus: Eia
Vestrum onus est requies, est vigilare Sopor.
Quae non aeternum somno mulier valedicat,
Audiat ut lachrymas (Diva puella) tuas?
Quam volupe est manibus teneram tractare, cutiq;
Vestes aptare &ª caetera? Quae mulier
Haereat (hoc Casu) totâ cum gente virorum
Certare, &ª pignus jure referre suum?[1]

That he was a student is shown by the fact that he was one of the young scholars selected in 1608 to receive a present of books from the library of Dr. Reynolds, the 'walking Library', President of C.C.C. The theses upon which Radcliffe successfully disputed for his D.D. are recorded in the University Register:

An papa sit judex controversiarum? Neg.
An Certitudo salutis sit praesumptio haeretica? Neg.
An fidelis possit excidere a gratia?

The result of the third contest is not recorded, but it would probably not have removed the prejudice which led Wood to class his tutorial influence as 'Puritanical'. The same writer also records that Radcliffe was apt to make unintentional jokes: 'a proud man will buy a dagger' (die a beggar). But

[1] *Flos Britannicus*, 1636.

his character need not be left to the stinted mercies of the great antiquary.

The Fellows, provided for by various foundations, were twenty in number. But their position in College was, and remained till modern times, very different from that which they now occupy. Only the six seniors acted, with the Principal, as the governing body. The others were more like senior scholars. They were often very young. John Newton was elected in 1622 at the age of eighteen. Some of these stayed on and took their chance of succeeding to the seniority. Others, since they were mostly in orders, became domestic chaplains,[1] or accepted livings from the College, or some other patron. The income of the Fellows was made up of a medley of small payments, some in kind. But it is not easy to give an exact idea of their value. The complicated business arrangements of those leisurely days, together with the accumulating customs and precedents by which they were hedged about, preclude exact knowledge as to their financial position. But it is possible to give some notion as to the sources from which the income was derived. Food and 'commons' were provided from the income of the estates belonging to the various foundations. 'Wages' were paid in cash for the different College offices, which were held in turn.[2] There were also several exhibitions and lectureships for which small payments were made.[2] The benefactions given to the College usually included a fund for 'Commemorations', occasions when free dinners and a small gratuity were the rule.[3] The Fellows also shared the fines, heriots, and 'wood money' derived from the estates belonging to their several foundations. Finally, the balance of the income from estates, if any, was shared each quarter among those entitled. This versatile income may perhaps have amounted, in lucky times, to nearly £50 a year, but that is to be multiplied by three or four to give the modern purchasing power.

[1] For this appointment the usual salary was '£20 yearly and diet'. (*Taylor letters.*)

[2] See Appendix B.

[3] See Appendix C.

The Fellows were elected either from the statutable county, as required by the foundation upon which the Fellowship rested, or as Founder's kin. Hence their pedigrees were carefully prepared and filed, and many are still preserved. Besides the official work to which reference has been made there was plenty of occupation. The Tutorial system was a very serious business, there were services and sermons in College and in St. Mary's, and frequent oral examinations in College and without. The Fellows do not seem to have possessed a common room, though they had supper parties in the Tower Bursary. They dined in Hall at the 'high messe'. They spoke, or were supposed to speak, Latin at all times, and the same obligation was laid upon the undergraduates. This proved as irksome to them as it seems to us, and, except as a means of curtailing debates of the governing body, cannot have been very useful. It had to be constantly enforced from without, which shows how little it suited opinions within. Laud, of course, tried to make it a reality, and the Parliamentary Visitors in 1648 insisted upon it, though they obliged by allowing Greek as an alternative. In 1609 the Fellows asked the Visitor's ruling as to whether the Chancellor's order for speaking Latin was meant to apply to the senior members. His reply was correct and disappointing, 'I do wish you submit yourselves to the order'. Another infliction in Laud's time was the necessity of wearing the proper canonical clerical dress.

A good deal of lecturing and other work was done before dinner, which was at 11 a.m. After this, University disputations went on, or a horse could be hired to go to Nuneham and back for 1*s.* 6*d.*, or to visit Mynchery Wood, at Shotover, and see after the tree-felling, in which all had a pecuniary interest. There was also a good deal of visiting College estates, and this took time. After a morning draught, which seems to have taken the place of breakfast, the Bursar, in his new boots, provided annually by the College at 10*s.* a pair, might start *ad tenendam curiam apud Roland wright*, and others would be invited to join the progress. A horse from Saturday to Monday cost 2*s.* 6*d.*, and this was an inexpensive

week-end, even if it has to be considered as nearly half-a-sovereign of modern money. Supper was at five or half-past, taking place, like the early dinner, in Hall. The frequent 'commemorations' made a good many social events, and if it were winter there would probably be a fire in Hall, provided, for a treat, by *Domus*, at a cost of 1*s.* 3*d.* This was an open fire, be it remembered, the smoke escaping as best it could through the 'louver', still seen in the roof. Wine was used in Hall. There was 'clarott' at 8*d.* a quart, or 'whyte wyne' at 12*d.*, or possibly 'sack'. Private parties would be held, as now, in the Tower, where the refinements of life were to be met in the shape of 'napkins', 'candlesticks of ye new fashion', or even, in the middle of the period, pipes and tobacco. On some commemoration days there would be visitors. The Warden of New College attended more than one of these by right of the foundation, and received his little payment with the rest. But the entertainment was already out of proportion to the original gratuity.

> Mrs. Morley's Commemoration.
> Paid ye Warden of New Coll VIII*d.*
> For a dinner ye same day for ye Warden 53/.
> For wine at ye same dinner 11/8.

But this is not all. Sometimes the Warden, or Subwarden, came early, probably to Chapel, and stayed to breakfast, while waiting for the 11 o'clock dinner. 'Spent in ye Tower at the entertainment of the subwarden of N. College at Mr. John Cox his commemoration in ye mornynge in sugar and nutmeg 10*d.*, 1 pint of sack 8*d.*' Besides these festivities there was also good cheer at Christmas and Easter, when the Bursar would pay 6*d.* for a 'piper in Hall', or the 'Whitney singers' would perform in the minstrels' gallery.

As to holidays, it must be remembered that travelling was expensive and tedious. Men started 'towards London', an ominous expression which serves to remind the reader that the journey took two days! If holidays were taken and visits made, there was no recognized time for such efforts, and hence no impression is made upon the evidence which has

come down to us. Yet it was always possible that the accidents of life would contrive to empty the College, though periods of vacation did not. Visitations of the plague were frequent, and that mediaeval menace was never wholly out of mind. On such occasions the whole College would get leave of absence, and only those who could not afford to go remained to face the danger. What this meant to those in positions of responsibility is vividly described in Taylor's letters. To the father of two of his pupils he writes in June, 1609, when two people had already died in College:

> There hath bene some danger of ye sicknes here in Oxford, but the feare of it, as I take it, was greater then the danger, although I confesse the danger was very great unto some fewe, and amongst them, to Mr Vernon, one of the fellows of our house and to his scholars, but the feare was communicated to manie. I thanke God, I sawe the danger, where it was, at the first, and tooke order accordinglie, that we mixt not ourselves with any who were within the suspition thereof. My purpose was, and so I had provided a house to have gone to Ensam and there to have lien together with my compenie, but the very day I was about to remove, word was brought me, that the sicknes was in the towne, whereupon I sent a messenger p^r^sently into Sussex, with letters to three or foure gentlemen, whose sonnes are likewise with me and to my brother Leigh for horses, and the gentlemen have sent horses for their sonnes and my brother Leigh hath sent a coople of horses for Francis and Thomas, and God willinge I will bringe them into Sussex and stay there with them some foure or five dayes, and then will returne to Oxford again for I doubt not but our college is nowe very safe to such as are not dainted with over much feare.

Another hindrance to the permanence of academic life was the possibility that Oxford might be chosen as a convenient place for Parliament. This occurred more than once, and notably in 1625, when the Privy Council sent down an order: 'that the Colleges are to be freed from the Fellows, Masters of Arts, & Students, and all the rooms and lodgings therein reserved, to the end that the Members of both Houses may be received and lodged with the best convenience that may be'. Whereupon the governing body decreed: *perlectis literis Regis consiliariorum de Comitiis Regni habendis ad Academiam missis, ad mandatum Regis venia concessa est omnibus magistris, Sociis, Baccalaureis, et Scholaribus*

ut possint abesse a Collegio usque ad magnum computum Bursariorum, servatis suis in Collegio emolumentis, quibus praesentes frui solebant.

Of Tutorial work in College the evidence is at hand for a fairly complete picture. There are the letters written by one of the Tutors, Richard Taylor, during the years 1608–12, to a Cheshire magnate, Sir Peter Legh, whose two sons were in College. These, with the *Pupill Booke of Accounts*, kept by Ralph Eaton during the Commonwealth, show two Tutors hard at work at different parts of the period. Their duties comprised not only the arrangement of reading and work, but also the complete management and supervision of all the financial side of their pupils' life. They secured from parents or guardians sums of money, paid battels, tradesmen's 'notes', and accounted for the whole expenses. This was not so unreasonable as at first sight appears. The undergraduates were very young, and their temptations considerable. There were innumerable ale-houses and eating-houses, where expensive habits could be indulged. There were dangers lurking in citizens' houses, where 'bowling allies, cardes, tables, dice, shovegroat, trunks, or other disordered and unlawful games' could be enjoyed. The Oxford tailors were said to 'inveagle young gentlemen into new and chargeable fashions, contrary to the desires of their parents, and the direction of their Tutors, meerly to enhance their own prices'. These 'enormities of apparel' seem to have led men to 'wear boots and spurs together with their gowns', and 'to wear their hair undecently long, or with a lock in the present fashion', or to walk abroad with 'slashed doublets, or in any light and garish colours'. Despite these precarious surroundings, the elder Legh seems, when a B.A. and candidate for a Fellowship at All Souls, to have resented his Tutor's control in money matters.

> Your elder sonne thinks he shoulde keep his owne money, which I hould altogether inconvenient, for experience hath taught me that some yonge gentlemen can hardly be kept in any order, let them but have an angell or two in their purse.... It will not be in my power, on Fradayes and Satturdays suppers to keepe them out of the towne, as nowe I do,

nor at many other times to keepe them out of the worser and unthriftier sort of gentlemen's compenie, if they be knowne to have money in their custodie. Nay they should loose the favour and likinge of some of their frends, if they would not lend them money at their need, and if they lent it they would be in danger to loose their money, besids it would breed me a great trouble with the rest of my scholars, and bringe such an ataxie and disorder amongst them, that I could not easelie remove.

Taylor suffered many things from the system he so zealously defends. For he had constant difficulty in persuading Sir Peter to send enough money to keep his two sons solvent. He allowed about £30 a year for each of them, and in the course of events this barely covered their normal expenses. Taylor writes pathetic appeals for a little more sustenance. The elder, Francis, he cannot keep 'within the compass of £30'. He has cost nearly three pounds more than Thomas since August, 'neither can I impute it to anything but his height', which is 6 ft. 2 in.

Here, again, is a dignified petition:

I am sorye that I should be inforced so often to mediate in a matter wherein I do so little prevaile. Your sonne Mr Francis must needs have a gowne, a civill hood a cappe and an habit, a suite of apparell, and divers other things whch he wants, or els he will not be thought fitt by many, to become a suiter for a fellowshippe in All Soules.

It should be mentioned that the Bursar took no note of these embarrassments, and Taylor had to regularly pay his pupils' battels, whether Sir Peter proved yielding or no. The accounts of Eaton, forty years on, do not show such searchings of heart, for parents had by that time to recognize the effect of rising prices, which had been a marked feature of the whole period. Taylor had appealed in vain to this compelling economic force. 'The great dearth of all things, especiallye in this place, have raised their expences in short time so much, that the money wch I have receaved, wch was just threescore pounds in the whole, was neere quite ended at Michaelmase last, and yet I am sure there is none of their rank wch have lived so thriftelie as they have done.' But the payments made and recorded by Eaton disclose much that concerns the life of the undergraduates, and to this side of College life it is time to turn.

Apart from M.A.'s and B.A.'s in residence, who were not Fellows (and of these there was a considerable number), there were three distinct classes of undergraduates. The first class is variously termed 'socio-commensalis', fellow commoner, and, in more modern times, 'gentleman commoner'. The second class was that of commoner, communarius, and, in some of the Buttery books, 'commensalis'. The third was 'bateller', or batellarius. The 'scholars' proper, who were on the various foundations, were members of the two last classes, and, though they were separated in the Buttery books, the actual term 'scholar' might be used for all undergraduates. The daily life, expenses, dress, and habits of these three classes varied so much that it will be best to deal separately with them, and then to sketch such parts of College life as were common to all.

The fellow commoner was entitled to take his meals with the Fellows at their table, but, in other respects, he was under a Tutor, and had no control of his own affairs or finances. His expenses in the middle of the century might come to £50 a year or more. On entering the College he paid £1 to the Vice-Principal, 10*s*. to the servants, 13*s*. 4*d*. to the Bursar for entering his name, and a like sum to the University for matriculation. His caution was £5, and he paid his Tutor £2 a quarter as tuition fee. He has his own study and bedroom, while less privileged people have to sleep three or four in a room with their tutor. A feather bed, weighing 60 lb., is purchased for his use, and a great box in which to lay his 'linnon', this latter costing his Tutor £1 18*s*. a quarter to wash and mend. His gloves are of 'kidde' or 'Cordovan' at 3*s*. a pair. Frequent visits to his dancing-master, and possibly to his fencing- and music-master as well, are a necessary part of his polite training. He wears a coat that cost a fortune, £5 15*s*. 7*d*., and purchases 'cambricke' to make his bands. He is probably an offender in the matter of hair, for it is elegantly treated with powder, bought at 3*s*. per lb. from the College barber, whose boy he tips 1*s*. 'to his box at Christmas'. There is a suspicious iteration in the sums which his Tutor registers for mending windows, and he has to pay 3*s*.

for broken glasses when his brother comes up from the country to dine with him. He has even been known to owe the butler 10*s.* 'for curing a hurt which he gave him.'

The ordinary commoner is a less distinguished person, though he is probably the son of a gentleman, and has fair means. He pays his fees on entering the College at a lower rate than the fellow commoner. Below these two classes in the scale came the bateller. He is a really poor man, and his fees are small, 5*s.* to the V.P., 2*s.* 6*d.* to the servants, and 3*s.* 4*d.* for matriculation and the Bursar's book respectively. He, too, wears gloves, but they are of wash-leather. He buys a 'gound 2nd hand' for 12*s.* or 14*s.*, and his study is neatly 'trimmed with green bays' for 6*s.* 2*d.* He feeds, it is to be feared, upon the remains of the meals in Hall. If, as may well be, he is a scholar, he has some 15*s.* a quarter taken off his battels. In this case he will have to wear a 'surpless' in chapel, and gets it mended up for 3*s.* by his bedmaker. This latter is a woman named 'Goody' Ward, or 'Goody' Seymour, who washes, mends, and works for the Tutor and all his 'compenie'. She is a handy person, and may even contrive to lend him a bed for 4*s.* a quarter. Great care is taken that she be 'an auncient woman'. This youth ekes out his slender livelihood by acting a 'servitor' to some among the wealthier pupils of his Tutor. Perhaps he waits on two or three of them, and receives credit on his Tutor's books at 6*d.* or 1*s.* a week for each. He pays only 10*s.* a quarter for his tuition fee, and gets something allowed him for 'reading' to other men. It was from these poor lads, with their menial duties, that the Fellows were often drawn. Nor were these servitors looked down upon. The pupils of each Tutor lived in College almost as closely united as if they were one family, and were styled by Taylor his 'compenie'. If some of them waited upon him or his party in Hall or in the common bedroom, they remained members of the band.

Perhaps the most striking point about the undergraduates generally is their youthfulness. Newton (mat. 1622) came up at thirteen, but this was exceptionally young for the seventeenth century. The ages are most difficult to trace. Men

were matriculated perhaps months or years after entering the College, and often the sole guide to their age is matriculation registers. These show that the average age of Brasenose men was, at matriculation, a trifle below seventeen in the first part of the period, and a very small fraction above seventeen in the latter part. But this probably means that the actual age of the first-year boys was distinctly lower than this. These tender years explain some of the facts. The lads were probably chastised by the Vice-Principal when necessary, and the Laudian Statutes insist upon corporal punishment for breaches of discipline *si per aetatem congruat.* This sort of thing was a very ordinary item in a distinctly strenuous life.

The day begins with Chapel, which is of course compulsory, and takes place at 5 a.m. in summer and 6 in winter! Then there are public lectures at 8, unless it happens to be Tuesday, in which case there is University sermon at 7 in St. Mary's, only to be cut with good reason. The University lecturer will have to be fetched, and conducted to his lecture room by 8 o'clock. It may be philosophy, grammar, or rhetoric, according to the stage of academic life which has been reached. The process for a degree is long and complicated, comprising public and College lectures, disputations in Chapel and in St. Mary's. All examinations are oral, and hence large numbers of men cannot be taken together: disputations and exercises must be taken severally, and this makes a long business for juniors and seniors alike. The system indeed defeated itself, as is proved by the mass of dispensations which issued from the proper quarters with great regularity. Illness, plague, poverty, flood, or even the absence of the 'opponent' might easily suffice to set a man free from some lecture or examination.

The morning has been consumed with these things, or spent in evading them, and now there is dinner in Hall at 11. Here all must speak Latin, and if it is Friday there will be nothing but fish to eat. If fasting is compulsory, variety is ensured in the following *menu* for over a hundred people:—

ling 2/6: greenfish 1/4: egg 4/6: Jack 2/6: eills 1/: perch 1/8: roach 6d: whiting 1/8: place 1/8: smelts 2/: herrings 1/: oyst 2/6: oyle 4d.

After dinner the undergraduate may have to dispute between 1 and 3 o'clock in one of the many oral exercises which form the avenue to his degree, or be similarly entertained in College, or act as opponent for some one else. If he is well off he may go for a ride in his new riding coat and hat, or indulge in the polite pastimes already referred to.[1] His other recreations are few. Bathing is forbidden, and fishing is rather childish. He might go and see a football match if there happens to be one. But this is not very reputable, will probably end in a row, and, as he may not leave College without a companion, they may think better of it. Games of ball are strictly forbidden, but the Fellows (1608) have lately written to the Visitor to see if this cannot be evaded by his interpretation in favour of a tennis-court (*sphaeristerium*) which they propose to build in College. The Visitor replies that he is 'inclinable', for 'though bodily exercise profits nothing to merit in religion, yet it availeth much for health after intermission from studie. Bowes and braynes, if long and deepely bent will quickly weaken and cracke.' Despite the Bishop's pliability with respect to the statute *de pilae ludo* it does not appear that the tennis court was ever achieved. The College was probably too poor to carry out any such ambitions. The young man must be content with a walk, and if he meets his seniors he must give them place, and reverently salute them by uncovering his head.

If he is reduced to return to his books he will work either in his own little study or in the Library, of which he has a key, and which he has solemnly sworn not to prejudice. Of the books purchased for him by his Tutor, some of the following will be found on his own shelf[2]:—

[1] See p. 16.

[2] This list is taken from the purchases made for his pupils and recorded in Eaton's *Pupill Booke of Accounts*.

Lucius Florus, *de gestis Romanorum historiarum lib. iv.*
Lyford, William, *Principles of faith and good conscience digested into a Catecheticall forme.*
Sydney, Sir Philip, *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia.*
Sanderson, Robert, D.D., *Logicae artis compendium.*
Stahl, Daniel, *Axiomata philosophica.*
Isendoorn, *Logica Peripatetica.*
Wollebius, *Compendium Theologiae Christianae.*

Some of these afford proof of the mediaeval character attaching to the studies then in vogue at Oxford. The afternoon ends with evening Chapel at 5 or half-past, according to the time of year, and there is supper in Hall immediately afterwards.

In the evening every one must be in College by 9 or risk a beating. This is reasonable enough. For though the youth has a 'lanthorn and tinder box' of his own, they are not sufficient protection in the ill-lighted streets of the town. The V. P. is not unlikely to look in upon him in his study to see if he is there. If the young scholar has been in for some examination he may have got leave to give his 'opponent' a supper in the Hall. But the Fellows are strict in limiting the sum he may spend in this way. There is a sumptuary law in College in respect of examination suppers. *Nullus scholaris qui generalis creabitur expendet in cena generali ut vocatur ultra 3/4 in cibis praeter panem et potum nisi sit filius nobilis idque venia obtenta.* For freshmen there is a gaudie to look forward to, and every one, rich or poor, gets 2*s.* 6*d.* from his Tutor as his contribution to the 'freshmens gaudies'. The new comer will be awaiting, with mixed feelings, these initiation customs, when he will have to face his seniors after Hall. As soon as the Fellows have finished their supper, and amid the murky atmosphere engendered by a fire in the middle of Hall, he will be told to make a speech to provide sport for the elder men. If he acquits himself well he will be given drinks. If he is a failure he will be 'tucked'. Somebody, that is, may make his underlip bleed with a dexterous application of the finger nail, his drink will be 'salted', and he will have to

swallow it.[1] Such sport may seem somewhat disgusting, but these young people were not nicer in the matter of punishments than their elders. Brasenose Hall was soon to see an Oxford man with bandaged ears and seared cheek, who could tell how men were punished by courts of law.[2]

Of other inmates of the College mention must be made of the 'servientes' or servants on the foundation. They held a very respectable position, were often matriculated, and had right to commons. Manciple, Cook, Barber, and others appear regularly in the buttery book, and their status is best gauged by the fact that the Bible Clerk, who was perhaps in orders, was one of the number. He had charge of the Chapel and probably rang the bell. It is worthy of note that the bell now in use was made for the College during this period by a founder named Darbie. It is inscribed 'Ralph Darbie made me 1654', and appears to have cost £12 10*s*. The Bible Clerk was custodian of books and furniture for the services, and on entering office gave a receipt to his predecessor for the things committed to his care. This is Roger Porter's receipt for the year 1632:—

Communion Plate
2 flaggons with lether cases
two cupps and covers
three copes
foure cushions
a pulpite cloath
a cloth for the communion table
2 books of common prajer given by the clarks of the parlamt
five other common prayer books
one greate Bible
two prajer books for the 5 of aug & 5 of novem
three old latin bookes
The booke of Martirs
a carpett for the communion table
an other common prajer booke bought 1627

The Chapel was decorated at Christmas: 'Hollye and ivy

[1] O. H. S. xix, p. 141; *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, iii. 76.

[2] William Prynne, whose ears were twice cropped, and whose cheek was branded, by order of the Star Chamber (1637). See later, p. 48.

for the Chappell 2/-' (1635). There was a sermon every Sunday in term and out of term except during part of the long vacation, preached not necessarily by the Fellows, but by *unus e magistris collegii nostri*. The Holy Communion was administered seven times a year (College order of 1615), and there was catechizing of the juniors every week during term.

There is plenty of evidence to show that a good deal of hard reading was done in Brasenose by some of its members. One of Taylor's pupils overtaxed his strength in this respect, and the Principal wrote to Sir Peter Legh, 'your sonne Thomas havinge spent his spirites and tired his boddy with sundry conflictes in the heat of disputations especially this hungry tyme of Lent,' and the youth had to be sent home with the Vice-Principal, who was going into Lancashire. A very creditable inventory of the goods of one of the Fellows, who died in 1642, disclosed books to the value of £95, and other effects £12. The statistics of Brasenose masters admitted to read in the Bodleian at its opening in 1602 are equally encouraging. And the College Library, constantly reinforced by considerable gifts bequeathed by deceased Fellows, was certainly well used. Every one appears to have had a key. The books were chained up, a new catalogue was transcribed in 1635 at a cost of 10*s*., and there was a Library servant who had 2*s*. a quarter for sweeping there and in Chapel. The office of Librarian was not yet separated from that of *Custos Jocalium*, but as 'Keeper of the Library' his 'wages' were increased by Radcliffe's will (1648) to 40*s*. It is admitted[1] that College teaching was, at this time, more effective than University lectures, and great care was taken that men should be properly examined by the College Tutors before supplicating for their degree.[2] In 1614, perhaps by the initiation of Radcliffe, who became Principal in that year, four new lectureships were created, *Lector Philosophiae*, *Lector Humani-*

[1] O. H. S. x, p. 9.

[2] College orders, 1606–7. All who ask for graces to come before the Principal and six Senior Fellows to be examined 'quomodo progressus fecerint in bonis artibus ad gradum Bacc: spectantibus'.

tatis, *Lector Graecarum literarum*, and *Lector Hebreae linguae*. A convincing proof that men did some reading privately is found in the consumption, even among the poorest, of wood and candles, which could only be used in their tiny studies.

One of the most far-reaching facts in the life of those days is certainly the immense cost of candles. Some excuse must be found for a community which took so kindly to early rising, and it is ready to hand in the excessive outlay on artificial light.[1] Candles, upon which everybody was dependent, were an item which could only be economized by getting up and going to bed in good time. Ralph Eaton bought them in London wholesale, and had them sent here by carrier, retailing them to his pupils at cost price, 6*d.* per lb. When a poor man lived upon £20 a year this was a heavy charge. If people in College were now dependent after dark upon malodorous and ineffective rushlights at 2*s.* a pound, they might contemplate without dismay the prospect of hearing the Chapel bell begin to 'swear' at 4.55 on a summer's morning. The versatile Sir William Petty,[2] when Vice-Principal in 1651, was as good a mathematician as physiologist, and was quite capable of drafting a 'daylight bill'. But all such problems were solved for that generation by the price of candles. Small wonder then that the remnants of candle-ends from the Chapel were the cherished perquisite of the Bible Clerk.

Wood ascribes to overcrowding the periodical liability to plague. Brasenose was certainly surrounded by a multitude of small and probably insanitary tenements. The cluster of houses lying where the Camera now stands between All Souls, Brasenose, and St. Mary's, was considered an eyesore, and one Chancellor of the time made an attempt to clear them out. Then the streets were indescribably unclean. It is to be hoped that the College itself was kept wholesome, and there is a commendable record of sums paid for removing

[1] Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, v, pp. 381–2.

[2] See later, p. 58.

'rubbage'. The drainage system was perhaps not free from suspicion, and consisted of a huge pit beneath the ground upon which the present ante-Chapel stands. It was emptied every fifteen or sixteen years at a cost of £30. The new buildings,[1] of course, rendered necessary a revision of this arrangement. It is rather ominous, too, that the nearness of the houses around made the College a resort for not very discriminating scavengers, for the Bursar was known to lay out 1*s.* for 'killing and burying of cats and dogs about the colledge'. Nor was there much open space, for the present quad was filled with trees; but, apparently, there were the rudiments of the 'deerpark', for it cost the Bursar 6*d.* to have the grass cut 'at the back of the Hall'.

There was not much communication with the outside world, for the carriers were few and far between. Yet Eaton's pupils could get a letter posted for 2*d.*, if he were willing to advance the money. This isolation would make the frequent royal visits thoroughly enjoyed. Charles and his court were often here, and James is recorded to have looked in at Brasenose on his way from the Bodleian to All Souls. But such occasions, though they were celebrated by ambitious scholars who festooned the College walls with Latin verses, were regretted by the disciplinarians, who thought the society of courtiers taught the scholars 'debauchery'. The famous giant, known as the Child of Hale, whose colossal proportions are variously told by local enthusiasts, paid a visit to Brasenose, on his way home from the court of King James, in the year 1617. Here the Lancashire men would welcome their countryman, and the picture of the giant, together with an impression of his hand, were taken at the buttery, and afterwards proudly displayed to visitors like Pepys.[2] 'I out with the landlord to Brazen-nose College,—to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand of the Child of Hales . . . long. Butler 2/-.'

As a complete list of works by Brasenose authors is now available[3] it will not here be necessary to do more than name

[1] See later, p. 60. [2] *Diary*, ed. 1854, iii. 459.
[3] *Brasenose College Register*, 1509–1909.

the most famous with which this period is concerned. Something has been said of Lord Ellesmere, but mention should be made of the most famous of his judgements. The case of the *Post-Nati*, in which James I sought by a test case to establish the right of Scotsmen born since his accession to be held British subjects, is well known. It was Ellesmere's judgement in favour of the royal contention which nationalized Scotsmen and exasperated the House of Commons, where something more than the accession of James was thought necessary to bring Scots into English privileges. One of the best known of Brasenose men of letters is Richard Burton (mat. 1593), whose presentation copy of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, from his study in Christ Church, is still in the Library. Miles Smith, Bishop of Gloucester, one of the translators of the Bible, and Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor (1661), were both connected with the College. Perhaps more interesting in modern times is Thomas Traherne (mat. 1653), for his poems have been only recently discovered, and are expected to take very high rank. Rescued, in our own day, by a series of striking chances, after two centuries of obscurity, this mystic and devotional singer has been hailed as the peer of George Herbert.[1] Deferred renown of a different kind befell also a certain Edward Fisher (adm. 1627). He wrote a tract entitled *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This theological morsel was, in the eighteenth century, reprinted by a Scottish divine, and served up as a 'marrow-bone of contention' for the Presbyterian parties, still disputing the relative merits of faith and works.[2]

If, in these years before the Civil War, the College was crowded and not unsuccessful, there is a darker side to the picture, for it is clear that Brasenose was desperately poor, and constantly in debt. This was partly due, no doubt, to the steadily rising prices during the first half of the century. A corporation, whose income would be apt to stand still, was hard hit by this stealthy fall in the value of money, spread,

[1] *Athenaeum*, Ap. 7 and 14, 1900.
[2] Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, iv. 284.

perhaps, over a length of time which would make it scarce sensible to an individual. There were also some years of severe dearth, which would mean arrears and bad debts. There are plenty of proofs. Every Christmas the common chest was inspected in the presence of the senior Fellows, *Visus est status Communis cistae*, and from the year 1600 to 1620 this 'view' showed empty coffers. Again, in 1628 the Visitor was appealed to under the following pathetic circumstances:—

> Whereas James Mason, Batchelour of Divinity, and fellowe of Brasennose Colledge, lately deceased, indebted to severall Bursars, during the time of his sickness for severall yeares, in a great summe of money; by which meanes the said Bursars are not able to paye Bakers and Brewers, to the scandall of the Colledge; and, forasmuch as neither the execution of statute, or decree was able to prevent this debt, being for meat and drinke, unlesse we should have sufferd him, sick and weake in body as he was, without naturall compassion and fellow-feeling to have famished in Prison, as also during that time his weaknes disinabled him to read to schollars; neither had he any frend or kinsman that would either then releive him, or whom we can hope for now: soe as there was a necessity of falling into the debt, which in regard of the slendernes of our revennewes we cannot beare.

This shows a very narrow margin of solvency, and the Visitor was asked to allow the Fellowship to be kept vacant until the debt was paid, which he graciously permitted. But it was in the years immediately preceding the war that the College debts became a scandal so great that the Visitor instituted a formal inquiry into the whole financial position of Brasenose, and sent a body of Visitors to investigate. Fortunately there is preserved a complete account of the figures and conditions then disclosed. The College appears to have owed to tradesmen the enormous sum of over £2,000. The accounts for the next few years suggest that the Bursar, Yates (afterwards Principal), was an able man of business, as he afterwards proved himself to be. It is probable that he would have put things straight in time, but for the 'gulf of those days' of civil war, which completed the ruin of the place.

Before concluding this general chapter something should

be noted as to the condition of things just before the outbreak of troubles. Laud as Chancellor had found trouble in Brasenose, and perhaps created more. It is clear that he was not on good terms with the Visitor, Williams Bishop of Lincoln. This prelate was a moderate churchman, and inclined to take the line of least resistance. In the famous dispute, then raging, as to the position of the communion table in church, his pamphlet, *The Holy Table, name and thing*, suggested a compromise by which it should be kept at the east end, and brought to the centre of the church for the communion service. This, and the attempt of Williams to organize opposition in Brasenose to the election of Laud as Chancellor, had sown dissension between them. But the College cannot have been undismayed when later on Williams attempted to suborn some evidence in the Star Chamber, and thus fell into the power of that relentless tribunal, which imprisoned him for several years. When he was released Laud was already in the Tower, and Williams signalized his readmission to court by advising the King that he could sign the Bill for Strafford's execution since he had two consciences, one as a man and the other as a king. Charles had promised that no harm should come to Strafford, and Williams will be known in Clarendon's not undeserved phrase as 'that unhappy casuist'. Already in 1631 Laud had found opposition at the beginning of his Chancellorship in Brasenose itself. Some words in a sermon at St. Mary's had displeased his Vice-Chancellor, who had tried to imprison the preacher. This injured person appealed to Congregation, and the Proctors, one of whom was Bruch of Brasenose College, supported the appeal, appointing a delegacy to hear it. One member of this delegacy was a Brasenose man named Hill. All this seemed to Laud contumacious, and he appealed to the King. Charles banished the preacher, ordered the Proctors to be deposed, and commanded Hill, who had prudently left Oxford, to be proceeded against. Then Hill, finding the Chancellor too powerful, wrote him the following amazing letter[1]:—

[1] Laud's *Remains*, 1700, ii. 47.

Right Reverend, my most Honoured good Lord,

How much I am bound to thank my good God, who in the midst of trouble hath so much blessed me with your Lordship's grace and favour to rowl myself upon. In confidence, that through these Clouds by your Lordship's goodness and mediation the Royal favour of my most gracious and blessed Sovereign will shine upon me. *Nemo proficiens erubescit*, saith Tertul. No man is ashamed to relate the story of his offence, when he is come to himself, and begins to thrive in the way of a better opinion and judgment. It hath been my great grief and misery, but to be thought to be possessed with that damned Spirit of opposition, which in Publick exercise I have cryed down and conjured, or to give fire to any factious Spirit to rebel against Authority and the breath of Heaven. *Omnis sermo ad forensem famam à domesticis emanat authoribus*, saith the Orator. I know no malice can truly prevent the credit of my words. I thank my God, I have been often an occasion of peace, and quietness within my College; Never was before engaged in any such mad affront, for which I shall ever condemn my self upon the Theater of my own conscience, and suspect my Leaders. How easy a thing is it for some men in some eminent and leading places to give occasion to quiet and temperate Spirits to Rebel against their own Conscience and ingenuity! Therefore (saith St Austin) might the example of Cato have prevailed much, when he slew himself, *non quia solus id fecerat*, not because he alone had done so, *sed quia vir doctus & probus habebatur*, but because he was esteemed to be a learned and an honest Man. Two glorious Titles, which touch and confine the hearts and affections of all good men, if they sometimes prove not false fires, to delude the World and cheat the weaker in their opinions. I must not much trespass upon your Lordship's many serious and weighty affairs. How gladly would I enlarge and unbowel myself in any Style of true and hearty submission! *Mihi fama posthac vilius constabit.* So beseeching the continuance of your Lordship's favourable respect, and good opinion of me, I shall be ever bound to pray for your Lordship's prosperity and happiness.

From Brazen-Nose
Coll. in Oxon.
Octob. 23. 1631.

Your Lordship's most humble
and devoted Servant,
Rich. Hill

The reader will scarce be surprised that this baffling apology did not satisfy the Chancellor. Hill wrote again in November, 'It hath added some degrees more to my Sorrows, that I have not given your Lordship better satisfaction'. In the end Hill seems to have successfully placated the Bishop, and will be heard of again. In 1634 a Fellow of Brasenose, Thomas Cooke, had to recant before the Vice-Chancellor for a sermon

in St. Mary's in which there were 'displeasing passages'. Laud had a weekly correspondence with the Vice-Chancellor, and in 1637 there is more difficulty from the same College. 'And concerning the Puritan, I see plainly, that Brazen-nose hath some as bad, or worse than Cook was about four years since. And that Greenwood, who preached on Sunday last, is like to prove a peevish man, which I am the more sorry for; because you write he is a good master of his pen, and therefore like to do the more harm.' This offender was the future Principal, who for this occasion was let off, for Laud thought it unwise to attack him, he having 'cunningly contrived to turn the Libellous part into a prayer'. But worse was to come. In 1638 Laud wrote to the Vice-Chancellor on the approach of Lent, to warn him that he must prevent disorder in the disputations. There was a game known as 'coursing', which consisted first in rival Colleges attempting to outdo each other in the schools, and then a running fight ensued on the way home to reverse, it may be, the verdict of the examination room. Their games were so far forbidden that it is difficult to blame them for thus getting some sport out of life. But Laud seems to have connected this sort of frolic with worse habits, for he added, 'And farther, I would have you speak with the Principal of Brazen-nose, that he would command their Cellar to be better looked to, that no strong and unruly Argument be drawn from that Topick-place.'

While the College was thus losing its popularity at Lambeth a Brasenose man had become famous by opposing authority in matters of state. But this time in a privileged position to which no censures came. Robert Holborne was counsel for Hampden in the famous Ship-Money case (1637). The tax was certainly illegal, but was claimed on the plea of emergency, *salus populi suprema lex.* In an argument lasting some days Holborne destroyed the contention for the prerogative, pointing out that the 200 days which intervened between the writ and the *rendezvous* of the ships was amply sufficient to enable the Crown to consult Parliament. He further showed that the common law provided for cases of 'instant danger',

when not only the Crown but the subject must do all that is necessary. Though Holborne and his client lost the case his argument contained the true answer to the royal contention, and the power of the Chief Magistrate to deal with emergencies is now not above the law, but part of it. Holborne, when the crisis came, was found on the royalist side. Like many another opponent of Charles's financial stratagems he was no rebel against Church and King. He sat in the 'mongrel' Parliament which the King called at Oxford in 1644, and his forensic abilities were used in the many negotiations which took place during the war.

The near approach of this calamity had little effect upon the tranquil course of life in College. The following letter from an old member of Brasenose looks as if all was well.

Good Mr Vice-Principall

I thank you, and the rest of yor Societie fo^{r} yor kindenes at my late being wth you in yor Colledge: and because I did understand yor desire of some other books not yet in yor Librarie, and did see that you have some vacant roome there, not yet filled; I have sent you herein inclosed a note of some books, wch I left behinde mee in my studie in London, that you may send for them as you want and have roome for. . . . I pray you remember my service and love to Mr Principall, who I hear is returned home, and in a good way of recoverie, wch God grant. Thus wth my praieres fo^{r} you and the rest of yor good companie, I leave you and them all to God's blessing. Wigan, August 16, 1642

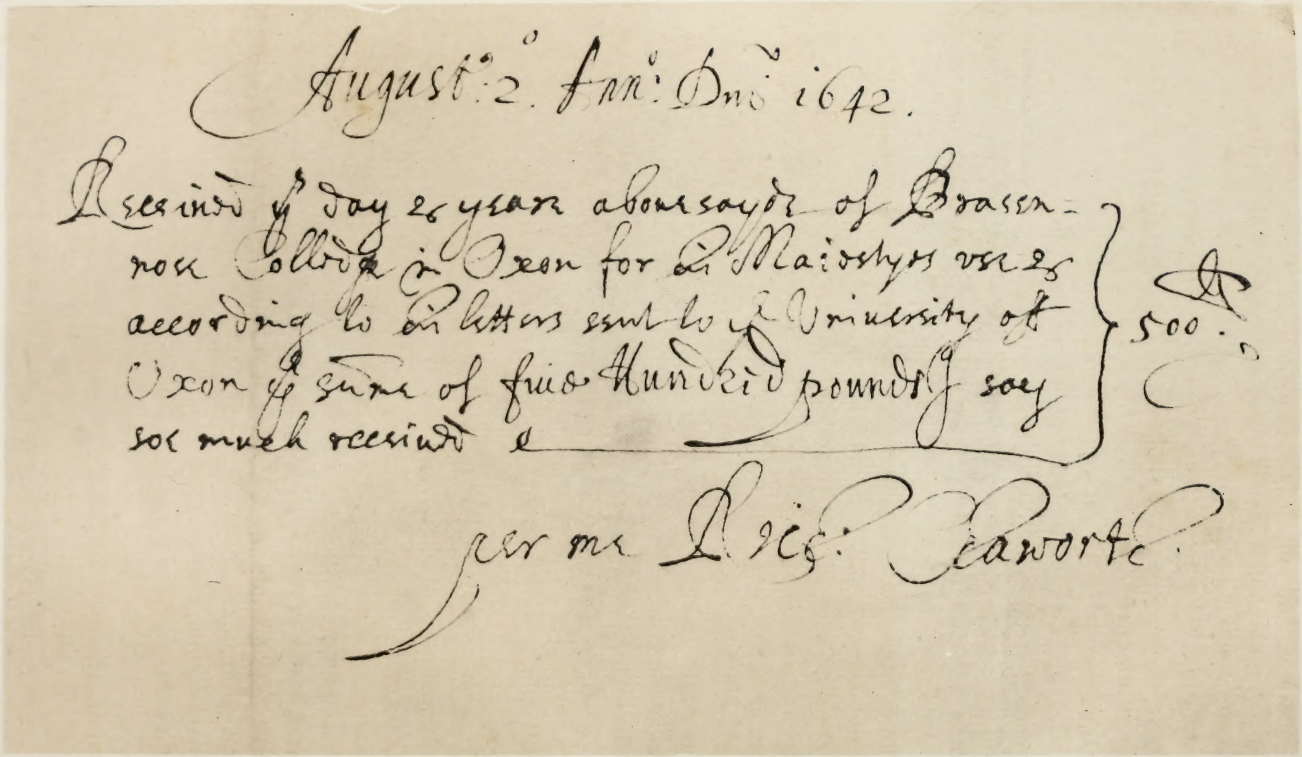
Yo^{r} loving friend

Henry Mason

Six days after this letter was written the King set up his standard at Nottingham, and the storm broke.

II. THE COLLEGE DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1642–1646

The autumn of 1642 witnessed the outbreak of a civil war which, to a remarkable extent, was focused upon Oxford. In the course of this contest Brasenose was to lose its vigorous and teeming population, and, after a chequered existence, half hotel half arsenal, was to be left a ruined and desolate place. In the first flush of the encounter no one here in Oxford


August: 2. Ann: Dñi 1642.

Receivd ye day & yeare aboue sayd of Brasen-
nose Colledge in Oxon for his Maiesties vse &
according to his letters sent to ye University of
Oxon ye sume of fiue Hundrid pounds ye saey
sor much receivd £ 500.

per me Ric: Cawdrey.

Receipt for a 'loan' to Charles I, A.D. 1642

seems to have realized what a long and fateful struggle lay before the combatants. The continent of Europe had for generations been rent and spoiled by religious war, and faint echoes of those storms may have reached the College when the Bursar gave at Christmas dole *12d.* to 'a poore man maimed in the King of Sweden's wars'. But Germany was far away. And, though it is true that the horrors of that warfare were never reflected in England, yet few can have guessed, as the College contingent started for New College gardens to go through their 'postures', what ruin was to come of it.

As early as September 1 the University appointed a delegacy to supervise the defence of the city, and John Houghton, Junior Bursar of Brasenose, was one of the Delegates. This is the first mention of an interesting but baffling personality, of whom a good deal will be heard later. The mediaeval character of the expected warfare is shown by the bows and barbed arrows which were among the weapons he had to supervise. Each College was also separately organized, or the smaller ones were trained for the field in groups. The order for Brasenose College ran:—

Excester Jesus Brasonnose Lincolne	Mr Charles Genings Commissioner	Thomas Rountree Prouost Marshall

It was not until after the first important battle at Edgehill (October 23, 1642), that Oxford became the Royalist headquarters. But, before that date, the King had sought and obtained money from his faithful University, with a liberal promise of repayment, and interest at 8 per cent. To this loan the Colleges were asked to add each on its own account, and Brasenose contributed £500 to the royal chest. The slip of paper upon which the King's commissioner, Dr. Chaworth, gave a receipt for this loan is still in the muniment room.[1] It is the more interesting because, except for this paper, there is no other trace of the payment. Search in

[1] See illustration.

Rolls and account books entirely fails to show whence it came and how it was paid. There is, indeed, in the old Plate Book, a note that, at the *visus communis cistae*, of Christmas, 1642, £100 was extracted and given as a loan to the King. *Sum̄a centū librarum ex consensu principalis & sociorū mutuo data est Regiae Maiestati.* Further, this £100 is mentioned in several later Christmas 'views' as *nondum soluta,* till it drops out as a bad debt. But, of the larger sum there is no trace. Yet it was most certainly paid. For, besides the receipt, there is clear evidence when, in 1660, after the Restoration, the debt is revived and set forth in the accounts of the year, as an asset! Bursar Houghton, who had survived those eighteen imperilled years, writes: 'A receit of 500^{li} under ye hand of d^{r} Richd Chaworth for moneys recd by him of ye College for th' use of ye late king.' The silence of the College records at the time of the loan is easily explained, for the Parliamentary forces might have occupied Oxford at any moment, and had already been in the town in some force before the fight at Edgehill. The House of Commons had also, on hearing of the gifts of the Colleges to His Majesty, sent down word that 'all the parties, actours, and contrivers thereof, are thereby liable to severe punishment, and shall for the same be questioned according to Law'. But the sudden revelation of the loyal loan on the credit side in Houghton's accounts in 1660 can only suggest some pathetic hope of repayment. If Houghton really thought that an astute humorist who had survived the tragedy of his family would be likely to pay their debts, there were children in finance even in those far days.

Early in the first year of war Brasenose gave its plate to the melting-pot in the same desperate cause. It was actually voted by Convocation, Jan. 31, 1643. This does not necessarily mean that it was given grudgingly, though it does mean that the contribution would have been difficult to evade. The plate was 'sent for' to the mint in New Inn Hall. The receipt for this also is in the Muniment Room.[1] It is as follows:—

[1] See illustration in Mon. V.

January the 17th, 1642.

	wt li.	wt oz. ds.
Recd of the Masters & fellowes of Brasen Nose Colledge in Oxford in plate by them p'sented to his Matie & for his service. viz	108.	04. 10
In white plate		
In guilt plate	012.	10. 05

Wm Parkhurst
Thomas Bushell

White at 5s ℔ oz comes to	325. 02. 06
Guilt at 5s 6d ℔ oz comes to	042. 08. 04
	367. 10. 10

The various quantities given by different Colleges provide another comparison to show the relative position of Brasenose. The order is Magdalen, All Souls, Exeter, Queen's, Trinity, Christ Church, Brasenose. The total of 121 lb. 2 oz. 15 dwt. sent in by the College, was to be paid for by the royal borrower at 5*s*. or 5*s*. 6*d*. per ounce, according as it was 'white' or 'guilt'. Of these priceless treasures, as they would now be held, nothing survived. The wonderful pre-Reformation chalices, dated 1498, were, of course, excepted from the mint order, and are still used in College.[1] One of the Fellows in residence, Richard Hill, who has been seen to be no friend of Laud, and was perhaps lukewarm in a greater cause, took steps to secrete, on the day of spoliation, the 'kan' which he had lately given to his College. But, characteristically, he never trusted the College with it again, and it was with some difficulty recovered from his executor, only to disappear later.[2] A few apostle spoons were also 'saved'. Six of these are mentioned, as still existing, in the codicil of Radcliffe's will in 1648, among the effects belonging to the Principal's lodgings; they occur in a similar inventory of 1660, but they have never again been heard of. In the case of the plate it is again tragically clear that the College expected to receive the covenanted repayment at the Restoration. For in 1660 Houghton writes in the year's account on

[1] See illustration in Mon. v.
[2] Mon. v. 26, note.

the credit side: 'a note und ye hands of Sr Wm Parkhurst & Tho Bushell Esq dat 17 Jan 1642 for college plate rec^d^ by y^m^ for th' use of the s^d^ king whch plate was valued at ye sum of £120. 15. 3.' The trust which Houghton put in princes was, apparently, consistent with a damaging slip in his arithmetic, for he has added the two lines giving the weight of the 'white' and 'guilt' plate as £ *s.* *d.*, instead of as lb. oz. dwt. The value in cash, at the promised rate, would have been £367 10*s.* 10*d.*, and this ransom is endorsed upon the receipt in a later hand.

With the spring of 1643, the prospect of continued war admitted of no doubt among the more shrewd advisers of the King, and, on May 15, a letter was sent to his Majesty's representatives in Oxford, bidding them 'conferre with the heads of Colleges and Halls that they also provide against a time of need (if so it should happen)'. A 'magazine' of victuals was to be stored in each College against the risk of siege, and this method of insurance was at once carried out. Bursar Houghton has left, in the Visitation Book of 1643, a minute account of this reserve of provisions as it was laid down at B.N.C.[1] It consisted of wheat, bacon, salt butter, cheese, oatmeal, pease, and rice. The store was kept up for nearly four years, and the final account was presented to the Principal and Fellows on January 5, 1647. Here it appears that the total cost was £68 3*s.* 2*d.* But various Bursars, from time to time, sold the more perishable part, as it fell to be renewed, for £53 4*s.* 9½*d.*, so that the net loss on the transaction was only £14 18*s.* 4½*d.* This was good management indeed, and the careful Houghton adds, with pardonable warmth, that the loss would have been less, only some of the cheese went bad in 1644 owing to 'the ignorance or negligence of the manciple'. It appears that this magazine was stored in the Tower, that is, in the present Upper Bursary, below the Treasury. Of this there are two proofs. In 1645 the Bursar paid 'pro nec: ad Turrim, for turneing the wheat 5*s.*'. And

[1] See Appendix IV.

the notes of a military official sent to report on things in College[1] refer to the 'corne' in the Tower.

By the summer of 1643 all serious University business had given way to war and rumours of war. Everything pointed to the conclusion that the royalist metropolis would have to stand a siege, and the fortifications, already begun, became a primary necessity. The arrangement made was that the inhabitants must submit to forced labour; the townsmen to work at the defences on the last four days of the week, and the University men on Mondays and Tuesdays. For this purpose the Colleges were divided into two shifts, and the Brasenose contingent had to put in an appearance on Tuesdays. The scene of their labours was 'that part of Christ Church Mead that is next to Grandpont Street'. The following table shows that the College had no occasion to be ashamed of its team:

Brasonnose Colledge	79	Thomas Broome Esq[re].
Lincolne Colledge	55	Charles Jennins Esq[re].
Exeter Colledge	76	M[r]. Thomas Rogers.
Jesus Colledge	32	
Pembroke Colledge	60	
Christ Church		
Corpus Christi Colledge	68	
Merton Colledge	83	
Alban Hall	17	
Oriall Colledge	72	
St Mary Hall	27	
University Colledge	60	

The numbers for Christ Church are not given in the MS.,[2] and were probably not made up; but they would certainly have been high. Brasenose may, then, be considered to take third place in the shift. According to a royal proclamation issued June 8, the hours of work were from 6 a.m. till 11, and from 1 p.m. till 6. There was not much chance for those who preferred their beds, for a drummer was to go round the Colleges an hour before the *rendezvous*, and his instrument was to be kept going all day at the works, in order to

[1] See later, p. 39.

[2] Bodl. Add. D. 114.

stimulate flagging energies. Here, at all events, was some legitimate exercise at last.

In spite of the fine of 12*d.* for non-attendance, this form of sport seems to have palled. The townsmen certainly resisted the order, and made endless excuses for their slackness. In the end the work had to be paid for, and the Colleges were regularly charged with a tax for this purpose. Brasenose paid in 1643 the sum of £22 2*s.* 6*d.* There was a further sum exacted from every College in respect of those who were living within and could not be pressed into the service. This was a monthly assessment, and Brasenose appears in a list with five other Colleges.

Jesus	£8: 13: 4
Lincoln	£10: 6: 6
Trinity	£5: 6: 8
Gloster Hall	£4: 10: 0
Balliol	£5: 5: 0
Brasennose	£8: 4: 0

These 'Strangers' were already invading every available space in Oxford. The MS. lists are filled with the names and addresses of a motley throng of 'soldiers, Life-Guardes, groomes, mayds, King's pastrymen and yeomen, leiftenants, lords and ladyes', all jostling each other for lodgings in the narrow streets of the town. Brasenose, as is clear from the payments due, was full of them. Their names appear in the Buttery books, and it is a curious result when the Duchess of Buckingham and an undergraduate, perhaps the most famous Brasenose man of the century, Elias Ashmole,[1] are bracketed as owing a small sum to the Bursar for battels. The pressure on space became greater than ever, when, in January, 1644, the King decided to call a parliament of his supporters at Oxford. This doubtful experiment, while it secured a declaration that the parliament at Westminster was composed of 'traitors', finally decided that the Colleges were to become hotels. Among those who at one time or another took up their abode in Brasenose one or two call for mention. Sir John Spelman, a member of the King's Council in 1642, and high in the royal favour, was an author of some eminence: Sir Henry

[1] See Mon. XII. pp. 18, 19.

St. George was Garter King of arms. Both died in College during the years of war.

All this entailed losses on the College, for the Bursar had to go without the money of those who would not or could not pay their way. The butler, too, was busy with his weekly visitors' list, which he had to supply, in order that the scattered members of the novel population might know where to find their friends. Another result of this congested immigration was that the plague broke out in Oxford again, this time with terrible force. More than one of the strangers in College succumbed. Desperate endeavours were made by the military committees to do something in the way of scavenging, by freeing the dirt-carts from compulsory military impressment. But the disease spread rapidly, and, to add to the horrors of the time, the small-pox appeared in virulent form. It was no case for mild measures, and some idea may be gained of the hazardous life people led from a proclamation which decreed that any one of the 'visited people' who left his house with a plague sore upon him was to die, at once, as a felon.

The most significant political development during these fateful days was the schism which occurred within the Parliamentary party between the Presbyterians and the Independents. It is illustrated in a marked way by the career of a Brasenose man named Richard Norton. This 'notorious rebel' was at first active against the King. Starting in 1643 as a Colonel of Horse in the Eastern counties along with Cromwell, he passed next year into Hampshire, gained some reputation at the siege of Basing House, and, at the second battle of Newbury, distinguished himself by holding Ludlow's regiment together when the leader's horse was shot under him. In 1645 Norton was elected to sit in the Long Parliament, and by that date it was clear that the Independents under Cromwell were not going to submit to the rigid Presbyterian chains already forged for them in the Westminster Assembly. Norton was a Presbyterian, and grew lukewarm in the rebel cause as the Independents became more victorious and less amenable. He had the honour of

receiving several letters from Cromwell, who entrusted him with family secrets about the prospects of his 'little wenches', and with delicate negotiations about his son Richard's marriage[1]. But he neglected his parliamentary duties and remained in the country. Cromwell twitted him with his slackness, 'I know thou art an idle fellow.' But Norton was, as we know, 'dwindling' into royalism, like the rest of the Presbyterians. They felt that Charles might consent to give their system a chance, while the Independents, glowing with victories, and led by the greatest of living Englishmen, never would. Norton was accordingly 'purged' out of Westminster by Colonel Pride when the Army wanted the Parliament to punish the King. Later he became suspect, though he sat in 'Barebones' Parliament, and in Oliver's first Council of State under the Protectorate. Thenceforward he must have looked to the King over the water, and sat in the Restoration Parliaments after that king's return. Thus this pregnant quarrel within the Puritan camp bred, in the fullness of time, the secession even of soldiers from the rebel cause, and finally made possible the return of the Stuart. Another Brasenose man, Philip Nye, was almost the prime mover in this party division. But he was on the other side of the rift, a famous Independent minister, who will call for mention on a later page.[2]

Meanwhile the war drew near its close, and the King had left the city. The siege of Oxford by Fairfax began in the spring of '46, but before this date the College was a barrack, and all who remained in it were, if under the age of sixty, upon compulsory military duty. The soldiers quartered upon the Fellows were maintained by contributions which had for some time been regularly charged as 'impositions' in their battels. Every inch of room was requisitioned for the garrison. Officers were sent round to inspect, and report what further accommodation could be found for men and stores. The report of the visit to Brasenose runs:[3]

[1] Carlyle, *Cromwell*, Letters LIII, LV, LVI.

[2] See p. 42.

[3] Bodl. Add. D. 114, fol. 85.

Brasen nose Colledge
In ye Tower a roome wherein is their owne corne
one chamber for ye Treasury
The Hall, ye upper end boarded
2 chambers empty intended for ye palisade magazen.

The store of palisades was for use in the fortifications, where the earthworks were supported and secured by 'baskett', and palisades erected on the top of the mound thus made, in order to form cover against the not very precise weapons of the day. The sheet of paper upon which the Brasenose report is scribbled has the further legend '*quaere* what rooms in St. Marie's'. Can the writer have meant to suggest that the University church should be used as barracks? At all events, he says nothing about disturbing the College chapel, where prayers were daily being said for 'this nursery of Thy Church'.

In June the city was duly delivered to Fairfax, and the war was over in Oxford. The garrison marched out, through the ranks of grim Puritan soldiers, with the honours of war, drums beating, match lighted, and bullets in their mouths. The captors promised that libraries and academic treasures should be respected, and this was done. But the Colleges were in a sad plight. The effect of the war as it is shown in Brasenose is now to be noted.

Admissions of undergraduates to the College:

1641	1642	1643	1644	1645
19	17	5	1	0

Average no. of undergraduates batteling per week:

1641 (first quarter)	Scholars	15	Commoners	42
1644 (first quarter)	,,	5	,,	7
1644 (fourth quarter)	,,	3	,,	6

It was of good omen that the single freshman in 1644 was no less a person than Elias Ashmole, but all they knew about him then was that he was very tardy in paying his battels. The general finances, too, were in a desperate state. Fellows were elected, but not to be paid till peace be restored to the kingdom. The College began the war in debt, and was now

deeper in the mire. The following table from the Bursar's accounts tells its own tale.[1]

	1642	1643	1644	1645	1646
Receipts, including previous year's arrears.	£ s. d. 1181 9 2½	£ s. d. 1246 16 8¼	£ s. d. 1495 3 4¼	£ s. d. 2005 5 5¾	£ s. d. 2646 17 11¼
Payments, including present year's arrears.	1295 15 2½	1583 16 5½	2113 1 3¼	3004 13 6	3861 5 11¼
Adverse balance due to Bursars.	114 6 0	336 19 9¼	617 17 11	999 8 0¼	1214 8 0

And to add to this there is the utter demoralization of such young men as were still in the place. The long association with a reckless military population, had taught the 'schollars' to 'blaspheme, to profane the Lord's day', and to prefer 'tipling houses' to divine service.

Already had Laud given his life for the cause he loved and the church he ruled, while Charles was soon to follow the same road. Meanwhile Oxford, so dear to both, had been paying and was yet to pay a heavy price for the mistakes of its rulers and the bitterness of their foes. Clarendon might write in his study in Jersey of the first arrival of the King in Oxford after Edgehill. 'He was received by the University with that joy and acclamation as Apollo should be by the Muses.' But there was a sordid reality beneath the tinsel of this phrase. The men in Brasenose knew the truth when they wrote at College Meeting in the Vice-Principal's register, January 17, 1646, *Circa statutum de diminuendo numerum sociorum in adversis casibus Reditus vel amissi vel non soluti, aliisque similibus Nos Principalis et sex seniores (habita prius matura et seria deliberatione) decrevimus alios juxta formam statuti 6 esse eligendos, non tamen ad societatis beneficium admittendos, Donec turbatum*

[1] For this table I am indebted to Mr. Coxhill.

nunc Angliae statum per Bellum civile misere laceratum ad pristinam conditionem sub sole Pacis et prosperitatis fulgentem restitutum habemus. Thus, still safe within their walls, they could look ruin in the face, and hope for better days. Soon they must meet, with equal courage, the still graver hardships of exile.

III. THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE COLLEGE AND THE PARLIAMENTARY VISITORS

In the summer of 1646 Oxford was a conquered city. It is true that in the conditions of surrender first proposed Fairfax had agreed to respect the rights of 'the clergymen and schollars resident in Oxon', as well as the 'Liturgy of the Church'. This conciliatory language, however, soon disappeared from the negotiations, and in the final terms as dated from Water Eaton there is only a promise to preserve 'the ancient form of government subordinate to the immediate authority and power of Parliament'. There was also an ominous phrase as to 'the Reformation there intended by the Parliament'. An expectant submission was therefore duly recorded by the Vice-Principal when in December he registers the election of lecturers and officers for the ensuing year, *cum submissione authoritati Parliamenti, si eidem visum fuerit eos pro electis non habere, sed eorum officia in alios transferre.* Some of the parochial clergy had already been deprived, and what this threatened reform of the University might involve was known in Brasenose. For in the next year there is a bequest in the will of Hutchins, late Fellow, of £100 to divide among 'the twenty poorest of the sequestered ministers, late Fellows of some College in Oxford'. Had he lived a year or two longer he might have devised a distribution nearer home. At least Oxford had been warned, and when in the summer of 1647, a full year after the surrender, the Visitors appointed by the Parliament arrived, they found the University organized and confederate against them. The fact that this surrendered and 'malignant' society was able

during many months to browbeat, obstruct and defy these Visitors requires an explanation, and bears closely upon Brasenose history in more ways than one. A year after the appointment of the Visitors the seniors in this College flung defiance in their faces. The reason which made this possible is that the triumphant rebels had fallen out among themselves, and a Brasenose man was deeply concerned in causing the rift.

Long before the outbreak of war the Presbyterians had set their course to destroy the Anglican Church, and substitute an exclusive Presbytery on the Scottish model. The thought of being disciplined by the 'old priest writ large' stirred to opposition others besides Milton. During the war Cromwell had become the acknowledged leader of the Independents, who wished for a church-system less narrow and exclusive. The Presbyterians were powerful in the Parliament still sitting at Westminster, but the victorious military party was on the other side, and the imprisoned King was intriguing with both. Thus Parliament might send Visitors to Oxford to undo the work of Laud, but Parliament and Visitors alike must walk warily, and could not force on their schemes while the Independents won their way in the Council and on the field.

This complete division within the party opposed to Church and King had been first defined in the famous Westminster Assembly (1643). Here, opposed to the Presbyterian manifestos and ruling elders, there appeared 'Five dissenting brethren', as the Scots delegates called them, and of these one of the leaders was a minister named Philip Nye of Brasenose College.[1] These five refused to agree to intolerant persecution of the sinner by Presbyterian elders, and wished with Selden, who supported this opposition, to place any requisite coercive discipline in the hands of the State. They put forth their *Apologeticall Narration* in the name of a wider view of religious liberty. It is to Nye and the cultured men who acted with him that we owe the deliverance of the

[1] *Brasenose College Register*, pp. 127–8.

country from the iron fetters which were being forged. Laud could see that the Presbyterians would destroy the Church, and therefore set out to destroy their system. But Nye appealed to a higher tribunal in the common sense of men, and sought to show that only is there safety from tyranny when any power to force the mind is given to no party, but centred in the State itself. This was a great advance, for in those days scarce any one dared to think that the State itself was not to be trusted with such weapons. Nye, who was not at that time an Independent, was of course so-called by the Presbyterians. He had another brush with them in Scotland (1643) when he was sent, with Vane and three others, as Commissioner to negotiate the terms of the famous Solemn League and Covenant.

This schism makes it easy to understand the successful opposition offered to the Presbyterian Visitors by resolute men in the colleges, and also the unconvinced moderation of the Visitors themselves. Hence, also, the Presbyterians in Parliament perceived that they would require all their skill to convert the University, and in November, 1646, they sent down to Oxford some distinguished preachers to prepare the way and sow the seeds of compliance. Once again they were opposed by a Brasenose man, this time a notable sectary named Erbury (adm. 1620), who organized meetings in opposition to their schemes and in favour of an undefined and voluntary religious system. Perhaps a 'seeker', certainly a fanatic, he had been chaplain to a regiment in the Oxford garrison, and had learned in the Army some of the more anarchical religious tenets so common at this time. This 'chaplain errant' was ready to oppose or to hold anything. He broke up the preachers' meetings, and finally succeeded in forcing them to hold a public conference with him and his saints in St. Mary's. Of this fantastic contest there is a printed record.[1] In the end the ministers induced Fairfax to interfere, and the redoubtable Erbury, already cashiered, is called away.

That the strife between these sects, warring with each other

[1] *Conference between six Presbyterian Ministers and some Independent Commanders*, 1646.

yet claiming the ear of the University, should be transferred from Westminster to St. Mary's probably nerved to opposition many moderate churchmen in Oxford. But when the Visitors were actually appointed in May, 1647, it was apparent that the handful of ardent men to whom the work was left would be met with all the weapons of diplomacy and obstruction. Plenty of men even in Oxford might admit a visitation based upon the victory of Parliament over Crown, but this did not carry assent to the Solemn League and Covenant and the Negative Oath. Yet the Visitors were empowered to enforce these, and thus 'reformation' meant a party triumph for the Presbyterians in religion and politics. The Negative Oath required those who took it to abjure all connexion with the King, his council or officers. At once the Visitors became an easy prey to the finesse of the University leaders,[1] and the wits were not sparing men whose sense of humour was shown by their contention that St. Mary's clock had been 'set forward' in sermon time to make their discourses appear longer, though they confessed to an hour and a quarter.

In June (1647) occurred the first brush with Brasenose, the Heads being ordered to send in a full list of their respective societies. Radcliffe sent this, but carefully added *salvis mihi ac reliquis membris dicti collegii omnibus juribus*. This legal spirit, never making a mistake nor giving a card away, is a noticeable proof of the forethought and organization which are prominent features in Brasenose, as in other colleges, at this crisis. It is also of interest to find how careful an historian the College possessed in John Newton, one of the Senior Fellows. His hand, familiar to one fresh from the College muniment room, is constantly found among the pages of Wood's MS. authorities for this episode.[2] Indeed the little diary[3] which Wood used is but a part of Newton's contribution to that author's authorities.

The check given to the Presbyterian party by Cromwell's action in securing the person of the King at Holmby House (June 3) paralysed for the moment the activity of the Visitors.

[1] Gutch-Wood, *Annals*, ii. 512.
[2] Wood, MS. F 35.
[3] Burrows, *Reg. Vis.* cxxiv.

But at the end of September they got to work at last, and appointed 'divers worthy gentlemen' among the residents in the Colleges, who were to act as Delegates to the Visitors, and report to them from inside these strongholds.[1] It is significant that in this list of Delegates no Brasenose name occurs. None of the Fellows was prepared to act as spy on the rest. The measured process by which the recalcitrant college was to be assailed is further disclosed when on October 5 an order reached Brasenose that the Principal was to send to Merton (where the Visitors had head quarters) 'all ye statutes, registers, iournalls, Books of entrye, accompts, orders, and other writings which concern ye government and affaires of your colledge'. This was a tactical error, and next day an order was substituted to convene the members of the College whose consent was necessary to the delivery of the College books. These were promptly called together, and on October 11 the answer was returned that the Principal 'having not a statutable assent of ye said Societie for ye said deliverie, hee may not deliver them without perjury'. This is endorsed in Newton's hand 'Mr Princ. pap^r^ delivered in to ye Visitors Oct 11'.

At this point the story has to be carefully told, for Wood, in the *Annals*,[2] has stated when writing of the Heads that 'he of Brasenose showed himself false'. Such a gratuitous sneer, unsupported by evidence, must serve to excuse a rather full account of the Visitation in this college. Wood was at the time fifteen, and it is abundantly clear that the Principal was a dauntless champion of the rights and liberties of his College and of his office against external and, as he believed, illegal interference.

On Nov. 4 Radcliffe was, with other Heads, again summoned to 'appear before us ye said Visitors sitting in Merton College tomorrow (being ye fift of this present november) between ye hours of two and three in ye afternoone, to undergo this present visitation, and to answeare what shall be propounded, As you will answeare ye contrary'. He duly

[1] Burrows, p. 3.
[2] *Annals* (1796), ii. 522.

appeared in Merton, and the answer he gave in was evidently pre-arranged and based upon a carefully considered reply already drawn up by a Delegacy of Convocation. This was the answer: 'I received a paper requiring mee to appear before you as Visitors. I desire to know whether you have any other commission or authoritie to visit then hath been formerly showen. If you have I humbly desire Libertie to see and consider of it. If you have not I humbly referre myself to the answer formerly given by the Universitie, and our Societie respectively, and yet depending before the honourable houses of Parliament.' On the same day, Friday, Nov. 5, Newton wrote in his diary concerning this loyal answer a passage which Wood neglects: 'Dr Ratcliffe was stout, as appears by his answer, which was taken from his own mouth before some of his fellowes, which likewise, as himselfe affirmed, was ye true sense of that which he delivered in to ye committee. No sooner was he come out from ye committee but there was delivered to him a sum̄ons to appeare in ye painted chamber Westmr on Thursday following being nov 11.' To gratify his prejudice against a man capable of 'puritanical tuition' Wood has ignored his own select authorities.

This then was the next resort of the baffled Visitors. There was a large Committee of Lords and Commons to whom they had the right to appeal, and to this arbitrament they now determined to bring the contumacious Heads of Houses. In order to act as accusers at Westminster the Visitors themselves 'packed away for London', and Dr. Radcliffe started 'towards London' on Nov. 8. This was no light undertaking for a man of sixty-eight, who had of recent years not been in robust health,[1] and the Principal never recovered from it. He was not fit to go alone, and the Bursar, Houghton, accompanied him, entering in his account book, 'Item, Mr Principall and Mr Houghton, Burs Senr. going to London in Nov 1647 uppon Colledge business *ut patet ex particularibus* 15 : 4 : 9.' Unfortunately these particulars are not forth-

[1] Cf. p. 30.

coming. The Principal duly appeared in the Painted Chamber with the most distinguished royalists in the University, and, after some delays, it was decided to let the Heads go home and make their defence by counsel. The Principal was back in college in December, for he signs official documents in that month. The outcome of the appeal was that, although moderate members of Parliament, such as Selden, were 'generally favourable', yet the answer of Nov. 5 was declared a 'High Contempt of the authoritie of Parliament'.

On Jan. 20, 1648, the order from London for the expulsion of the Principal was promulgated. 'Resolved and ordered that Do^r^ Ratcliffe, Principall of Brasen-nose Colledge, being adiudged guilty of high contempt and denyall of authority of Parliament be removed from being Principall of Brasen-nose Colledge aforesaid And accordingly the said Do^r^ Ratcliffe is required forthwith to yield obedience hereunto and to remove from the said Colledge . . . and he who supplys ye Vice-Principall or Senior Fellow's place is hereby required to publish this order to the whole society and such others as may be concerned herein.' Newton tells that this order was, on Jan. 31, 'left in ye kitchen.' It seems almost legitimate to surmise that it did not long survive. In any case it produced no effect upon the Principal, who was probably too ill to yield even if it were his wish. The Visitors were not at the end of their resources, and on Feb. 29 they ordered that Daniel Greenwood, a Fellow of some standing and the old antagonist of Laud, was to succeed to the headship. When again commanded to remove, Radcliffe asked for time on the plea of illness, whereat the authorities referred him to Greenwood, from whom he was to ask what favours he could obtain. Thus the Principal stayed on in his lodgings, and it should be noted in Greenwood's favour that he afterwards declared that he did not 'intermeddle' till after Radcliffe's death. Newton relates at this point that on March 22 'Princ Rogers came to ye Princ of Brasenose to perswade him to resigne his Principalitie, which if hee would doe, he should enjoy some of ye lodgings quietly till he was recovered'. But in vain was this net spread. Radcliffe meant now to end his

days as Principal. After a fruitless endeavour to get him to give up the keys of the treasury, the flouted Visitors put a guard of soldiers, at his expense, into his lodgings over the gateway, and left 'Dr. Radcliffe, now lodging in Brasenose', to die in peace.

This power to use soldiers in their dealings with refractory colleges had been granted in March, when Fairfax ordered Kelsey, the military governor, to supply their needs in this respect. But the courage of the Visitors was still further reinforced when, in April, 1648, the Chancellor, Lord Pembroke, arrived and personally conducted their active measures. On April 13, after a long field day, Pembroke with the Visitors reached Brasenose. They had already visited several Colleges, and now arrived with their guard of musketeers, bullet, and match. With them came the famous Prynne, fresh from Laud's College, where they had just decreed the removal of the President. It was getting late when they came into our Hall, and the Chancellor took his seat at the head of the high table. They then declared Greenwood Principal, and, as some one suggested that the Chancellor had usurped the chair in which only the Head of Brasenose might dare to sit, he had to vacate it in favour of the new Principal.[1] This precedence in college of the Principal over the Chancellor seems to have afforded a grim satisfaction to some members of the College. The Visitors then called for the buttery book, and wrote:

Mr. Daniel Greenwood Principall

We, ye Chancellour, Visitors and Proctours of this University according to an order of ye lords in Parliament assembled doe invest Daniel Greenwood (Batchelour of Divinity, elected Principall of Brasenose Colledge by the Committee of Lords and Commons for ye reformation of Oxford) with all and singular the rights, priveledges, and emoluments which doe of right belong to ye Principall of ye college aforesd. In witnesse whereof wee subscribe our names this 13th of April 1648.

Pembroke Mont	Cancell
Wm. Prynne	Will Cobb
Robert Harris	Na: Brent
F Cheynell	Jo Crosse Proct

[1] *Halifax Law translated to Oxon*, 1648 (Wood, 514, 43).

Some zealot has, unfortunately, destroyed the buttery book which contained this interesting record, but Newton was before him and has left a copy among Wood's MS., attested in his usual careful way: 'This is a true coppie of what Mr Cheynell wrote in ye butterie-booke with his own hand.' Of Greenwood himself more will have to be told. He was to prove himself in many ways worthy of this promotion. But an unfortunate squint gave facile occasion to the lampooners of the moment. It was an age when scurrilous jesting was common, yet one of these sorry doggerels is worth quoting, as it contains a proof that the 'nose' was then on the gateway.

Reverso tristis fertur casus
Et miserandum omen
Collegii, cui Rubens Nasus
Prae foribus dat nomen.
Dederunt illi Principalem
Rectores hi severi
Distortis oculis, et qualem
Natura vult caveri.[1]

The vigorous action which ensued upon the Chancellor's arrival was followed in April by an attack on the Prayer Book. This was to be replaced in Chapel by the Presbyterian 'Directory of Worship', fruit of the Westminster Assembly. A forlorn attempt to get hold of the College books at this moment was easily evaded, for the Junior Bursar (King) told the Visitors that the Senior Bursar (Houghton) had them in his possession, and had left Oxford. On May 5 Brasenose, with other Colleges, was searched for arms, since the Visitors were themselves using military force, and could not tell to what point this prolonged resistance would be taken. These

[1] Wood, 514 (50). The fame of the Brazen Nose was shortly afterwards to spread to the continent, where a somewhat receptive French traveller wrote: 'Je ne veux pas vous décrire tous ces colleges. Il y en a un où je vis un grand nez de bronze à la porte, comme si c'estoit un masque de Polichinelle. On me dit qu'il se nommoit aussi le college du nez, & que c'estoit là dedans que Jean Duns-Scot avoit enseigné. En memoire de quoy on avoit appliqué la figure de son nez à la porte.' Sorbière, *Relation d'un voyage en Angleterre*, 1666.

arms, for which search was to be made, included bows, arrows, daggers, cross-bows, and knives.

On June 26 Dr. Radcliffe passed away in the lodgings where he had lived for four and thirty years. The Visitors were afraid that the funeral of so stout a defender of College liberties would be made the occasion for a display of public feeling which their cause could ill afford. They therefore forbade the 'Bellman' to visit the various Colleges, and, as was the custom, announce the burial. This, however, did not prevent the Fellows from securing a funeral at St. Mary's 'with ye Cõmon Prayer, *more antiquo*'. Here one of the Fellows preached the sermon, while another gave an oration '*in aula communi*'. The Visitors had thus failed to avert a public rebuff to their authority, but the seasoned opposition in Brasenose now prepared for them a further and more lasting slight. It was determined in College to prevent the nomination of Greenwood, already some months in abeyance, from taking effect without a protest. Again there is the noticeable care and deliberation of trained resistance, so conspicuous throughout this protracted Visitation. It was more than a year since the arrival of the Visitors, and already two Heads of Colleges had been elected in defiance of their mandate, first at Pembroke and then at New College. Now Brasenose was to supply the third.

On the day following Radcliffe's death a College meeting was held under the Vice-Principal, Sixsmith, at which it was resolved to proceed to the election of a Principal on the 10th of July, and the statutable citation, summoning the Fellows home for this purpose, was duly posted on the Chapel door. Such open proceedings caused Sixsmith and others to be cited to Merton, where they were warned to 'surcease and submitt to their Principal Mr. Greenwood, whom the Parliament had chosen'. When the 10th of July came, the Visitors, knowing by experience the tenacity of the Fellows, marched a guard of soldiers into college at 7 o'clock in the morning and arrested the three seniors, Sixsmith, Newton, and King. These three are recorded in the Bursar's book as being in restraint, and thus they remained, in one room to economize the military

force, until 10 at night. The next day they declared, in writing, before a notary, that they had intended to proceed to an election, but had been restrained by force of arms. They then went over to All Souls, consulted the Warden, Dr. Sheldon, received his advice, and 'resolved to proceed to an election in sure manner as they were able'. This is taken from papers in college, giving an exact account of the proceedings, and evidently drawn up as a circumstantial narrative in 1660, when Yates' right to the Headship was to be proved. It is an interesting point that this party in Brasenose was in close touch with the distinguished royalist and favourite chaplain of the King. The election duly took place next day, July 12, when the six intrepid rebels repaired to Highfield's room, which, having no window on the quadrangle, afforded a safe retreat. This was at the west of the old library, probably now the White Room. Here they read the statute, took their oaths, and unanimously elected as their Principal Thomas Yates.

It has been supposed that these daring schemers were the six senior Fellows, in whom the right of election was vested.[1] But this is not correct. The Statute requires the summoning of all the Fellows, and places the right of election in *septem seniores Socii praesentes*. At this moment there were, as is clear from the buttery books, only seven Fellows in Oxford, namely, Sixsmith (Vice-Principal), Newton, King, Byrom Eaton, Highfield, Church, and Jones. Of these King held aloof, and the other six conducted the revolution. Newton, Sixsmith, and King were members of the 'six senior Fellows' on the books. The three others, Hill, Yates, and Houghton, stayed away. One of the insurgents, Jones, was actually the junior Fellow. Thus the election was statutable if six could act as a quorum, and as the statute runs *expectatorum absentia non obstante*, it was apparently in order. Highfield was at once dispatched to carry the news to the Visitor and to the Principal-elect, who were both in London. The Visitor sent his confirmation, and Yates accepted this hazardous promotion in the following cautious letter:—

[1] Burrows, *Reg. Vis.*, p. 140 note.

Mr Vice-Principall & the rest

I have received, by the handes of Mr Highfield, yours of the 13th of this instant July, wherein you signify that by an unanimous consent, I am elected your Principall.

I must professe unto you that I have a most high sense of this favour, that without my motion or knowledge you have so joyntly concurred in judgment and affection towards me, as to esteeme me worthy of so great an honour and trust amongst you.

I will according to your prudent advice and desire act herein, and not own anything hereof further than I conceive it may conduce to your advantage.

And as I assure you that in all ways tyme and relations I shall study faithfully and sincerely to advance the honour & prosperity of the colledge: so when it shall please God (who makes men of one mind in one house) to compose the differences and distractions of the kingdom, I shall then hope by his blessing upon my endeavours in some measure to answer your expectations herein. And in the meantime and ever shall remayne

Your most affectionate
friend to serve you
Tho: Yates.

Chilsey, July 18.
1648.

Twelve years later this hope was fulfilled, and Yates came to his own. But, for the time, the long struggle with the Visitors was nearing an end. Every one in the College was now to choose his course. Already in the preceding May the general order had been issued for all members of Brasenose to appear in Merton. Thither they had gone to answer the all-important question, 'Do you submit to this Visitation?' The order to appear was 'put uppon ye wall on ye left hand going up ye staires to ye chappell (now Senior Common Room staircase) about seven of ye clocke in ye morning of May 10th 1648'. It ran as follows:—

Att a meeting of ye Visitors this 9th of May 1648.

Wee the Visitors of this University of Oxon require you and every of you, the Fellows and other members of Brasen-nose Colledge to appear before us in ye Warden's Lodgings in Merton Colledge the xth of this instant May, betweene 9 and 10 of ye clocke in ye forenoon to answer to such questions as shall be demanded of you.

When they appeared, eighteen strong, most of them gave

in a cautious reply, representing some form of the distilled evasion which had for some months become a part of University life. The various answers are in print,[1] and one or two will suffice as illustration. The Vice-Principal contented himself by saying 'I doe submitt to Kinge and Parliament in this visitation, as farre as lawfully I may'. The Junior Bursar made a more elusive statement, 'To the knowne laws of the land, the Statutes of the Universitie, and my private Colledge, I doe with all humble reverence submitt, and am ready either to clear my innocency, if accused, or to undergoe the penalty they impose when I am called before the proper and competent judges either of the one or other.' One of the undergraduates took a less indirect way of refusing, 'It appeares by the charter of this Universitie that it cannot be visited by this Parliament. Therefore I, being a member of it, because of my oathes, cannot submitt.' The Visitors spent no end of time in discussing what was to amount to a refusal and to be punished with expulsion. In the end, of sixteen Fellows on the books thirteen were expelled,[2] two submitted, and one, Houghton, managed to evade both fates by securing the mediation of Kelsey, the deputy Governor of the city. The thirteen Fellows were Sixsmith, Hill, Yates, Newton, King, Byrom, Eaton, Highfield, Roberts, Church, Rawson, Eaude, and Blackborne.[3] Of these Hill, about whom a good deal has been said, at first submitted and then thought better of it. One of the 'Yates' electors, Jones, the junior Fellow, submitted; and Leycester, afterwards expelled as 'homicida', did the same. Of the handful of undergraduates there were several expelled, including the Bible Clerk. The notices of expulsion came out week by week, and the matter dragged on into the autumn, when the

[1] Burrows, *Reg. Vis.*, pp. 66, 7, 8.

[2] Or retired, rather than submit.

[3] Of these thirteen Fellows Yates, Newton, Church, Rawson, and Blackborne were 'restored' in 1660, the others having died or accepted livings. When Ralph Byrom and Byrom Eaton had left, the Visitors intruded Ralph Eaton, and Burrows, with nothing but surname to guide him in the Register, confuses the two Eatons. He also classes the Bursar Houghton as a Fellow intruded by the Visitors.

expulsions were proclaimed at College gates by beat of drum, and military measures were taken to ensure departure.

Next year (1649) the death of the King was followed by an order to take the 'Engagement', which required men to swear to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England, 'as the same is now established without a King or house of Lords.' This certainly put a severe strain on many, who had been willing to try and conform to a Presbyterian Visitation, and it was to this new Test that the ultimate expulsion of some of our Fellows was due. It is not necessary to suppose that the men who had, almost with one accord, gone forth from Brasenose to exile and penury were narrow partisans of Laud and Charles. If such they were, they had been willing to suffer for conscience' sake, and their memory needs no better warrant. But there were thousands of men in England who had endured and fought for Church and King without approving the tyrannies of Laud or the political stratagems of his master.

The Visitation had been at first a party triumph for the Presbyterians whose watchwords were enforced in the University, but it was now for the other side to prescribe a test. For, with the death of the King, and the victories of Cromwell over the Kirk in Scotland, the cause of the Presbyterians was definitely lost. And of this change Oxford reaped the benefit. After 1651 the Visitors were less rigid in policy, and a wider view began to hold sway. The best hope for Oxford was that moderate men should now be allowed a chance to free the place from the din of conflict. Perhaps neither the Presbyterians nor those whom they had displaced could really point the new way. Prynne and his fellows had undone the work of Laud, but it was now to Cromwell's moderation and good sense that Oxford must look. If he could make the more narrow-minded of his colleagues let her alone she might yet flourish under his rule. For he was now our honoured Lord and Chancellor, and the wheel had gone full circle.

IV. BRASENOSE UNDER CROMWELL

With the triumph of Cromwell and the Independents the nation, though freed from the rigours of Presbytery, was subjected to the rule of the Saints and the Sword. This was to prove more intolerable than that of the Stuarts, but to Oxford, already sated with strife and change, there came a period of recovery. The new Chancellor meant the 'purged' University to live her own life. Clarendon,[1] inveighing against the 'barbarous depopulation' which had occurred here, seems to urge that the innate vitality of the place enabled a recovery despite the new regimen to which it was subjected. But such a view does scant justice to the men who were working to restore life to the Colleges after the apathy and ruin of civil war.

Such a man was the new Principal, Daniel Greenwood. That Brasenose recovered much ground, and became both prosperous and distinguished during the Commonwealth, is due, in part, to the sense and earnestness which he brought to his task. It was fortunate too that the College, after a flagrant career of opposition, settled down in 1650 to something like its true functions. Yates, with a legitimist title in his pocket, gave no trouble. He remained a docile pretender, and actually held his Fellowship for some years, together with his living of Middleton Cheney, till finally deprived of both. Houghton, the cautious and adroit representative of the old order, might chafe at the Principal's 'Presbyterian gang, and their gossopping conventicles'. But he found plenty of work in the new buildings, and could not withhold a 'fayre respect to Doctor Greenwood'. Though the College was still empty and desperately in need of funds, the astute government of these two men soon ensured the payment of debts and the steady increase of numbers.

To these numbers Greenwood, when deposed at the Restoration in 1660, adverted with dignified pride.[2] Even

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, X, 124.

[2] 'And whereas there were at my return to ye coll: scarce 20 persons both of Fell: and Schol: resident, there are now (for the most part) above 120.'

the implacable Wood can scarce forbear to render some praise to Greenwood, whom he describes as 'a severe and good governor, as well as in his Vice-Chancellorship as Principality'. He was made V.C. in 1650, and reappointed next year in the following letter from the Chancellor to Convocation:[1]

> Reverend Sirs,
>
> Finding it incumbent on mee to nominate a Vice-Chancellor for the University, it had somewhile since (in due season) been performed, but that many important affairs of the Commonwealth did interpose in my thoughts. I doe now recommend unto you Dr. Daniel Greenwood, Principall of Brazen-nose College (who at present exerciseth that office), of whose ability and zeale for Reformation I have received abundant testimony, to be Vice-Chancellor for the yeare ensuinge, nothing doubting but that hee and you all will soe endeavour the improvement of those publique ends to which you are design'd, that all of us who are concerned in the welfare of the University may in some measure answer the mind and will of him who hath so graciously continued (with innumerable other mercyes) such advantages of piety and literature, and withall satisfye the expectation of the Commonwealth.
>
> Sirs, I am your assured Friend and Chancellour,
>
> O. Cromwell.
>
> Whitehall, Oct. 2.

Greenwood was succeeded in 1652 by Owen, Dean of Christ Church, and on the occasion of the new appointment Cromwell again referred to the 'integrity, care, and vigilancy of Dr. Greenwood'. As Vice-Chancellor the Principal had to restore the normal University business, much of which had lapsed during the period of war, and also to keep and maintain order amid the still dangerous relics of undisciplined times. He revived the Chancellor's court, and the old ceremony of the 'Act' whereat degrees were given amid the licensed impertinences of an undergraduate, who was allowed to make a speech on current topics. Herein Greenwood established a record. For, in view of the ribald remarks to be expected from the *terrae filius*, and the possibility of an unruly 'cavalier' element, he presided over the 'Act' with a guard of troopers, as became a Cromwellian Vice-Chancellor. An

[1] Burrows, *Reg. Vis.* 388–9.

armed Puritan band, they formed a striking addition to the V.C.'s procession, and received £2 13*s.* 4*d.* as their 'gratuitie'. There must have been a goodly military display on more than one occasion; for, though their numbers are not given, the College paid £11 for 'swords and pistols' for the use of these gallant and novel 'pokers'. Perhaps the best evidence of Greenwood's success, apart from the great Oliver's compliments, is the fact that no serious disorders are recorded. Yet the menace was real, and he put forth a printed warning:[1]

'that distemper here growne to a very great height, manifesting itself in foule riots and malicious actions against persons of sober deportment, and of godly conversation, at and for their private meetings for the worship of God, such as are assaults, Robbings, beatings, cruell whippings, and desperate threatnings—so that they dare not adventure forth of their houses after daylight is down.'

Hence all scholars were enjoined to 'forbeare the wearing and carrying about them of any manner of Armes or weapons'.

In College the undergraduates were becoming more numerous despite the Presbyterian methods. There were probably plenty of parents who had feared to find in Oxford a seminary or an arsenal, but were content to send their sons to Brasenose, even if there were now orders for prayers every evening in Tutors' rooms, and a meeting in Hall on Sundays to discuss the sermon. It is often said that these Puritan solemnities were overdone, and poisoned the springs of English gaiety. If this be so Brasenose at least had her own antidote, for one of the Fellows, Jack Glendall, was the best known amateur actor in Oxford, and a happy *terrae filius*, some of whose jests are recorded by Wood. The increase in numbers is proved by the names on the Buttery books, and bears out Greenwood's boast:

Average number of residents batelling per week.

1648 (fourth quarter)	1649 (fourth quarter)	1659 (third quarter)
29	59	91

Meanwhile the College was being recruited from outside.

[1] Wood. 276 A. No. 319.

Greenwood managed, with the taint of nepotism which attaches to some of the best men of those days, to secure fellowships in Brasenose for two of his nephews, Daniel and Nathaniel. Of more interest to modern members of the College is the name of a youth who in 1649 came up from Lancashire, William Holme or Hulme, probably in later years the unwitting founder of our greatest benefaction. But far the best known man intruded by the Visitors was the versatile Sir William Petty, sailor and clothier, mathematician and physician, economist and surveyor, M.P., naval architect, and anatomist. During the time he spent here he was intimately connected with that brilliant body of scientific men who met in his rooms in Brasenose, and in the lodgings of Warden Wilkins at Wadham. These meetings bore fruit in the foundation of the Royal Society, of which Petty was an early and distinguished member. He appears to have lectured in college on mathematics, and for the University on anatomy, in which latter work he used a 'pickled body'. A Vice-Principal who could restore to life a 'mayd', already duly hanged in Oxford Castle, must have made some impression upon the young men under his charge, especially upon those for whose instruction he had intended to 'anatomise' the body. The royalist wits did not miss the chance of inquiring whether Dr. Petty had been careful to see that the lady had taken the 'engagement' before her 'restoration'.

But such a man could not long be spared to teach in College. Cromwell had 'settled' Ireland, and Petty was needed first to tend the sick in the Army there, and then to show how the lands should be surveyed for distribution among the English immigrants. After protracted negociations with a somewhat pedantic governing body he secured leave of absence. It is significant that this period is marked by an innovation whereby Oxford men were allowed to hold their Fellowships while doing important work outside the University. Another Brasenose man, Samuel Bruen, was given leave to travel. The College had some dispute with the Protector, who wished to use a man like Petty for the service of the State. In October, 1653, the Council of State wrote

'to the Master of Brasenose College', that 'Dr. Pettye's longer stay in Ireland is needed for the public service, and to desire him that nothing may be done in Pettye's absence to his prejudice, either in disposing of his fellowship or any benefit accruing thereby'. But the College, after some years, felt that it was not right to allow the Chancellor to get his work done in that distressful country at the expense of Brasenose. In July, 1658, it is recorded in the College books that 'at a meeting of the Principal and Senior Fellows it was agreed that Mr. Principal and others should goe to his Highnesse the Lord Protector to return the answer of the College to his Highnesse order concerning Dr. Pettie's allowance'. There is no record of this visit, and indeed the Protector was dying, but Petty's time as a Fellow of Brasenose was not likely to last through the changes which led up to the Restoration, and he had to retire. Charles the Second was, however, more generous than Oxford to subscribers of tests. Having himself taken the Covenant in his day, he easily passed over such trifles in a man of Petty's powers and attractions. Apart from his interest in the Royal Society, the King seems to have taken special notice of a double-keeled boat which Petty invented, though when he offered to back it against the royal vessels Charles, with unwonted caution, 'would not lay'.[1]

If the work of such men as Petty was to bear fruit in the Royal Society, there was also the name of Ashmole, which was soon to connect Brasenose with the great antiquarian movement of the day.[2] Wood himself deigned to consort with some of the intruded Fellows, when music or research was their hobby. Of these was Nathaniel Greenwood, to whom Wood more than once records his gift of 'pye' and apples at supper, and with whom he worked at some antiquarian problems.[3] But even more stable than these famous associations were the new buildings which the College owes to this period, comprising the present chapel, library, and cloisters. These are due in the first place to the

[1] Pepys' *Diary*, ii. 89. [2] See Mon. XII, pp. 18, 19.
[3] O. H. S. xix. 266-7.

munificence of the late Principal Radcliffe, and in the second to the energy and resource of the governing body, especially of Houghton. This sole representative of the old ideas was at first rather out of his element in the new surroundings. Greenwood ('Moses' as Houghton and others called him among themselves) was, of course, an old friend; but the young men intruded by the Visitors were not very appreciative of Houghton's experience, nor of his presence despite all tests. At first he records that things seemed to all rather uncertain, and even the Principal is reported to have said, 'God knows how soon we may be dispersed.' This did not mean an anticipation of the royalist triumph which ultimately ousted them from College, but rather referred to the strength of the Independents, soon to be sealed by Cromwell's victories at Dunbar and Worcester. 'If they sitt fast in the saddle and this Engagement shake them not out of it,' wrote Houghton to Yates in 1650.

Radcliffe had left money to build a Chapel and a Library, together with a building 'on the east side opposite the kitchen, with pillars, which will make a walk under it, ye greate want of Brasenose Colledge'. It is a great tribute to the vigour of her recovery and the courage of her sons that, though still in debt and uncertain as to part of the benefaction, Houghton and his colleagues began to buy materials in 1651. With the exception of the gables in the old quadrangle, added between 1607 and 1637, this was the first serious building enterprise. It was from the first entrusted to Houghton, and it is due to him to record that he has left to the College a very remarkable description of the whole work. For more than ten years the building went on, if the preparation of materials is to be considered as part of it. The earliest records of beginning to get timber into college are in 1651, and at once the carpenters and sawyers are started. Some of the material is derived from the 'late dissolved St. Marie College', which was the property of Brasenose, and upon the site of which Frewin Hall now stands. Houghton's accounts are a monument of care and precision. In nearly a hundred closely written pages he records every little point, the value

of the old materials, the names and wages of each workman, the 'bevers' (drinks) which were given them on great occasions such as the bringing in of the 'last tymber' from the woods. The actual building begins March 22, 1656, and the Library was commenced in November, next year; 'Here begins ye preparation work for ye new Lybrarie.' The accounts and the work cease from January, 1660, till August, 1661, owing to the disturbed state of things at the Restoration. There was no architect in the modern sense, but it is a coincidence that in this, the only important new building till 1882, the responsible person was named Jackson. He describes himself as 'chief workman and surveyor', and from him is derived the best information as to the cost of the whole. Houghton spent £2,390 13*s.* 4¼*d.* up to December, 1658, but after that date his accounts become rather difficult to follow owing to the system he had of merging with them a current account between himself and the governing body for advances of cash. Jackson is, however, quite clear, and states that £3,000 has already been spent in April, 1661, and that £660 will be required to complete the whole. If we conclude that the college spent, first and last, the equivalent of £12,000 in modern money it will not be far wrong. Among the more interesting items may be noted the beautiful wainscoting, lately cleaned and restored, which cost (in 1666) £100, and the marble at the east end, recently renewed by a generous hand, which came to £52 10*s.* These items are, however, not part of the building cost, but in excess of it.

It would not be right to leave this subject without noticing the curt reference which Wood[1] makes to this benefaction of the late Principal. Radcliffe, he says, 'playing the knave with the college', they were left to finish some of the work themselves. This refers especially to some almshouses at Steeple Aston, but it will be best to attempt here some explanation of the grounds for Wood's statement. Soon after Radcliffe's death an action was brought against the College by some of his representatives. The plaintiffs claimed

[1] O. H. S. xix. 145.

a large sum due, they contended, to the estate of the deceased and devised in his will. The facts are chiefly connected with the Visitation of 1643, to which reference has already been made. There are still in college the voluminous papers and interrogatories belonging to the action. It appears that, in the financial inquiry of that date, it was discovered by the Bishop's deputies that Radcliffe held two important college leases. These were at once sold by order of the Visitors, and the proceeds devoted to paying some of the more pressing debts, which were the ground of the Visitation. The plaintiffs, relying upon a very explicit statement in Radcliffe's will, now urged that the College undertook, at the time, to repay this sum to the Principal. Indeed, in his will, he treated it as an asset, and stated that he had a paper acknowledging the obligation to repay. Here the parties were at issue. The witnesses for the College, men like Yates, Houghton, and Greenwood, admitted that the leases had been held irregularly and contrary to the Statutes, which of course forbade any member of the society to hold college property. But they stoutly denied that any obligation was laid on or admitted by the college, to repay any part of the sum raised by their sale. Witnesses for the plaintiffs, however, definitely referred to such an obligation, and some went so far as to suggest that the paper, promising payment, had been in Radcliffe's possession at his death, and had been purloined by Sixsmith. This had been indignantly denied by the latter, but in the end the court held that the indebtedness of the College was proved, and insisted that the governing body should come to an agreement with the plaintiffs upon that basis. Hence it was that Houghton was able to say that the College in the end spent more on the new buildings than they had received from Radcliffe.

This, then, is the ground of Wood's statement. It is difficult to see any escape from the maze constructed by this complete divergence in the evidence given by honourable men. But in defence of the Principal two points seem worth noting. First, the illicit holding of the leases was not denied by either of the parties. These were the usual beneficial leases, and

were commonly granted to persons who made a handsome profit by subletting.[1] It is difficult to believe that Radcliffe held those in order to make money for himself. For then the entire governing body must have been party to an irregularity which would put money in his pocket. He was a man who deplored the losses of the College during the war, and whose little economies in College business are clear. It is far more likely that the College, pressed exceedingly for money throughout the period, allowed him to hold the leases in order to secure for the College the profits which normally accrued on subletting. Again, the clear statement in his will that this was his own money and must be repaid to him, may very well be due to the fact that the will was made when he was ill and not clear in his mind. Of this two confirmations appear in the document itself. One of the Fellows in court suggested this explanation, and pointed out that the will expressly states that he drew it up without professional assistance. And at the end Radcliffe gives an inventory of the things he found in his lodgings when he came back from London, 'newly confirmed Principal.' Such a statement from one who had just been ordered by the London Committee to be dispossessed,[2] gives colour to the suggestion that his mind was unhinged.

Without maintaining that this is a complete explanation, it may yet be contended that Radcliffe was no knave. On the back of one of the papers in College connected with this lawsuit some one has written 'Radcliffe was a knave'. A later hand has added this tempered reproof: 'there does not seem to be sufficient matter in these papers and in the proceedings of the Commission of 1643 to justify so harsh a censure. Dr. R.'s great benefaction to the College should secure his memory from all dishonourable imputations which are not founded upon the most positive and direct evidence.' At this date one who has read these papers can do no more than concur in refusing to brand the name of a Principal,

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, v. 805.

[2] Cf. ante, p. 47.

who left the College the bulk of his fortune, and against whom no other breath of suspicion is discoverable during a headship of thirty-four years.

The period of Cromwellian rule, though it had seen Brasenose recover health and prosperity, could not last. With the death of the Protector, Richard Cromwell succeeded him as Chancellor, but all political conditions were pointing to a complete reaction. When this was accomplished the King came back to his own and Oxford experienced yet another turn of fortune. A Commission under the Great Seal was appointed to name a body of men who should supervise the restoration of the ejected Fellows, and upon this body John Houghton was chosen to sit. He had spent the ten years in uninterrupted supervision of the new buildings. Since November, 1657, he had been given 'sole charge of finishing new Chappell and building a new Library upon a cloyster with buttresses acc to ye modell'. With this work now almost completed he had the pleasure of arranging for the restoration of his old friends, Yates, Newton, and others. A delegate for the defence of Oxford in 1642, a successful fugitive from the Visitors' tests, and now a powerful influence for reviving the old order, he still does not appear to have actually 'turned cat in pan', to use the delicate phrase of one to whom he may seem near akin.

This fresh change secures little note in the documents preserved in College. Doctor and Mistress Greenwood retired to Studley, and Doctor Yates with his lady came to the Principal's lodgings. The Fellows' names, when they are restored, appear again in the buttery books, and the Bursar 'paid Mr. Hawkins (ye paynter) for repayring ye Kgs arms in ye Coll Hall li1 : 10'. The College order for the administration of the Holy Communion seven times a year is re-enacted, and a fresh chapter in the history of Brasenose comes into sight.

In closing this phase of their story one word remains to be told of the men who were now living here. Much of their lives is shrouded from us, yet it seems clear that, although they were divided in opinion and severed by events, no

bitterness marred their fellowship. Yates, when restored to his headship, was willing and nearly contrived to give his rival Greenwood an asylum within the College itself. Houghton had stayed on and eaten the bread of his College when many, with whom he professed to agree, had gone forth to seek new means of livelihood: yet they thought no scorn of him, and Jack Newton left him a legacy 'for his love to me in tyme of need'. Greenwood himself, when called to give evidence in the suit against the College, described Sixsmith, who had practised to deprive him of the Principalship, as far too honourable a man to purloin papers from Radcliffe's study. In such times, saturated and penetrated by religious and civil discord, the bands which linked these men in college comradeship were yet too strong to be sundered. They surely need no better witness, and we no brighter pattern.

APPENDIX A

Confirmation by the Visitor of the election of Principal Radcliffe, 1614

Richardus providentia divina Lincolniensis Episcopus, *Dilectis* nobis in Christo Viceprincipali et Scholaribus Aule et Collegii regalis aenei nasi alias de Brasennose in universitate Oxoniensi, Salutem, gratiam, et benediccionem. Accepimus litteras vestras ad nos datas e Collegio vestro, decimo sexto die mensis Decembris iam currentis, quibus, nobis cognitum vultis quod (vacante iam Praefectura seu officio Principalis dicti Collegii per mortem naturalem venerabilis viri Thome Singleton) vos secundum Statutorum dicti vestri Collegii prescriptum, ad eleccionem novi Principalis ritè providentes, venerabilem virum Samuelem Radecliff sacre theologie bacchalaureum Collegii vestri Socium, in Principalem dicti vestri Collegii elegistis, rogantes ut nos pro ea, quae nobis per Statuta dicti vestri Collegii competit, auctoritate, dictam electionem vestram approbare confirmare et ratificare, ipsumque Samuelem Radecliff sic electum in Principalem vestri Collegii praeficere dignaremur. *Nos* idcirco iuste huic vestre peticioni annuere et obsecundare cupientes, dictam electionem vestram per vos factam et nobis intimatam, quantum in nobis est, approbamus ratificamus et confirmamus, dictumque Samuelem Radecliff per vos sic electum in Principalem dictum Aule et Collegii praedicti praeficiendum esse duximus, prout per presentes praeficimus.

Tum a vobis requirentes ut eidem Principali vestro sic a vobis electo et a nobis ritè praefecto, omnimode debitam reverentiam et obsequium iuxta Statutorum dicti Collegii exigentiam prestetis, tum deum optimum maximum omnis bone donationis authorem nomine et ipsius Principalis et omnium vestrum obnixe rogantes uteidem Principali vestro donare dignetur ut in omnibus dicti Collegii negotiis peragendis afflatu Spiritus Sancti ductus tam pie prudenter provide et pacifice dicto fungatur officio, ut spei vestre de eo concepte et votis vestris piis virisque pietatis et probitatis vere studiosis dignis in omnibus respondeat. *Datum* sub Sigillo nostro Episcopali Vicesimo die mensis decembris Anno domini Millesimo sexcentesimo decimo quarto nostreque Translationis Anno primo.

APPENDIX B

Wages Paid to the Officers and Lecturers of the College for the quarter ending att Christmas, 1634[0]

Imprimis to Mr Leigh se. Viceprincipall his wages xvs
Item to him for his Chaplainshipp xvjs viijd
Ita est Edm. Leigh.
Item to Mr Gabriel Richardson for Palin's exhibition xxs
Ita est Gabriel Richardson.
Item paid more to Mr Gab. Richardson for Kertleton lecture xs
Ita est Gabriel Richardson.
Item paid to Mr Raph Richardson for Palin's exhibition xxs
Item paid to him more for Kertleton lecture xs
Item more paid to him for his Chaplainshipp xvjs viijd
Ita est Raphe Richardson.
Item paid to Mr Hutchins for Palin's exhibition xxs
Item paid more to him for his Bursarshipp iijs iiijd
Ita est Williā Hutchins.
Item paid to Mr Richard Hill for his Bursarshipp iijs iiijd
Edmund Leigh.
Item paid to Mr John Trafford for Palin's exhibition xxs
Ita est John Trafford.
Item paid to Mr Tho. Cooke for ye Hebrew lecture xxxs
Ita est Tho. Cooke.
Item paid unto Mr Thomas Sixsmith Mr of the Hall xxs
Ita est Thomas Sixsmith.
Item paid unto Mr John Newton Custos Jocalium iijs iiijd
Ita est Johannes Newton.
Item paid unto Mr Daniel Greenwood for ye Greeke lecture xxs
Ita est Dan. Greenwood.
Item paid unto Mr Robert Heywood for ye Humanity lecture xxs
Item paid more to him for his Chaplainshipp xvjs viijd
Ita est Robt. Heywood.
Item paid unto Mr John Houghton for ye Philosophie lecture xxs
Johes Houghton.

Item paid unto D. Byrom ju. for ye Rudolph lecture xvjs viijd
Ita est Radulphus Byrom.
Item paid unto D. Porter Bibleclarke xs
Ita est Roger Porter.
Item paid unto Mr Bostock for Mris Morley's lecture xjs viijd
Ita est Nath. Bostocke.

APPENDIX C

Commemorations, 1635

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Jan. 3. Att Founder Smith's Coñemoration to ye Princ. & fell. &c.		10	5
Paid to ye Manciple for gaudies then	4	7	3½
Paid then for wyne ye same day	1	1	10
Jan. 11. Att Humfray Ogle's Coñemoration To Mr. Principall 20d & to 15 fell. 15s & to 2 scholl. 2s		18	8
for wyne ye said day att Dinner		1	4
Jan. 27. Att Mris Morley's Comemoration To ye Warden of New College viiid			8
Item for a Dinner for ye Warden ye same day	2	13	0
And for wyne att ye same dinner		11	8
Feb. 6. Att Math. Smith's Coñemoration To Mr. Principall 2s and unto 15 fell. 15s		17	0
Feb. 13. At Dr Nowell's Coñemoration To Mr. Principall 2s 6d To Mr. Vice Princ. 20d To 15 fell. 15s To ye scholl. & substitutes 14 singulis 8d 9s 4d	1	8	6
April 19. At ye Lord Mordaunt's Coñemoration To Mr. Princ. ijs To 13 ffellowes & oo schollars singulis xviijd	1	2	6
Maii 4. Att Edward Derbyes Coñemoration To Mr. Princ. ijs To 14 ffellowes 12 a peece		16	0
June 6. Att Sr John Ports Coñemoration To Mr. Viceprincipall xxd And unto 18 fellowes xviiis Biblclarke iiijd	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Septemb. 5. At Mris Franklands Comemoration: To Mr. Principall iiis iiijd To Mr. Viceprincipall ijs vjd To 11 fell. & 3 scholl. 28s	1	13	10
Item for gaudies ye same day p Billa	3	18	1
Octob. 4. Att Founder Suttons Comemoration To ye Princ. viceprinc. & reliquis sociis & scholaribus sing. vd in toto		10	5
Item paid more for gaudies	4	3	7
Octob. 30. Att Mr. John Coxe his Comemoration To Mr. Princ. iijs iiijd To ye Subwarden of Newe Coll. iijs iiijd To Mr. Viceprinc. xxd To 12 ffellowes singulis viijd		16	4
To Jo. Shelton for wyne cakes & ale		1	9
Novemb. 5. Att Mr. Will. Porter's Comemoration To Mr. Princ. xxd To Mr. Subwarden of Newe College xxd And to 12 ffellowes 12d		15	4
Novemb. 30. Paid att Sir Rich. Harpur's Commemoration to 18 fellowes singulis 2s in toto	1	16	0
Md 20s of ye former sume is putt downe in forensicis			
Item bestowed in gaudies ye same day		13	8
Item for a fire allowed in ye Hall		2	6

Sum tot £30 0*s.* 4½*d.*

APPENDIX D

Some items from the Magazine Accounts

To Bolt for 3 qter of wheat at 5/ the Bush.	£6 : 0 : 0
To Mr Eldridge, for one flitch of Bacon, weighing 51li at 5d the pound	1 : 1 : 0
For 46 pd of salt butter, at 6d the pound	1 : 3 : 0
For 300 of cheese, for waighing and portage of it	4 : 5 : 6
For 40 cheeses	2 : 7 : 0
For 4 bushel of Pease at 3/ the Bushell & portage	12 : 6
For 6 Bushel of oatmeale, abateing $\frac{1}{16}$ part of a bushel at 5/6 the bushel	1 : 10 : 8
For 2 small Pottes of butter at $4\frac{1}{4}$ the pound	13 : 4
For 143li of salt butter, for the pottes and excise	2 : 18 : 11
For 100li of rice at 6d the pound and for a bag to put it in	2 : 11 : 0

XII

The College under the later Stuarts

By Richard Lodge M.A.
Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh
Late Fellow of the College

THE COLLEGE UNDER THE LATER STUARTS

1660–1714

The Brazen Nose without a Face
That doth the Learned College grace.
(*Merry Drollery*, Lond., 1670, p. 144.)

The Brazen Nose that o'er the Gate
Maintains full well many a Latin Pate.
(Ibid., p. 145.)

At no period was Oxford more closely associated with the main current of national history than in the seventeenth century; and the reigns of the later Stuarts, though marked by less acute disturbances and excitements than those of the great civil war, will always rank among the most stirring epochs in University annals. Nowhere were the results of the Restoration more rapid or more far-reaching. Twice in the reign of Charles II did Parliament meet in Oxford, once in 1665 when the plague was raging in London, and again for the short, exciting, and decisive session of 1681. Nothing did more to alienate the Church and the Tory party from James II than his attempt to introduce Roman Catholics and their teaching into Oxford, and the actual conversion of one of its fairest Colleges into a Popish seminary. The consequent Revolution and the schism of the non-jurors raised those fundamental questions as to the relations of Church and State, and the limits of obedience to secular authority, which have always had a special interest for Oxford men and a special prominence in Oxford history.

It cannot be claimed that in these great national issues, or in the University's connexion with them, Brasenose played a very prominent or decisive part. It did not produce among

its Fellows men who dominated the life of the University, as did Dr. Fell, the famous Dean of Christ Church, or his rival, Dr. Gilbert Ironside, Warden of Wadham. Nor did it train among its undergraduates men who rose to the highest positions in either Church or State. Yet the life of the College was doubtless affected by the larger problems of the age, and in a quiet and not always tangible way it must have contributed to their solution. It still drew most of its members from the families of the country gentry, i. e. from the very class which was raised to political ascendancy by the Restoration. Several Brasenose men sat in the Cavalier Parliament which restored the Anglican Church by the Act of Uniformity, persecuted the Dissenters by the Conventicle Acts and the Five Mile Act, and successfully checked Charles II's popish proclivities by passing Test Acts in 1673 and 1678. Some, but distinctly fewer, sat in those short and turbulent Parliaments which were stirred to intolerant frenzy by exaggerated stories of Roman Catholic plots, and strove to exclude the King's brother from the succession to the throne. More again found seats in the loyal Parliament of 1685, and in the post-Revolution assemblies which witnessed the hardening into some consistency of the party system. And all through the period the College sent out to country parsonages men who, for the most part, used their influence for 'Church and Crown' when the two interests were associated, but for Church rather than for Crown when they were divided.

The Restoration settlement of 1660 was marked at Oxford as elsewhere by conspicuous moderation. The King was brought back quite as much by the Presbyterians as by the cavalier churchmen, and for some months it was all-important to avoid any measures which might alarm or alienate the former. By a sort of spontaneous impulse the use of the Prayer Book was resumed in churches and college chapels.[1] But more caution was needed in dealing with offices and property. The Commission appointed by the Convention contained

[1] See Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), i. 313.

a number of men, like Bursar Houghton of Brasenose, who had been active and prominent University or College officers during the 'broken time'. When they set to work to consider the intrusions of 1648 and later years they acted in no vengeful or revolutionary spirit. Men who were regarded as Independents or 'sectaries' were ousted from headships and fellowships, and thus sufficient vacancies were created to enable the Commissioners to restore those of the evicted officers who were still living and unmarried. But a number of moderate Presbyterians were left undisturbed until the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, compelled them to choose between adhesion to the Established Church and resignation.

Among the most prominent members of the Presbyterian party in the University was Dr. Daniel Greenwood, the Principal of Brasenose. If he had been appointed to fill a lawful vacancy, it is probable that he would have kept his office. But it was against him that he had supplanted Principal Radcliffe during the latter's lifetime, and on August 10, 1660, he was removed by the Commissioners to make room for Dr. Thomas Yate, whom the loyalist Fellows had elected in 1648, in spite of military threats, as Radcliffe's successor. Greenwood, however, had provided himself with a refuge, and the use which he made of it seems to prove that the Act of Uniformity would have presented no more difficulty to him than the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. In addition to making him Principal in April, 1648, the Visitors had further gratified him in July of the same year by giving a Fellowship to his nephew, a second Daniel Greenwood, whom they brought in from Corpus, Cambridge. This nephew resigned his fellowship in 1654 to take the Rectory of Steeple Aston, and there the deposed Principal found a home and a last resting-place. On his death, in 1674, he left £400 to the College,[1] so that he bore no grudge against the Corporation of which he had been so long an important member. Edmund Calamy describes him as 'a profound scholar and divine, and a circumspect governor'.

A legacy.

Three of the Fellows who had voted for Yate in 1648, John

[1] Wood, ii. 280.

Newton, Ralph Rawson, and Thomas Church, with one other, were restored by the Commissioners. To make room for them Samuel Bruen, the Scottish graduate who had been imported from St. Andrews, and two others were removed, while a fourth resigned his Fellowship.[1] There, for the moment, anything like drastic change came to an end. So strong was the spirit of compromise and concession that at the end of 1660 the Vice-Principalship was given to John Burscough, who had been brought in by the Visitors from Jesus, Cambridge, to fill the Fellowship from which John Newton had been evicted. John Houghton remained Senior Bursar to continue his superintendence of the now rising Library and Chapel. Nathaniel Greenwood, a second nephew of the late Principal, who had succeeded to the Fellowship vacated by his half-brother, Daniel, in 1654, retained his place in the governing body, and continued to hold various College offices until he became Rector of Cottingham in 1681. A younger brother of Nathaniel, Moses Greenwood, who had matriculated in the last year of his uncle's Principalship, was appointed the first master of Charlbury School, of which the College became Visitors by the will of Anne Walker. And the dynasty of Greenwood continued into a third generation. Two sons of the Rector of Steeple Aston became, the one an M.D. of the College, and the other a Fellow in succession to his uncle Nathaniel. The family of the one Puritan Principal clung rather tenaciously to the College.[2]

Even when the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662, only one Fellow, Thomas Adams, who had been elected in 1652, resigned rather than accept its provisions. But the ascendancy of the Anglican party was now undisputed, and we find that in this year Rawson and Church, two of the restored Fellows, held the important offices of Vice-Principal and Senior Bursar. In the next year John Houghton and John Burscough resigned their Fellowships, though the former moved no further than to Black Hall, opposite the gateway, where the Radcliffe now

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] The family tree for three generations, showing a Principal and three Fellows of the College, is given in Wood, i. 267.

stands. There he added a new wing to the house, and was allowed to admit to it scholars of the College, and no others, on such rent as might be agreed between them and him.[1] There he died on August 7, 1677, and he was buried in the cloister whose building he had supervised.[2]

The absence of anything like vengeful or thorough-going change in the governing body in 1660–2 is due, partly no doubt to the general character of the Restoration, but partly also to the fact that Brasenose suffered less than some other Colleges from the rule of the Parliamentary Visitors. There had been no real breach of continuity, except in the Chapel services. Daniel Greenwood was no alien imported from elsewhere to fill the headship. He had been a Fellow of the College since 1629, and had been elected to various College offices[3] since 1630. After his appointment as Principal he showed himself a loyal and efficient administrator. In 1652 he revived caution money as security for the payment of College accounts, and it was under his rule that the building of the new Chapel and Library was begun. If he was guilty of nepotism he only followed the fashion of other Principals of his time, and there is no reason to believe that his nephews did anything to discredit their promotion. Although there was some friction between Greenwood and the Senior Fellows in 1656 about certain appointments and removals of which the latter disapproved,[4] it never assumed serious proportions or gave rise to scandal in the University. Even socially the College was not so given over to Puritanism as to abandon all gaiety. Probably the best-known don in Oxford during the Commonwealth was Jack Glendall of Brasenose, one of the *terrae filii* in 1655, the cleverest of amateur actors and the cheeriest and most amusing of boon companions. Yet Glendall, whose early death in October, 1660, cast a shade

[1] Principal's Fine Book, June 16, 1666. [2] Wood, ii. 388.

[3] College offices in the seventeenth century were not held, like the Vice-Principalship and the Bursarship in the present day, for considerable consecutive periods, but circulated freely among the Fellows. The chief offices, however, were generally monopolized by the Senior Fellows.

[4] Vice-Principal's Register, B. 82.

of gloom over Royalist exultations, was one of the nominees of the Puritan Visitors, and was appointed to the very fellowship of which Thomas Yate, the rejected Principal, had been deprived.[1] If the Puritans captured Oxford in 1648, Oxford in its turn captured its conquerors. An attempt to abolish the licensed buffoonery of the *terrae filii* in 1658 ended in ignominious failure, though one of them in that very year was expelled, and the other had to apologize to Congregation on his bended knees, and pledge himself that he would never again offend the chastest ears.[2]

Thomas Yate, the restored Principal, had therefore an easier task than if the previous years had been more revolutionary. Evicted from the Rectory of Middleton Cheney, of which he owned the advowson and which he had held with his Fellowship down to 1646, he had spent the years of his deprivation as a practising solicitor.[3] He now brought his legal knowledge and acumen to the service of the College, of which he is rather magniloquently described (on the tablet outside the Chapel) as 'the third founder'. For the completion of the Library and Chapel, the opening of which is the most prominent event of his Principalship, he can claim no special credit, though he was assiduous in collecting subscriptions to defray the expense of their erection. But he put together the most important of the College records in his 'leiger-book', and he did much to restore order in the College finances. Caution-money, originally instituted in 1593 and revived in 1652, was re-enacted in 1662, and was raised to £8 for a gentleman commoner, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* for an ordinary commoner, and £4 for any other undergraduate.[4] On April 23, 1663, it was decreed that a gentleman commoner must deposit £5 in addition to his caution-money, but this sum was to be refunded by the Principal if he presented the College with plate to the value of more than £5. In the same year we have the first exaction of degree fees by the College. The practice of giving entertainments to examiners and friends at the time of the Lenten exercises for degrees had been forbidden by the University in 1656.[5]

[1] See Wood, ii. 266, 322, 336. [2] Ibid., 256, 258.
[3] So says Wood, ii. 62. [4] Vice-Principal's Register, B. 91. [5] Wood, i. 207.

In Brasenose (and other Colleges soon followed the tempting example) the Principal and Senior Fellows set themselves to divert to the College the gain which would otherwise have gone into the pocket of the budding graduate. On December 3, 1663, they enacted that no one was to be presented for the B.A. degree until he had paid, in place of the forbidden 'caena quadragesimalis', 20*s.* if a commoner, and 13*s.* 4*d.* if of lower rank. For the M.A. degree Fellows were to pay £5 and others £4, and for the Doctorate these fees were to be doubled. On the same day it was imperatively laid down that every gentleman commoner, by the coming St. John the Baptist's day, and every future gentleman commoner within a week from his admission, was to give at least five pounds' worth of plate to the College on pain of immediate degradation from his lofty rank.

By these and similar measures the College achieved a fair level of financial prosperity. In 1665 it paid Hearth money on sixty-five hearths, while New College had only fifty-three, and Trinity thirty-nine.[1] For general purposes about 1681 it was rated at £300, which puts it eighth on the list of Colleges, between Merton and St. John's assessed at £400, and Queen's and Trinity at £200.[2] From another source we are informed that the revenue of Brasenose in 1680 amounted to £600 a year.[3] This might be multiplied by six or seven to express something like its modern value. In numbers the College held a fair place, generally about fifth or sixth on the list, throughout the century. And the Principal and Fellows were as careful to preserve the property and fabric of the College as they were to increase its income. In 1666 a solemn oath was imposed upon all members of the College who were not Fellows, and the Vice-Principal was instructed to have a handsome copy put up on a notice-board in a prominent place. Undergraduates had to swear (1) that they would observe the Statutes; (2) that they would respect and obey the Vice-Principal and other superiors; (3) that they would faithfully and honestly report to the cook, butler, and

[1] *Oxford City Documents*, 1268–1665 (O.H.S.), p. 79. [2] Wood, ii. 565.
[3] MS. Eng. Hist. d. i. p. 108.

other servants all that they received to eat or drink; and (4) that they would do all in their power to prolong the existence of the crockery, plate, furniture, walls, windows, &c., and whatever served for use or ornament. This last oath is enforced with an immense wealth of carefully selected verbs. Nothing is to be moved, or changed, or scratched, or deformed, or cut, or broken, or abused, or mutilated, or in any way defaced (&c., &c.) except in the way of ordinary wear and tear. Finally the oath prescribes that men will never help, encourage, or advise others to commit such offences, that they will do all in their power to stop them, and finally, if remonstrance fails, that they will convey to the Principal or the Vice-Principal the names and deeds of any miscreants within at least three days from the commission or discovery of their offence.[1]

The first notable academic event in Yate's Principalship was a dispute as to the tenure of the proctorship. The Caroline cycle, thrown into confusion in 1648, had been restored in 1651. But a mistake had been made by counting the day of election (the Wednesday after the first Sunday in Lent) as belonging to the expiring instead of to the approaching year. Following the rotation as it stood, Merton and Magdalen elected Proctors for 1662. But the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads of Houses desired the exact observance of the old cycle, which gave the election to Brasenose and Christ Church. The dispute was referred to Lord Clarendon as Chancellor. With the help of Bishop Sheldon, his constant adviser in all ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical matters, Clarendon decided in favour of the two latter Colleges.[2] Brasenose accordingly chose Thomas Frankland, who became Senior Proctor for 1662. Frankland's career is so unique in many ways that it deserves to be chronicled. He matriculated in 1649, and was appointed to a Fellowship, apparently by the favour of Principal Greenwood, in 1654. Two years later the Vice-Principal and the six senior Fellows presented an apparently unanimous protest

[1] This oath, with its preamble, is printed in Appendix B, as illustrating at once the Latinity of the governing body and its paternal care for the property and buildings committed to its charge.

[2] Clarendon's two interesting letters on the dispute are printed in Appendix C.

that as Mr. Frankland had been expelled not long beforehand, his election was null and void, and therefore he could not be considered a Fellow.[1] This protest must have been overruled. Frankland not only retained his Fellowship, but became Proctor in 1662, Senior Bursar in 1664, and Vice-Principal in 1667. He is described as 'haughty, turbulent and disagreeable', and cannot have been a very popular Vice-Principal. In the following year he resigned his Fellowship, abandoned his orders (he had taken the B.D. degree in 1663), and went to London to study medicine. By producing a forged diploma to prove that he was an M.D. of Oxford, he obtained admission as a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1675, and an *ad eundem* degree at Cambridge in 1676. But his unconciliatory manners continued to provoke ill-will, and his enemies ruined him by discovering the falsity of his Oxford diploma. Expelled from the College of Physicians, he took to literature. Oxford rumour [2] assigned to him the authorship of a pretentious but fairly learned pamphlet on 'the Honours of the Lords Spiritual asserted and their Priviledges to vote in capital cases in Parliament maintained by Reason and Precedents'. This was published in 1679 in connexion with the impeachment of Danby. He was more certainly the author of *The Annals of James I and Charles I*, which appeared in 1681. But such books were insufficient to gain him a livelihood, and he had to fall back upon less creditable methods. In 1689 he was in receipt of £800 from the secret service fund, and he is also said to have forged a will. In 1690 the ex-Senior Proctor died in the Fleet Prison. The *Dictionary of National Biography* compendiously sums him up as 'impostor and annalist'.

In 1665 the Parliament, driven from Westminster by the plague, met at Oxford. To their great delight all undergraduates were sent home a fortnight before the session, and were not allowed to return for a fortnight after its close. Principal Yate was much perplexed to satisfy the demands made upon him to provide accommodation for members and their attendants. He writes to Sir Ralph Verney, who had

[1] Vice-Principal's Register, B. 82.
[2] Wood, *Athenae.*

applied on behalf of Sir Nathaniel Hobart, that, the Court having taken up Christ Church, Merton, Corpus, Pembroke, and Oriel, other Colleges were put to great straits. He had himself invited the Attorney-General (obviously his attachment was to the law) to his own lodgings, and promised rooms in College for his two sons. The Lord Chancellor's Secretary had written to ask rooms for four knights, 'but I hope it is but a thing he assumes, and that it is not by my lord's command.' He has designed where to lodge Sir Nathaniel, but is apparently perplexed by the difficulty, not of housing, but of feeding Lady Hobart. 'The great trouble Sir Nathaniel will be put unto will be for his diet in a College, if his Lady come along with him; otherwise those that are members of the House have names on the books, and dine and sup in our Hall.' Sir Nathaniel appears to have resided in College from the beginning of October to the second week in December, but there is no record of any batels in the name of Lady Hobart. Probably she stayed away rather than run the risk of starvation.

The consecration of the new Chapel took place on November 17, 1666,[1] the first stone having been laid on June 26, 1656. The Library had already been opened in 1663. Underneath the Library was the Great Cloister (now filled in with College rooms), and on the north side of the Chapel was the Little Cloister, of which part still forms a sort of portico to the Chapel. These cloisters became the burial-place of the College. Hitherto members who died within its walls had been buried in St. Mary's as the Parish Church. It is worth recording that between 1669 and 1689 no fewer than twenty-five burials took place in the cloister. There can be no doubt that Oxford in the seventeenth century was an unhealthy place. Small-pox was almost always rife, and Wood frequently makes the significant entry that 'small-pox was at this

[1] The official record of the consecration, in Latin, was printed from the College records in a volume of *Miscellanies* by the Oxford Historical Society in 1905. Since then an account in English has been found in Abingdon's *Antiquities of Worcester* (p. 192). For convenience of comparison the two accounts are printed in parallel columns in Appendix D.

time very brief', i. e. very speedily fatal. And although Oxford was spared by the great pestilence of 1665, it was often visited by a 'malignant feavour' which was 'looked upon as little better than the plague'. Young scholars, adds Wood, were glad of it that they might have excuses to go home.[1] And it cannot have added to the healthiness of a College to have the victims of these diseases buried within its walls. One of the most striking facts is the number of Fellows who died about the age of thirty.

The opening of the new Library and Chapel gave to the College new rooms and additional rents. The old Library (now IV. 3) became from the first a Fellow's rooms, as they have probably remained ever since. In 1678 we find that the large room was wainscoted for Mr. Hinde, the Bursar, at a cost of £43. The old Chapel and its premises took up the first and second floors on the modern No. I staircase. The inner Chapel, now the Senior Common Room, was turned into rooms and rated at £5 a year. The 'great cock-loft' over it (the three attic rooms over the Senior Common Room) paid the same rent. £3 was paid for the outer-chapel (now annexed to the Common Room) and also for the 'corner-chamber'(now I. 4), while the 'cock-lofts' over them were assessed at £2 apiece.

Oxford undoubtedly, and indeed inevitably, shared in the moral relaxation which resulted from the reaction against the excessive rigour of Puritanism. Wood, though no Puritan, constantly bewails the decay not only of discipline but of learning that followed the Restoration. Practices which had formerly been frowned upon, were now the fashion. It was almost necessary, if one wanted to be deemed a good royalist, 'to put out a wanton expression, and, as occasion served, a pretty little oath.'[2] On the other hand, overmuch study savoured of the precisian, and was enough to ruin a man's social reputation. Coffee-houses, a recent introduction into England, became as popular in Oxford as in London, and their frequenters spent much of the day in gossip and scandal.[3] Nor was their growth at all damaging to the more old-

[1] Wood ii. 254. [2] Ibid., i. 366. [3] Ibid., i. 168, 201; ii. 300.

fashioned tavern. Drinking was the vice of the age, and Oxford went with the times. Smoking was also at this period becoming an almost universal practice. And habitual excess in self-indulgence was by no means confined to undergraduates. Wood complains that the old distinctions of age and rank were completely neglected. Bachelors jostled Masters and Doctors, while undergraduates were hail-fellow-well-met with all.

Brasenose was no exception to the general rule. We find in a dinner bill of 1672 that nine quarts of claret were consumed at a cost of 9*s.* 9*d.*: that nine quarts of canary cost 19*s.* 6*d.*: that £1 0*s.* 7*d.* was paid for tobacco and pipes: while the charge for bread was 9*d.* The proportions are quite Falstaffian! If Wood can be trusted, the College must have witnessed a noble entertainment in 1669 when the Proctors (the Senior being a Brasenose man) 'drank out in wine at dinner at Brasenose the sum of £80'.[1] The undergraduates naturally imitated the dissipation of their seniors. 'Fresh nights' seem to have been licensed occasions[2]: but more irregular festivities took place out of College. In 1683 that most indefatigable of proctors and gossips, Mr. Arthur Charlet, arrested a citizen's daughter for 'dancing in the Miter Inn with Brasenose men in boy's apparel'.[3]

There is another story about the College which does not necessarily reflect upon the character of the inmates, but which would certainly startle the modern Don. On Sunday, October 22, 1671, at eight in the evening, a baby was left in the quadrangle. The child cried, and Mr. Richard Duckworth, the Vice-Principal, hearing it, went into the Buttery to fetch a candle in order to find it. In the meanwhile a Bachelor of Arts carried it away under his gown.[4] There the story ends. We can only hope that the B.A. was neither conscious of responsibility in the matter, nor a young anatomist seeking for material for study.

These anecdotes must not be taken as evidence of exceptional dissoluteness in Brasenose. At least equally damaging stories could be collected about almost any College at the

[1] Wood, ii. 165.
[2] Ibid., ii. 96.
[3] Ibid., iii. 57.
[4] Ibid., ii. 233.

same time. They are the sort of things which are recorded, while the ordinary wholesome conduct of life is forgotten. Antony Wood, who is our chief authority, was a malicious as well as an industrious collector of Oxford scandals. And it must further be remembered that such methods of indulging animal spirits and of consuming leisure moments were inevitable in default of other and more wholesome recreation. There was no boating, no cricket, hardly any football, and of course no golf, racquets, or other similar games. If a man wanted exercise, he must either ride, which was expensive, or walk, which to many was monotonous and dull. Wood quotes two rude hexameters as summing up the life of a studious man;

> Morn. mend hose, stu. Greeke, breakfast, Austen, quoque dinner,
> Afternoone wa. me., cra. nu., take a cup, quoque supper;

and translates them: 'in the morning mend his hose or stockings, study Greeke, break his fast, study Austen, then go to dinner; in the afternoon walk in Ch. Ch. meade, crack nuts, and drink, and then for supper.'[1] The idler man cut out the Greek and the Austen, put in the same meals, and extended the time for drinking. If he cracked nuts, he probably did so with his claret or canary. Games and athletic sports may have been overdone in modern times, but at least they have helped to keep men from loafing in taverns and from dancing at the Mitre with girls in boy's clothes.

And, even in the indolent days of Charles II, there was another and more serious side to College life. Neither tutors nor pupils were always in pursuit of pleasure. Dr. George Clarke, whom we shall meet again, writes in his brief but valuable autobiography: 'I went down to Oxford and entered myself at Brazen-nose College, under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Ralph Rawson, an old cavalier and admirable tutor. He used to read to us constantly twice a day, not excepting Sundays. I was the last pupil he took, and he left the College to go to his parsonage of Rollright in about a year, much too soon for my advantage.'[2] In the case of another Don,

[1] Wood, i. 234.

[2] See the Popham Papers (Hist. MSS. Comm.), p. 260.

Mr. James Hamer, we possess five letters to the brother of a pupil which show a real sense of a tutor's responsibilities and a genuine desire to fulfil them.[1]

Education in the later seventeenth century proceeded in the main upon conventional lines. The University provided a few Professors and Readers who occasionally delivered formal lectures, and would probably have been astonished if many undergraduates had attended. The ordinary man got his teaching within his College. Ever since 1614 Brasenose had provided four Lecturers, in Humanity, Greek, Hebrew, and Philosophy. No change took place except that Philosophy came to be called 'Natural Philosophy', and at the end of the century a fifth lectureship, in Mathematics, was instituted.[2] But in addition to their teaching, and the 'readings' of a self-sacrificing tutor like Ralph Rawson, another exercise was imposed on junior members of the College after April, 1663. Every day one or other of the undergraduates had at the mid-day meal to recite from memory some passage from an approved Greek or Latin author. After the recitation, he had to appear before the Principal, Vice-Principal, or the Senior Fellow dining, to be examined in the passage. The selection of the daily passage was to be made by the Principal, Vice-Principal, or Senior Fellow, at least three days before it had to be delivered. The task might also be imposed, out of the ordinary rotation, upon any B.A. or a scholar who had been guilty of serious delinquency or disobedience, and it might be repeatedly exacted in place of a pecuniary fine. If any one failed to perform the exercise, or showed any lack of diligence in doing so, he was to be *omnino puniatur* (whatever that may mean) by the Principal, Vice-Principal, or Senior Fellow.[3]

While College teaching remained on the whole unprogressive in scope and method, there was within the University

[1] These letters, which show how a seventeenth-century tutor dealt with a familiar problem, the getting rid of an undergraduate who has not quite deserved expulsion, are printed in Appendix E.

[2] The first election to the Lectureship in Mathematics was in 1700.

[3] Vice-Principal's Register, B.

a new educational departure in which one would like to claim for Brasenose at any rate a humble share. It was an age of eager curiosity and of real research in the domain of Natural Science, especially in Chemistry, Anatomy, and the study of Medicine in general. Charles II himself was keenly interested in these subjects, personally conducted experiments, and loved to discuss them with men like Roger Boyle and John Evelyn. London had its Royal Society, which has played so honourable a part in the development of Science, and Oxford had its Philosophical Society, at once a copy and a rival of its contemporary in the capital. Several of the early teachers of Science were imported from foreign countries.[1] But Oxford soon produced men who were capable of independent work of their own. Among the most eminent of the early students of Anatomy was William Petty, who, says Hearne, 'in the beginning of our Civil War (being very poor) came to Oxon, studied Physick, cut up doggs and taught Anatomy: in the war (after Oxon was taken) was made Fellow of Brasen-nose, the Visitors putting Loyal persons out, to put him and such others in.'[2] Evelyn [3] tells a story how Petty and three other students of Anatomy obtained the body of a young woman who had been hanged for child murder, found life not to be extinct, and succeeded in reviving her. On another occasion other students had a similar experience, but this time an over-zealous Mayor insisted upon recapturing the victim, and hanged her more effectually a second time, amid the well-deserved hoots of the mob.

Other Brasenose men pursued the same studies of which Petty, the first President of the Royal Society in Dublin, was one of the earliest prosecutors. Thomas Frankland, as described above, might have been a successful physician if he had not adopted dishonest methods of obtaining recognition. Edmund Entwistle, a Fellow of the College (1681–92), was one of the earliest members of the Philosophical Society, which met every Tuesday in the Natural History School.[4]

[1] See especially Wood, i. 472.
[2] *Hearne's Collections* (ed. Doble), i. 78.
[3] Evelyn's *Diary*, March 22, 1675.
[4] Wood, iii. 78.

Charles Leigh (a member of the College from 1679–89) took the degree of M.D., practised in London and Manchester, published a *Natural History of Lancashire* in 1700, and wrote largely on medical subjects. Unfortunately experts declare his writings to be of little value, and one adds that 'his vanity and petulance at least equal his want of literature'. He was, however, elected an F.R.S. in 1685. Edward Norris (matriculated in 1683), a brother of Sir William Norris, the famous envoy to India, and of Admiral Sir John Norris, who helped Peterborough to take Barcelona, was also an M.D., a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Physicians. Richard Boulton (matriculated in 1697) wrote numerous works on medical subjects, but his success as a practitioner was not proportional to his theoretical knowledge. Pierce Dod (matriculated in 1698) was more successful in practice, rose to considerable professional eminence in London, and was chosen to deliver the Harveian Oration in 1730. But his views were unprogressive, and he is chiefly remembered as a vigorous and outspoken opponent of inoculation. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, will serve to illustrate the growing interest in the study of medicine. It is probable that a larger proportion of Brasenose men proceeded to medical degrees between 1690 and 1710 than in any other equal period in the history of the College.

But, from the point of view of Oxford, the most eminent Brasenose name in connexion with the study of Science and kindred subjects in this period is that of Elias Ashmole. Ashmole's connexion with the College was an unusual one. He was born at Lichfield in 1617, became a solicitor, and in 1638 married a Cheshire lady, Elizabeth Mainwaring, whose family contributed more members to Brasenose than any other in the century. After his first wife's death he became a commissioner of excise, and in that capacity came to Oxford. The Mainwaring connexion attracted him to Brasenose, which he entered in 1644, and he devoted himself to the study of Mathematics and Physical Science. In 1649 he was married to a Lady Mainwaring, probably a connexion of his first wife, although she was twenty years older than himself, the widow

of three husbands, and the mother of grown-up sons. This second marriage involved him in violent quarrels with his stepsons and in protracted lawsuits, but it enabled him to 'enjoy his wife's estate, though not her company for altogether'. Being now comfortably endowed, he took up his residence in London and pursued his studies there. From his friend, John Tradescant, he received the bequest of the museum of curiosities which the latter had formed during an adventurous life, and he enriched it with his own collections. In 1677 he offered the museum to Oxford, on condition that the University would build a home to receive it. This building, between the Sheldonian and Exeter, was completed in 1682, and Robert Plot was appointed the first Curator. In 1690 Ashmole, though now so feeble that he had to be carried in a sedan chair, was entertained at dinner by the University in the upper room of the Museum in the midst of the rarities which were already housed there. The next day he dined with the Dean of Christ Church, and on the following day he was appropriately entertained by the Principal of his own College.[1]

Thus the Ashmolean is peculiarly a Brasenose benefaction to the University. By Ashmole's own direction the Principal of Brasenose was to be *ex officio* a Visitor of the Museum.[2] It has now become one of the glories of Oxford. And it is not a little gratifying to think that one of the most eminent of modern Brasenose men will be handed down to posterity as the second founder of the Ashmolean, and that among the generous and enlightened supporters who have aided Dr. Arthur Evans in carrying through his work of reform and expansion, not the least generous and enlightened has been the College of which Elias Ashmole was once a member.

Dr. Thomas Yate did not play the prominent part in the general affairs of the University to which his business abilities seemed to entitle him. He was never Vice-Chancellor, although, if he reckoned from his original election, he must have been among the most senior Heads of Houses. Perhaps the masterful Dr. Fell, who could brook no rival, was as

[1] Wood, iii. 334. [2] Ibid., iii. 109.

hostile to the elevation of Yate as he was to that of Ironside. But he found time amidst the cares of the College to be active in the management of the University Press, which after 1669 was housed in the basement of the new Sheldonian Theatre; he was specially chosen, on account of his legal knowledge, to represent the University in London during the great dispute as to the oath imposed upon the Mayor and citizens of Oxford[1]; and he was twice included in the list of delegates to whom the duke of Ormond, Clarendon's successor in the Chancellorship, transferred his power and jurisdiction during his absence in Ireland.

Yate lived through the sensational session of Parliament in 1681, when Oxford nearly became the starting-point of a new civil war. But he was dying at the time, and probably left to others the task of distributing rooms to the members and their attendants. On April 22 he died, and was buried in the Little Cloister close to the chapel door.[2] There can be no doubt that he holds an honourable place among those who have guided the destinies of the College. His chief fault was his eagerness to feather the family nest. His brother, Jeremiah Yate, was made Steward of the College, and died three months before the Principal. In 1667 we are told by Wood that 'a fellowship at Brasenose being void, two or three able and indigent scholars stood for it, but Dr. Yate, the Principal, being minded to prefer a kinsman, one William Yate a bachelor of Brasenose, to it, took all occasions to bring him in, but could not because he was a dunce and altogether uncapable. At length, certain of the fellows being absent or out of town on preaching, he called a meeting, and making a party, elected him'.[3] He adds the comment of a Christ Church man that 'men of merit were not preferred, but dunces and squint-eyed fellows'. This William Yate held his fellowship and his share of College offices until his death in November, 1679. Another nephew, Thomas Yate, whose father served as curate for the Principal and afterwards as

[1] Wood, i. 372.
[2] The inscription above his grave is given in Appendix F.
[3] Wood, ii. 107–8.

Rector at Middleton Cheney, became a Fellow in 1670, was appointed executor under his uncle's will, and followed him to the grave in January, 1682. Thus the Yate dynasty, unlike that of Greenwood, became extinct almost at the same moment. All four of its members, the Principal, the Steward, and the two Fellows, were interred in the cloisters. But a great-nephew of the Principal, a third Thomas Yate, held a Fellowship from 1690 to 1699, and the family name continued to appear from time to time on the College books through the foundation of a Yate Scholarship, with a first preference to kinsmen. The Principal also left to the College the advowson of Middleton Cheney, of which his brother Samuel remained Rector till 1693.

Of John Meare, who was elected by a majority to succeed Yate, we know little beyond his external history. Like his predecessor, he came from Cheshire; he matriculated in 1665, and he became a Fellow in 1670. He held with the principalship the livings of Great Rollright from 1687 and Middleton Cheney from 1693, and became Canon of Wells in 1703. In 1697 he was Vice-Chancellor of the University, but only held the office for one year. He followed recent precedents in using his patronage in favour of relatives. A nephew, Thomas Meare, was Fellow of the College from 1698 to 1715, having become Rector of Cottingham in 1714. And a son of the Principal, John Meare, held a fellowship from 1704 till his death in 1715. Another son and nephew were scholars of the College. It was not common in the seventeenth century for Heads of Houses, who generally married late in life, to have large families of their own, and it may be that Principal Meare thought more of domestic than of College administration.

Although the College as a whole has little history under Meare, its individual members were not without concern in the stirring events of the time. The Whig party was for a time almost annihilated after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament and the discovery of the Rye House Plot. Nowhere was Toryism more loudly triumphant than in Oxford. In May, 1683, the Duke of York, with his wife and daughter, paid a state visit to the University, and were formally wel-

comed by the various Colleges. Wood tells us that they drove in their coach along Brasenose Lane and were received by the Society 'in their formalities'. The Vice-Principal, Dr. John Blackburne, delivered an ill-spoken Latin speech, and Edmund Entwistle, a junior Fellow, 'spake one in English much better.'[1] In July the University decreed in Convocation that certain books by Hobbes, Milton and others, as containing 'damnable tenets and propositions', should be solemnly burned, and a grand bonfire was accordingly lighted in the Schools quadrangle amid the loud 'hums' of the surrounding Doctors and Masters. This was followed in September by the expulsion from the University of James Parkinson, whom Hearne calls 'a rank stinking Whigg'. Parkinson had matriculated at Brasenose as a servitor in 1669, but had left the College in the following year to become a scholar of Corpus, then the stronghold of Whig opinions in the University. From Corpus he was ejected in 1674 for abusing the President, and took his degree from Gloucester Hall. Nominated to a Fellowship at Lincoln on account of an excellent speech at the Encaenia, he continued to fearlessly express unpopular views on hereditary succession and the nature of sovereignty. His consequent expulsion gave him a claim on the Whigs, and in 1689 he was re-admitted to the University by Gilbert Ironside. Appointed by Archbishop Tillotson to the head-mastership of King Edward's School, Birmingham, his 'very furious and fiery' temper involved him in quarrels with the governors which nearly ruined the school. It is almost the only exception to the flawless Tory record of the College at this time that it was the first home in Oxford of the most notorious academic Whig of his generation.

Under James II Oxford loyalty was severely strained and ultimately broken by the injudicious favour which the King showed to a small group of Oxford papists. Their leader was Obadiah Walker, the Master of University College, and among his most intimate disciples was a Fellow of Brasenose, John Bernard or Barnard. A contemporary writes thus of

[1] Wood, iii. 53.

the little group[1]: 'His [Walker's] congregation consists of no less than four, he himself making one of the number, two poor sorry Fellows of his own College, and a shatter-headed Fellow of Brasen-nose College, one Bernard. They sing Mattins and Vespers very devoutly in their way—for aught I know—but they are become extremely despicable. Ridiculous to that degree that some young wags of Christ Church the other day sent old Job—a poor natural who looks after their college dishes and trenchers—with this song, which he sang at Walker's door—

O, Old Obadiah
Sing Ave Maria!
But so will not I a
For why a
I had rather be a fool than a knave a.'

John Bernard, the Brasenose protagonist in the unsuccessful attempt to restore Roman Catholicism, first in Oxford and then in England, was the grandson through his mother of Peter Heylin, the learned and pugnacious historian and controversialist. His father had been a Fellow of Lincoln, and wrote a biography of his father-in-law.[2] The younger Bernard followed his father to Lincoln in 1676, and took his B.A. degree from that College. In the next year he was elected to a fellowship at Brasenose. His descent from the blind champion of the cavalier party was enough to commend him to Obadiah Walker, himself a fanatical loyalist. Under the latter's influence Bernard became a convert to Roman Catholicism during the winter of 1685-6, and his change of faith was publicly avowed when he abstained from the sacrament at Easter and received (with Walker, Boyse, and Deane) a formal dispensation from the King, enabling him to abandon his membership of the established church without losing anything by doing so.[3] As a sort of advertisement of his conversion, he took the second

[1] MSS. of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall, p. 200.

[2] It is noteworthy that the rival biographer of Peter Heylin, George Vernon, was a Brasenose man.

[3] Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, i. 287; see also Wood, iii. 171, 177, 183-4; Le Fleming MSS., 199.

name of Augustine, double Christian names being at this time almost unknown in England. The gratified king rewarded him with a mandamus for a doctorship of Civil Law,[1] and with a royal nomination to the White Readership of Moral Philosophy.[2] That Bernard was not lacking in courage is proved by his venturing in his inaugural lecture to attack the Reformation and to defend his own change of faith. Wood records that the attendance was numerous, and that only 'five or six hissed at the conclusion, supposing the rest would follow (but did not)'.

It is possible that in May, 1687, when this address was delivered, both lecturer and audience were uncertain as to the issue of the King's endeavours. Within little more than twelve months all doubt had been removed. The majority of the dissenters refused to accept the proffered indulgence from a popish king; the trial of the seven bishops exasperated the Tory churchmen; and the birth of the Prince of Wales convinced good Protestants that it was no longer safe to wait for redress till James's death. So Tories and Whigs invited William of Orange to come over, and when James ran away to France, they had no feasible alternative but to put William and Mary on the throne. Before this was settled poor John Augustine Bernard found that a dispensation from an absentee king would no longer cover a breach of the law, and anticipated deposition by resigning both his fellowship and his readership. As he is the only Brasenose man in this period who held a University teaching office, it is disappointing that the circumstances of his appointment were so exceptional and that his tenure was so short and precarious. His subsequent history is obscure. He joined James in Ireland, and was kindly received by him. But after the battle of the Boyne, when his patron returned to St. Germains, Bernard is reported to have been found at Chester 'very poor and bare and reconciled to the Church of England', and to have been maintained for some time by the kindness of Bishop Stratford.[3] If it be

[1] Wood, iii. 215. [2] Ibid., 217; *Annals*, p. 152.
[3] Wood, iii. 340.

also true that he subsequently held the livings of Little Ludford and Kelstern,[1] then the disciple of Obadiah Walker must have abjured his master's political as well as his religious creed.

Many Tories, who had been driven in the interests of the Church to oppose the government of James, found a difficulty in taking the oath of allegiance to his successor. Considering the strength of Oxford traditions and the vehemence with which it had protested in 1683 against any attacks on the principle of hereditary right, it is rather remarkable that there were not more non-jurors in the University. In Brasenose Principal Meare took the oath on July 8, 1689, at the same time with the Vice-Chancellor, Gilbert Ironside, and President Bathurst of Trinity.[2] All the Fellows except one followed the Principal's example. The exception was William Pincock, whose fellowship had in 1684 been suspended by authority of the Visitor until the debt which he had contracted as Senior Bursar in 1682 had been made good to the College. Three undergraduates refused their B.A. degree rather than take the oath. The list of non-jurors, said to have been drawn up by the desire of James II, also records that James Eckersall, a Fellow of Brasenose, 'professed himself a penitent.'[3] But his penitence did not prevent his retaining his fellowship till 1699.

In Meare's later years his mind became deranged, and serious difficulties arose about the conduct of College business. On an appeal from the Fellows as to whether officers could be elected and accounts audited in the absence of the Principal, the Visitor decided at the end of 1708 that the existing holders should retain their offices, but authorized the Vice-Principal, James Smethurst, to audit the Bursar's accounts. But Smethurst died in 1709, and a new dispute arose as to whether his successor could be appointed. On appeal, the Visitor suggested that the seven senior Fellows should request from him such an interpretation of the Statutes as might enable them to proceed to the election not only of a Vice-Principal but of such other

[1] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, *s.v.*, John Bernard.
[2] Wood, iii. 305.
[3] *Life of Kettlewell* (London, 1718), App. p. xxxii.

officers as ought to be chosen annually. But the seven seniors proved to be divided; three voting for such a petition as the Visitor suggested, the other four opposing it as unnecessary and demanding the immediate election of a Vice-Principal. When the Senior Fellow dissolved the meeting, the four (who included Robert Shippen) proceeded to elect William Thompson, one of their number, to the vacant office. The Senior Fellow and his colleagues at once complained to the Visitor, who, in a warm reply, declared the election of Thompson void, and vested the authority of the Vice-Principal in the Senior Fellow. At the end of the year he again continued the existing officers.[1]

The difficulty was ended by Meare's death on May 18, 1710. On June 2 Robert Shippen, who had migrated to Brasenose from Merton in 1697 and had been elected a Fellow in 1699, was chosen Principal by one vote over Dr. Smith, a former Fellow and Principal of Hart Hall. Hearne compares the two candidates to Shippen's disadvantage, and attributes his election to his youth, to his superior worldliness, and to the expectation of the Fellows that they would 'live easy under him without prosecution of studies according to the modern custom'.[2] But Hearne is habitually unfair to Shippen, whom he did not hesitate to court when it was his interest to do so. A few years later, when a dispute arose about the living of Whitechapel, he says: 'This Shippen is so illiterate a man that he understands nothing of Latin. Nor can I learn that he ever yet preached. He is a mere Hocus Pocus, and very unfit for a cure of souls.'[3]

Principal Shippen, whether he was a model clergyman or not, belonged to a notable family. He himself was made Professor of Music in Gresham College in 1705 and a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1706. Two of his brothers had entered Brasenose before him. The elder, Edward Shippen, after taking his B.A. and M.A., was admitted Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine, and succeeded to the Gresham professor-

[1] This account is taken from a MS. List of Officers, &c., drawn up by John Holmes, Fellow of Brasenose (1770–88), and bequeathed by him to the College.

[2] *Hearne's Collections*, iii. 8.

[3] Ibid., vi. 16.

ship in 1710. The younger, William, who matriculated with Edward in 1687, migrated from Brasenose, after a year's residence, to Trinity College, Cambridge, entered into politics, and became famous as 'downright Shippen', the leader of the handful of Tories who opposed Walpole. Walpole declared him to be the only incorruptible man he knew. The Principal, soon after his election, married Frances, daughter of Richard Legh of Lyme, and widow of Sir Gilbert Clarke. In honour of his marriage the Fellows allowed him to extend the Principal's house southwards by annexing the rooms which lay between it and the new Library. On his election at Brasenose he handed on his professorship to one brother, while his marriage enabled him to enlist the Legh interest in favour of another brother, and thus to secure for William Shippen the safe seat at Newton (Lancashire), which he held for five successive parliaments. The only relative who benefited directly by Shippen's tenure of the principalship was a nephew, Robert Leybourne, who was Fellow from 1715 to 1730, when he took the Rectory of Stepney. He subsequently returned to Oxford as Principal of St. Alban Hall, and became his uncle's executor. Through him some of the famous Clarke papers, which had come to Principal Shippen as George Clarke's executor, passed to the Leybourne Pophams of Littlecote, a family which sent two representatives to Brasenose in a recent generation.

At a time when the governing bodies of Queen's and Jesus produced two eminent Secretaries of State in the persons of Joseph Williamson and Leoline Jenkins, it cannot be said that the Fellows of Brasenose achieved much eminence beyond the limits of the College or University. Richard Duckworth, who was made a Fellow by the Visitors in 1651, and who succeeded Daniel Greenwood in 1679 in the Rectory of Steeple Aston, was apparently a serious student. At any rate we have it on record that he borrowed a Codex from the Library at Leicester in 1671, and entered into a pledge for its restoration.[1] Matthew Hutton, who succeeded to Petty's fellowship

[1] Corporation of Leicester in the seventeenth volume of Hall Papers.

in 1659, was a diligent antiquary, as well as, according to Wood, 'an excellent violinist.' He resigned his fellowship in 1679 on taking the Rectory of Aynho, and employed his leisure there in compiling thirty-eight volumes of extracts from diocesan registers which were bought by Harley for £150, and are now among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum. William Ashton or Assheton, who was elected to John Houghton's fellowship in 1663, and resigned it to become a prebendary of York in 1674, was reported in 1689 as likely to succeed Cartwright in the bishopric of Chester,[1] and was one of the most fertile authors of religious books in his generation. Thomas Hinde, the Senior Bursar who had the old Library wainscoted, resigned his fellowship to become Dean of Limerick in 1680. James Holt, who was Fellow from 1668 to 1685, sat for Lancashire in the Parliament of 1685. Edmund Entwistle, already referred to as the first secretary of the Philosophical Society, became afterwards Canon and Archdeacon of Chester. The career of Thomas Frankland, perhaps the ablest Fellow since Petty, has been fully described. The list of notabilities is hardly imposing either in number or quality.

It only remains to say a few brief words about the distinguished men who spent some part of their lives in the College, but who are not otherwise connected with its corporate history. The two most eminent Brasenose men living in 1660 were Jeremy Taylor, whose connexion with the College was a brief one, and William Petty, who had been Fellow and Vice-Principal, but had been imported during an unpopular régime. Petty was one of the most versatile men of his time, equally distinguished as a man of science, as a practical administrator in Ireland, and as a political economist. Among those who entered the College during the period covered by this chapter, only two obtained distinction as men of letters: George Prince, the author of the *Worthies of Devon* (1701), who matriculated in 1660; and Thomas Carte, the most learned, though not the least prejudiced, historian of his generation. Carte entered University College in 1698 at the age of twelve,

[1] Wood, iii. 302.

migrated to Brasenose in the following year, and after taking his B.A. degree here was incorporated at King's College, Cambridge, from which he took his M.A. degree in 1706. His greatest work, the *Life of Ormond*, is still an invaluable repertory of information for Irish history in the seventeenth century.

A curious literary personage is also connected with Brasenose. In 1673 the University conferred the degree of D.Med. by diploma upon James Alban Gibbes, Poet Laureate to the Emperor Leopold and 'the Horace of his age'. He was the son of William Gibbes, a Brasenose man who had married into the Roman Catholic family of Stonor, had accepted his wife's faith, and was for a time physician to Henrietta Maria. The son was educated at St. Omer, studied anatomy at Padua, and settled, as a doctor, at Rome, where Evelyn visited him in 1644 and describes him as 'an excellent poet'.[1] A handsome appearance, the command of six languages, and some medical skill, earned him the patronage of popes and cardinals, while his Latin verses were rewarded by the Emperor with a medal and laureation. When Oxford gave him a degree, he presented the Emperor's medal to the University and placed his name on the books of his father's old College.

To the Church, with the exception of Jeremy Taylor, Brasenose gave no one of anything like the first rank. Wood assigns only three bishops to the College, though the number may be increased if Irish prelates are included. Nor was its contribution to the legal bench more conspicuous. Charles Ingleby, a Roman Catholic barrister, who narrowly escaped prosecution at the time of the Popish Plot, was knighted and made a Baron of the Exchequer in July, 1688. But the Revolution was fatal to his retention of judicial office, and he is one of the few men who have returned from the bench to practise at the bar. He was fined in 1693 for refusing the oath of allegiance. More eminent was Robert Eyre, who was a gentleman commoner of Brasenose from 1683–5. In 1684 he recited at the Encaenia a Latin poem on 'Vienna Liberata'

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*, November 4, 1644, and January 25, 1645.

—'incomparably well,' says Wood.[1] Eyre belonged to a distinguished legal family, and both his father and cousin were judges of the King's Bench under William III. He himself went to the bar in 1689, sat for Salisbury in four successive parliaments, and became Solicitor-General in the now exclusively Whig ministry in 1708. Although he disapproved of Sacheverell's impeachment, he was one of its managers, and was rewarded with knighthood and a seat on the King's Bench just before the ministry fell. Later he became Lord Chief Baron and Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas. He was an intimate friend of Marlborough, Godolphin, Walpole, and other eminent politicians.

Of politicians, in the shape of ordinary members of parliament, Brasenose had its full share. But none of them, except William Shippen, who belongs to a later period, achieved any great distinction in the House. The most interesting, from an Oxford point of view, was George Clarke, whose father, the famous Sir William Clarke, had been Secretary at War during the Commonwealth and the early years of Charles II. George Clarke took his degree as a commoner of Brasenose in 1679, and in the next year was elected to a Fellowship at All Souls which he retained till his death. On the death of Sir Leoline Jenkins in September, 1685, Clarke was chosen at a bye-election to represent the University, but James II prorogued the parliament before he took his seat and never allowed it to meet again. Under William III he received his father's old office of Secretary at War, and his autobiography, already mentioned, contains valuable notices of the military operations in Ireland. In 1705 he was turned out of office for voting for a Tory Speaker, but on the formation of the Harley–St. John ministry he obtained a lordship of the Admiralty which he held till Anne's death. In 1717 he once more became burgess for the University at a bye-election, and continued to represent it as long as he lived. He was a generous benefactor to both All Souls and Worcester, to the latter of which he bequeathed

[1] Wood, iii. 105.

most of his papers, and he will always be memorable in Brasenose history as the donor in 1727 of 'Cain and Abel'.

John Robinson, who took his B.A. degree as a servitor of Brasenose in 1673, and who quitted the College to become a Fellow of Oriel in 1675, achieved no inconsiderable distinction as a diplomatist. Having taken orders, he served as chaplain to the English embassy at Stockholm, and in the absence of the envoy acted as his substitute. He was so successful in conducting the relations between England and Sweden that he was appointed a regular ambassador, and on his return was rewarded, first with the deanery of Windsor, and a year later with the bishopric of Bristol. In 1711 he was made Lord Privy Seal, and was the last bishop to hold cabinet office. On the opening of negotiations by Bolingbroke, Bishop Robinson was sent to the Congress of Utrecht as the first English plenipotentiary. After the conclusion of peace in 1713 he was promoted to be Bishop of London in succession to Henry Compton. He died in 1723.

An ambitious but not very successful Brasenose politician was John Edisbury, who has been rather cruelly excluded from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Sprung from a family of some rank in Denbighshire, he entered Brasenose in 1661, took his B.A. and M.A. in due course, and in 1672 received the degree of D.C.L. In 1679, after the dissolution of the long Cavalier Parliament, there was a vigorously contested election for the University which resolved itself into a triangular struggle between Heneage Finch, the Solicitor-General, Dr. John Lamphire, the Professor of History, and Dr. Edisbury of Brasenose. The last was at the head of the poll, and, after a recount, Finch obtained the second seat by four votes over Lamphire. Wood says that Edisbury 'carried it by the juniors and potmen, he being one himself'.[1] But this was not the first time that he had sought the suffrages of his fellow graduates. In January, 1674, there had been a bye-election, when the elder Heneage Finch had vacated his seat on taking the Great Seal from Lord Shaftesbury. On that

[1] Wood, ii. 443.

occasion Edisbury had come forward, though he did not go to the poll, and in reference to his candidature Wood uses the odd expression, 'Edisbury then stood, like an impudent fellow: he stood to be king of Poland.'[1] This last phrase has never been adequately explained. It is probably used ironically to express contempt for the candidate's excessive self-esteem. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that Edisbury was a serious rival to the great John Sobieski. But one would like to believe that the members of the Polish diet, in the midst of their prolonged agitation about filling the vacant throne, received some intimation that if they wished for a really efficient sovereign they could find one in a Brasenose graduate.

[1] Wood, ii. 279.

APPENDIX

A.

TWO LETTERS FROM J. HOUGHTON TO PRINCIPAL YATE

[These letters, which have been discovered in the last few months, throw some light upon the proceedings of the Commissioners of 1660 as regards Brasenose. Bursar Houghton, who was on the Commission, appears to have been rather a time-server, but it is gratifying to find that the out-going Principal, Dr. Greenwood, was not harshly treated by his successful rival, Dr. Yate.]

29 Aug. 60

S^r^

Yesterday appeared before o^r^ Bord m^r^ Rydgway & m^r^ Sproston when ye former was removed to give way to m^r^ Church. I am given to understand y^t^ m^r^ Rydgway is gone this day towards London. I would have spoken with him about his Accounts but he was not at home. If he be in London you may heare of him at Mr Antrobus his house at ye starre in St. Pauls churchyard, or at m^r^ Eytons at ye 3 golden cocks in cheapsyde, perhaps ye man is gone away in a Pelt, I wish heartilie y^t^ you could meet with him, to know when he will give up his Account. He is solvand. S^r^ when you have recd m^r^ Lytlers resignacon I pray let mee know for I would willinglie (before I goe to Salisbury with ye Deane of y^t^ church) see m^r^ Roberts & m^r^ Blackburne in theire fellowships, ye former will be provided for by m^r^ Lytlers resignacon (to secure T. Gourney) & ye Latter by removing m^r^ Duckworth who has much decreased o^r^ expectacion for wee took him for a modest, good natured man, but wee found him of a sower, harsh disposicion, & almost intolerable, nothing (I am told) will please him (He has beene a Schoolmaster, and then you may conclude him pragmaticall). He says y^t^ he came into m^r^ Sixesmiths place (& for perhaps he might) but we will know y^t^ m^r^ Sixesmith

was in a manner forced out of his fellowship before his tyme, for when Newton & Leicester were removed, soone after m^r^ Sixesmith was advised by his friend D^r^. Reynolds to resign upp his fellowship (Long before his yeare of grace was out) otherwise ye Visitors would spare him y^t^ labour, and declare his place voyd. This I am perfectlie assured of. S^r^ I shall say noe more than I have done in relacion to D^r^. Greenwoods stay in Staple Hall but it is much wondered at by many y^t^ he should desire such a courtesie, or y^t^ you should grant it to him being asked it. ye d^r^ is my friend, & I pray God he prove yours. S^r^ d^r^ Baldwin goes this day for London by whome I send this He will tell you all our news here. I am, S^r^. y^r^ friend

Jo. Houghton

S^r^ this lay ready for d^r^ Baldwin but he went hastilie home for y^t^ I am necessitated to send it by ye Post this day. I rēcd y^rs^ last night, in wch there is nothing of moment to be answered (wch this letter will not satisfy you in) onely let me inform you y^t^ Dr. Greenwood y^s^ at ye College and truly not in a travayling condicon, by reason of his health. S^r^ I am told just now y^t^ Rydgway is returned to ye Coll: my man saw him this instant. I am now going to o^r^ Bord & will at my return watch an opportunitie to speak with him &c.

30 Aug. 60. I pray put my service to y^r^ good Lady & to Sr Peter. When you see him again I hope he will at last think of his debt to ye Coll: and of what he owes to my selfe in particular.

These
To the right wo^pll^ Dr
Yates att his house by
ye Plow stables in
Lyncoln Inn ffeilds
with my service.

S^r^

I am sory y^t^ my Jorney calls mee soe speedilie away, y^t^ I cannot kisse y^r^ hand before I goe, especially at such a tyme when you may have an occasion to make use of my service. If ye occasions detayne you any time att ye College,

I will hasten my return to wayt on you, though I goe back to Salisbury to fetch home m^r^ Deane, my Intentions are to be at Oxford againe uppon Satturday night next. S^r^ I have left with m^r^ Newton ye papers contayning m^r^ Rydgways Onus & Exoneratio, by wch you may guesse at his engagements to ye College, but if my memorie fayle mee not I think he borrowed some money of ye College (not yet repayd) wch must be added to ye foot of his Account (for he made noe mention of it att all when I drew up those Accounts). Jack Newton will tell you, y^t^ orders are issued out from our Bord to m^r^ Bruen & m^r^ Rydgway to avoyd theire chambers in 4 days, for y^t^ they are now at y^r^ mercy. S^r^ I did not put m^r^ Roberts name into ye College book, although m^r^ Lytler has resigned, I think it fitter for you to doe it than my selfe because ye Resignac̃on is in y^r^ hand, if you desire an order from ye Visitors, it will be granted when you please to com̃and it, and it is I conceive fitt to be obteyned because then you are secure for not electing a new fellow into m^r^ Lytlers place, and this will prove a good expedient for m^r^ Roberts restoreing &c. S^r^ when our Lancaster fellowes were called before us, it was soe late in ye morne being neare 12 a clock, y^t^ we had not tyme to put in m^r^ Blackburn, but I think ye bord is provided to make voyd a place for him, and y^r^ Lott I conceive will fall uppon m^r^ Duckworth (ye rest of o^r^ Lancastr: men being good schollers & of complyeing Natures). He is represented to o^r^ bord to succeed m^r^ Sixesmith who indeed was forced to resign his fellowship before his yeare of grace was out 5 months. He is said to be of a morose, factious disposicon and Nature, one who has joyned himselfe to Bruen's partie, who still opposed ye late Principall (as Doctor Greenwood can best tell you). For my part I have had little conversac̃on with him (or most of ye new fellows) & soe cannot soe fitter characterise him unto you. When you have a mind to put in Jo. Blackburn's name, if you speak to Provost Say, or to m^r^ Lamplugh they will put on ye business againe and make way for mr. Blackburn. S^r^ I would now trowble you with what I have formerly hinted unto you concerning Dr. Greenwood's stay in the college, and ye ill consequence of it, but

I presume you soe well understand y^r^ owne Interest & concernment, y^t^ y^r^ Prudence will direct you, to doe w^t^ shalbe best for ye Coll. & y^r^ own quiet, onlie this lett me presume to whisper unto you y^t^ all Men wonder at y^r^ easie condescention & at d^r^ Greenwood povertie of spiritt (to putt you to soe many inconveniences as may befall y^r^ going into, by hauing soe pragmaticall a spy uppon y^r^ Actions) in his desiring a chamber in Staple Hall, and putting out from there two fellowes of ye Coll: to make way for him & his mistresse. I pray S^r^ (pardon my boldness) give me leave to ask you, what doe you conceive may be ye doctors ayme in this? is it to save chardges (& trulie y^t^ is a strong argument with him) or rather to be seated in such a convenient place, y^t^ he may have an Eye, and an eare, to heare and see, what ever is spoken or done in ye college, y^t^ soe hee, his mistresse & his Presbyterian gang may att theire gossopping conventicles pass theire censures uppon you, and all under y^r^ government. S^r^ every look, or action of y^rs^ or y^r^ Ladies shall undergoe severe censures. S^r^ I know ye Nature of ye man very well, ye more you yield to his desires, ye more craving he will be, till at last you will find y^r^ selfe, soe hampered by his devices, y^t^ you will not well extricate y^r^ selfe, out of those gyns layd for you. But I forget myselfe & you, deare S^r^ I beseech you construe what I have sayd on this subject in ye best sense for (truly I professe it to you) I owe a fayre respect to doctor Greenwood, and what I have spoken is meerely out of ye deepe sense and care I have to preserve ye Coll. in united peace, wch is too often interrupted by dilaters, whisperors, & censurers. Once more I crave y^r^ pardon & rest

Y^r^ most affectionate faythfull serv^t^.

10 Sept. 60 Jo. Houghton.

These
To ye right wo:^pll^ Doctor
Tho: Yates Principall of
Brasen-nose College in
Oxon

B.

OATH IMPOSED UPON JUNIOR MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE, JULY 24, 1666

(See pp. 9–10.)

From the Vice-Principal's Register, July 24, 1666.

Cum ex aliquorum scholarium non sociorum, sive incuria, sive, quod maxime deprecandum, malitia destinata, pleraque tam in praejudicium collegii nostri, bonorumque ejusdem dispendium, quam propriae conscientiae vulnus, ac naufragium, quicunque juramento, sicut et in capite octavo libri Statutorum cautum est, jam primum ab admissione sua obstricti sunt, fieri sit compertum; ne forte ex terminis adeo paucis, iisque laxis, quales immerito tamen videatur, illi qui eo loci adhibentur, peccandi ansam dehinc etiam sibi arripiant, quibus tantilla fuerit juramenti religio; atque ne, quis sit sensus ac scopus statutorum nostrorum, quorum observatio (nisi perjuri esse velint) illis, ut quod maxime, incumbit, ipsos lateat; eorum aliquorum saltem ad quae, virtute juramenti illius, obligantur summulam exposituri, atque adeo huic morbo medicas, in quantum possimus, adhibituri manus, principalis et sex socii seniores decrevimus, quod quilibet non socius, sive in Collegium nostrum admittendus, sive jampridem admissus, cujuscunque conditionis fuerit, dummodo et quam primum per aetatem congruat, coram Vice-principali subscriptum praestabit juramentum.

Tu promittes sancteque coram Deo Optimo Maximo recipies, quod observabis omnia Statuta hujus Collegii, quatenus tibi innotuerint, et personam tuam concernant, et quantum in te fuerit, ab aliis observari facies.

Quod principali, vice-principali, et aliis tuis superioribus obedies, et debitam reverentiam impendes, in omnibus licitis et honestis.

Quod obsonatori, promo, et servientibus singulis quae accipies, ad edendum vel bibendum, juste, fideliter, et honeste dices, et narrabis.

Quod pocula, sive argentea, sive etiam testacea, item patinas, lintea, caeterumque omnem cultum ac supellectilem, cujuscunque sortis aut conditionis fuerit, etiam vel ligna ac lapides, sedilia, tabulata, parietes, fenestras, quaecunque demum sive usui, sive ornamento ubilibet adhiberi solent, ita tractabis ut quam diutissime ad hoc superesse possint, adeo ut neque tu in persona tua aliquid omnino surripies, permutabis, rades, lacerabis, deformabis, scindes, confringes, aut alio quocunque modo detruncabis, abuteris, deteres, imminues, aut sponte corrumpes, nisi quantum ex usu ordinario fieri necesse sit.

Jurabis denique quod alii cuiquam, contra aliqua eorum de quibus modo, ut supra, cautum est, quidvis perpetrandi non eris auxilio, favori, vel consilio, sed quantum in te fuerit, delinquentem vel delinquentes, quominus id faciant, impedies, ipsorumque nomina ac maleficia principali aut vice-principali, intra triduum, postquam tibi nota, vel certis de causis suspecta fuerint, denunciabis.

Ita Deus te adjuvet.

Insuper, quo melius subveniat omnibus, quorum interest, officii sui ratio: Decretum est:

Quod Vice-principalis qui pro tempore fuerit, quoties ipsum Statuta Collegii nostri apud scholares non-socios legere contigerit, hoc idem Decretum ac juramentum inter caetera recitabit.

Item quod dictus Vice-principalis exemplar hujus juramenti pulchre exarandum, et in aliquo loco publico, ita ut ab omnibus recognoscatur, singulis anni Quartis curabit de tabella appendendum.

C.

LETTERS FROM CLARENDON TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR ON DISPUTE AS TO PROCTORSHIP IN 1662

DISPUTE ABOUT THE PROCTORSHIP, MAGDALEN AND MERTON ON THE ONE PART, AND CHRIST CHURCH AND BRASENOSE ON THE OTHER 1662

(MS. Tanner 338 foll. pp. 123–125.)

Good Mr. Vice-chanceller,

I have received yours of the 17th of this month, and do remember that when Dr Mewes was here, He told Me somewhat of the Dispute about the Proctorship, and that you would the weeke following send Me the true state of it, if you could not in the meane time reconcile all the Persons interessed by their own consent; and thereupon I told Him that I would have no Opinion in it myself, whatever Representations should be made to Me, till I had the state of the Quæstion from you, and your Judgment upon it. And the Bishop of London being with me when I received your Letter, We were both of the Opinion, that We could not differ from you in the Conclusion, and I desired Him that He would be with Me the last night when the Deane of Christ's-Church and the President of Magdalen College were to be likewise present. But when We met, We found the case to be quite contrary to what We conceived it to be; The ground We laid to our selves, which We conceive was the same upon which You proceeded, was that the rule of the Cycle was punctually to be observed, and that whether the Interruption were for one, or two, or more yeares, or for the whole time of these Troubles, the order was again to be establisht and restored, onely by doing that now which the Cycle appoints to be done in this yeare *1661*, what Inconvenience soever or damage fals out to particular Persons.

And thereupon finding Magdalen and Merton Colleges to choose Proctors in *1661*, We conceived, as You did, that those Colleges were now to have their Turne; But We quickly found our mistake, and that the Custome from the making the Cycle was constantly at the end of the yeare to nominate the Proctors for the next yeare; so that the Nomination is to be in *1661* of the Proctors for *1662*. And by that it appeares evidently that Magdalen and Merton Colleges were to have had the Proctors for *1661*, but were to have nominated them at the end of *1660*. And if they should now have their Proctors accepted, they should have Proctors for the yeare *1662*, which is the turne of Christ-Church and Brazen-nose Colleges, and would break the Cycle so as never to come into Order again, and consequently violate the Statute. This the Ingenuity of the President of Magdalen could not deny to be the Course, and that it was the Inadvertency of Magdalen and Merton Colleges last yeare that they mist the Proctorship, which must not be repaired now at the Publique charge and damage. Christ-Church and Brazen-nose must have their Turnes for the yeare *1662* as they are appointed by the Cycle. The right thus appearing, and being in truth very manifest, the Deane of Christ-Church generously proposed and offered, that though They could not part with the Office, they would with much of the emolument, and would be very well content that Magdalen & Merton Colleges, should injoy the Lectures, which Mr President of Magdalen seemed very kindly to accept. And that, if you think fitt, will be the justest Determination of this Affaire.

It is now high time to thank You, which I hope Mr Wren has done on my behalf before, for your and the Chapter's favour to Me concerning Clarendon; But your Respect to Me in that particular shall not turn to your Prejudice, for I will by no meanes be my own Carver in it, but will receive the Conditions from the Chapter; And therefore I have appointed Mr Hawless, who desired to be my Tenant for this Yeare, to apply himself again to the Chapter to receive the Bargain from them, and by the next Yeare it is probable I may be admitted for your Tenant upon cleare Conditions.

Dr Wallis hath not been yet with Me, nor can I say more concerning Bettrice, then that if He shall refuse still to take the Oath, he must remain still in Prison, and as many more of his Friends upon the same Terms, as You find at any time like to be dangerous to the Publique Peace. I am

Good Mr Vice-Chanceller
Your Affectionate Servante
CLARENDON C.

Worcester house
March 23d 1661.

[The subscription and signature only are in Clarendon's hand.]

SECOND LETTER WITH REFERENCE TO DISPUTE ABOUT THE PROCTORSHIP, MAGDALEN AND MERTON ON THE ONE PART, AND CHRIST CHURCH AND BRASENOSE ON THE OTHER 1662.

(MS. Tanner 338 foll. p. 125.)

Mr Vice-chanceller and Gentlemen,

I have received a letter from Mr Vice-chanceller of March *26*, *1662*, upon occasion of one I had writ to him March *23d*, *1661* concerning the Difference that is now between foure of your Colleges about the Proctorship this yeare; I have reviewed what I formerly wrote, the State of the Case in quæstion being the same in his last that it was in his former, and You will find by what I then wrote to Him, that I did deliberate very well upon it, and desired the assistance of my Lord Bishop of London in the Determinacion, after We had heard all that was alleged by the Deane of Christ-Church and Mr President of Magdalen. Nor do I see any cause to change the opinion I then was of. I do not dissemble to have so much esteem and kindness for Magdalen College, (which they shall never have cause to suspect) that if I could with Justice have determined it for them, I would never have made scruple of owning that my Inclinacion had likewise Me led to it; And I should the rather have been induced to it out of the Reverence I have to the Memorie of my poore Tutor, and to have

expiated his fault to the College by his Inadvertency last yeare that the Office belonged then to Them. But it is as cleare that it does now belong to Christ Church and Brazen-nose Colleges. And though the Intention and æquity of the Statute might be preserved by the expedient mentioned by Mr Vice-Chanceller, yet since that can not be made use of without a particular Dispensation from the King, I am more afraid of introducing those Dispensations, and of the evill consequences which may in future times succeed that Precedent, than of any Inconveniences from the strict observing the rule of the Cycle at this time: And upon my Conscience it was the Intention of those who made the Statutes, in that mannerly Reservation of the King's Power to dispense, that he should never be moved to Dispense but in a Case of Extraordinary publique Consequence for the visible and Substantial Benefitt of the University; And this is the principall Reason that guides my Judgment against my Affection. And the Logique of the late ill times having introduced so many Inconveniences and Mischiefs by distinguishing between the Æquity or Intention, and the Letter of the Law, I am not willing to open that doore to any Decisions in the University, which may possibly hereafter produce Dispensations very unagreable. Upon the whole matter I cannot change my Opinion, but do still believe that of right Christ-Church and Brazen-nose Colleges ought to have the Proctors for this yeare.

I am,
Mr Vice-chanceller and Gentlemen
Your very affectionate Servant
CLARENDON C.

Worcester House
March 29, 1662.

[The subscription and signature only are in Clarendon's hand.]

D.

CONSECRATION OF THE CHAPEL NOV. 17, 1666

NOTE

THE first Chapel of the College is still in existence, but now used as the Senior Common Room. At the door of the staircase leading to it is the Foundation Stone of the College. By the time of the Civil War a scheme had already been set on foot for a larger Chapel, the moving spirit and chief benefactor being Dr. Samuel Radcliffe the Principal. After his death in 1648 his successor, Dr. Thomas Yate, carried the plan through, the first stone being laid on June 26, 1656, and the consecration of the new building taking place on Nov. 17, 1666. The ceiling of the Chapel with its fine fan tracery, which was taken from the chapel of St. Mary's College (now Frewin Hall), is still a conspicuous ornament of the building. The Cloister, now turned into College rooms, was erected at the same time and consecrated as a burial place on the same day as the Chapel itself, Dr. Walter Blandford, Bishop of Oxford, taking the chief part in the service.

The service is fortunately recorded in two forms, the first (marked by A in the following pages) being the official account drawn up by John Price, Notary Public, in legal form for perpetual record. The text of this was published in 1905 in *Collectanea iv* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xlvii) from the original in the College Archives. The second account, printed here in parallel columns with the first, and marked B, is from Thomas Abingdon's *Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Worcester* (Lond. 1723 or 1728), in an Appendix of Original Papers at p. 192. Dr. Blandford was translated to Worcester in 1671, and is stated in the above work to have made the Form of Consecration himself. No doubt B was found among the Bishop's papers after his death in 1675. This second form preserves several of the special prayers read after the Litany and during the Communion Service, the two forms together supplying the whole service with the exception of the Sermon.

For convenience of reference and comparison the two forms have been divided into thirty-two sections, some of which are found only in one or other of the two accounts.

F. M.

Note on the Consecration-order

I have been asked to indicate, in as few words as possible, the sources of the liturgical forms used in the accompanying consecration-order.

William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester and Lincoln (*d.* 1613), used two orders, very much akin, for the consecration of chapels at Langley and at Hatfield. Both are still in manuscript: Langley (1607) in Bodl. MS., Rawl. C. 868; and Hatfield (1610) at Lambeth, in the Archbishop's Library, MS. 929. fo. 86. I speak of these two as *Langley*.

With some of these forms we may compare certain in the consecration-order of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester (*d.* 1626), used at the hallowing of Jesus Chapel, near Southampton in 1620 (printed at London in 1659).

§ v. I was glad: *Langley*.

§ viii. Most glorious and incomprehensible: *Langley*.

§ x. Blessed Father: in Latin, in consecration of Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, 1632. Wharton MS., Lambeth MS. 577. fo. 193. In English in Juxon's form, before 1663, Bodleian, Tanner MS. 372.

§ xvii. Most merciful Father: St. Olave, Silver Street, 1612. Grindal's Register, fo. 393.

§ xxii. The lessons, not the psalms, are from *Langley*. The psalms are those used at hallowing the chapel at Edmonton, 1615. Grindal's Register, fo. 401.

§ xxiii. Almighty God, who dwellest not in Temples: *Langley*.

§ xxv. Most Blessed Saviour, who by thy bodily presence: *Langley*.

§ xxvi. Epistle and Gospel: *Langley*.

§ xxix. Blessed be thy Name: the first words are in *Langley*; but these are followed by an allusion to the great Rebellion and Restoration, and thus this part is much later.

J. Wickham Legg.

A

CONSECRATION OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE CHAPEL, 1666

In Dei nomine Amen. Per praesens publicum Instrumentum cuilibet evidenter appareat Quod inter horas Octavam et Duodecimam antemeridianas diei Sabbati videlicet Decimi Septimi Novembris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Sexagesimo Sexto Regnique Illustrissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri Domini Caroli Secundi Dei gratiâ Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Regis, Fidei Defensoris etc. Decimo Octavo (praesente me Joanne Price Notario Publico) Reverendus in Christo Pater et Dominus Dominus Gualterus permissione Divinâ Oxoniensis Episcopus (comitantibus eum Domino Vicecancellario Universitatis Oxoniensis et paenè omnium Collegiorum et Aularum Praefectis, habitu coccineo indutis, eumque ab Hospitio suo infra Collegium Ædis Christi, deducentibus) ad Aulam Regiam et Collegium de Brasenose, solemni more progrediebatur. i

Ad cujus Collegij introitum (post Oraciones elegantes tum â Principale tum â Stephano Phillips Socio dicti Collegij habitas) eidem Reverendo Patri Peticionem in Scriptis, sigilloque Communi ejusdem Collegij communitam, omni quâ decuit observantiâ presentavit et tradidit ipse Principalis, humiliterque supplicavit ut juxta tenorem ejusdem procedere dignaretur. Quam Peticionem Dominus Episcopus summo candore acceptavit, mihique Joanni Price ad perlegendum mandavit. Cujus quidem tenor sequitur et est talis, ii

Reverende admodum in Christo Pater Nos Thomas Yate Sanctae Theologiae Professor Principalis Aulae Regiae et Collegij de Brasenose in Universitate Oxoniensi et Scholares ejusdem, Cum praeparavimus locum pro cultu et Veneratione Divinae Majestatis priori quem habuimus magis idoneum et convenientem Cumque eundem locum religiosis duntaxàt usibus integrè destinavimus, gloriae scilicet Dei et Animarum iii Petition.

A

Saluti, Nunc Dominacionem vestram omnes simul humiliter obsecramus, utpote Dei Ministrum Episcopum hujusque Diaeceseos Ordinarium, ut Dei omnipotentis nomine et loco, hanc voluntariam nostram oblacionem acceptare dignemini, utque hoc Sacellum ab omnibus communibus et profanis usibus separatum decernatis, et actu separetis, ut Verbo Dei precibus alijsque Spiritualibus et religiosis officijs, Sacrosancto Dei nomini, ejusque tantummodo cultui dedicare et consecrare velitis. Promittimus insuper tam nostro quam Successorum nostrorum nomine, (quantum possimus et in nobis est) quod ipsum semper ut locum Sanctum, et ut Dei Domum tenebimus, eoque modo utemur; Et prorsus abrenunciamus et abnuimus ipsum vel ejus quamvis partem, communi vel profano usui qualicunque deputare; Curabimus etiam de tempore in tempus semper deinceps, quotiescunque opus fuerit, ut convenienter reparetur, et honestè prout Sacellum decet adornetur.

iv Insuper etiam supplicamus ut Dominatio vestra, Claustrum eidem Capello adjacens in Coemiterium sive locum Sepulturae corporum in dicto Collegio post hàc morientium, separare et consecrare dignetur.

In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum Commune praesentibus apposuimus Datis Die Novembris Decimo Septimo Anno Domini 1666°.

v Huic Petitioni cum Reverendus Pater Latinis verbis breviter respondisset, seque et suam operam ad tam pium opus promovendum simul et proficiendum paratissimum esse professus esset, paulatim gradum promovens ad portam Capellae, intravit cum Clero hunc Hymnum recitans,

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord: Peace be within these walls, and prosperity within these dores. Because thou art a house for the Lord our God, we will seeke to doe thee good,

vi Stante interea prae foribus universâ populi multitudine: tunc incepit Psalmum 24^{m} Clero alternatim respondente.

B

[From Abingdon's *Antiquities of Worcester*, p. 192.]

THE FORM OF PRAYER USED IN THE YEAR 1666, AT THE CONSECRATION OF BRAZEN-NOSE COLLEGE-CHAPEL IN OXFORD, WITH THE CLOISTER ADJOYNING FOR A BURIAL-PLACE, BY THE LATE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD WALTER BLANDFORD LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD, AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

v ¶ *The Bishop entring the Door of* the Outer Chapel (none being in it) said this Hymn.

I was glad, when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord.

Peace be within these Walls, and Prosperity within these Doors.

Because thou art a House for the Lord our God, we will seek to do thee good.

vi ¶ Then was read the 24th Psalm by the Bishop, in the Body of the Outer Chapel, the Clergy answering alternately.

A

vii Postea vero processit ad limen interioris Capellae, ubi genibus flexis sic precatus est,

Prayers. viii Most glorious and incomprehensible Lord God who fillest heaven and earth with thy presence, and therefore cannot be confin'd within any the largest Circuit, much lesse within this narrow roome for the Consecration whereof we are now assembled: yet forasmuch as thou hast promised, that where two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt be there in the midst of them, but especially in such places as are set apart for thy publique worship, that thou wilt be there in a more speciall manner, and wilt come unto Us and blesse us;

We following the pious examples of thy servants in all ages, who have erected and dedicated houses for thy service, doe here in all humility and readines of heart devote and offer this Place, this day for ever unto thee, and utterly separating it from all profane and common uses, doe desire to consecrate it to thy service only, for hearing thy word, celebrating thy sacraments and offering up the Sacrifices both of Prayer and Thanks-giving, as also for the custody of the bodies of thy servants that shall depart this life, till thou shalt raise them up again at the last day.

And although (miserable wretches that we are) we be altogether unworthy to appoint any earthly thinge to soe great a Majesty, and I the most unfitt of all thy Ministers to appeare before thee in soe honorable a service: yet we most humbly beseech thee to forget and forgive our manifold sins, to receive us favourably in this religious action, and graciously to accept this Place, at our hands and to own it for thy house. And because holinesse becometh thine house for ever, sanctify it, we pray thee, with thy presence.

Arise and come into this Place of thy rest, thou and the Arke of thy strength and fill it with thy glory.

Sanctify likewise all those who shall at any time doe thee service in it.

Let thy Priests be cloathed with righteousnes, and let thy saints sing with joyfullness.

B

And then at the Door of the Inner Chapel, kneeling, with his Face towards the Communion-Table, the Bishop prayed in the following manner. v

Most glorious and incomprehensible Lord God, who fillest viii
Heaven and Earth with thy Presence, and therefore canst not be confined within any, the largest circuit, much less within this narrow Room, for the Consecration whereof we are now assembled: Yet forasmuch as thou hast promised, that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name, thou wilt be there in the midst of them, but especially in such places as are set apart for thy Publick Worship, that thou will be present there in a more special Manner, and wilt come unto us and bless us: We, following the pious Examples of thy Servants in all Ages (who have erected and dedicated Houses for thy Service,) do here in all Humility and with Readiness of Heart, devote and offer up this Place, this Day, for ever unto thee: and, utterly separating it from all prophane and common Uses, do desire to consecrate it to thy Service only, for hearing thy Word, celebrating thy Sacraments, and offering up the Sacrifices both of Prayer and Thanksgiving, as also for the Custody of the Bodies of thy Servants, that shall depart this Life, till thou shalt raise them up again at the Last Day. And although (miserable Wretches as we are) we be altogether unworthy to appoint any thing to so great a Majesty, and I, the most unfit of all thy Ministers, to appear before thee, in so honourable a Service; yet, we most humbly beseech thee to forget and forgive our manifold Sins, to receive us favourably in this Religious Action, and graciously to accept this Place at our Hands, and to own it for thy House; and, because Holiness becometh thy House for ever, sanctify it, we pray thee, with thy Presence: Arise and come into this Place of thy Rest, Thou and the Ark of thy Strength, and fill it with thy Glory. Sanctify likewise all those who at any time shall do Thee Service in it. Let thy Priests be cloathed with Righteousness and let thy Saints sing with Joyfulness: Let all, that shall enter here, know that the Place, where they stand, is Holy

A

Let all that shall enter here, knowing that the Place where they stand is holy ground, looke well to theire feet, bringing cleane hearts, pure thoughts and bodies undefiled.

Let them wash their hands in Innocency, Good Lord, and then let them compasse thine Altar, that so coming such as ye ought, they may returne such as they desire, having theire Prayers granted, their sins pardon'd, their graces supplyed and strengthened, and theire persons accepted in Jesus Christ, to whom with thee o Father and the Holy Ghost, Trinity in Unity ever to be ador'd, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

ix Quâ precatiunculâ finitâ ad gradum ante Sacram Mensam
x infimum procedens aliam effudit Surgensque haec verba pronuntiavit,

xi God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, accept, blesse and sanctify this Place, to the end whereunto according to his owne ordinance we have ordained it, to be a Sanctuary to the most High, and a Church to the Living God.

The Lord with his favour ever mercifully behold it, and so send upon it his spirituall Benediction and grace, that it may be the house of God to him, and the gate of heaven to Us. Amen.

B

Ground, look well to their Feet, bring clean Hearts, pure Thoughts, and Bodies undefiled. Let them wash their Hands in Innocency (Good Lord) and then let them compass thine Altar, that they, coming such as they ought, they may return such as they desire, having their Prayers granted, their Sins pardoned, their Graces supplied and strengthened, and their Persons accepted in Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father, and thee Holy Ghost, Trinity in Unity, ever to be adored, be all Honour and Glory, World without end. Amen.

¶ Then the Bishop entring into the Inner Chapel, with the Clergy present (the People remaining in the Outer Chapel) and kneeling near the Rail of the Communion-Table, he said these Prayers. ix

Blessed Father, who hath promised in thy Holy Law, that in every Place, where thy Holy Name shall be put, thou will come unto us and bless us. According to that thy Promise, come unto us and bless us, who put now upon this Place the Memorial of thy Name, by dedicating it wholly and only to thy Service and Worship. Blessed Saviour, who in the Gospel, with thy Bodily Presence, didst Honour, and adorn the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple; at this Dedication of this Temple unto thee, be present also, and accept Good Lord, and prosper the Work of our Hands. x

Blessed Spirit, by whose Power, Wisdom, and Love, all things are purged, lightened, and made perfect; Enable us by thy Power, enlighten us with thy Truth, perfect us with thy Grace, that both here and elsewhere, acknowledging the Glory of thy Eternal Trinity, and in the Power of the Divine Majesty, worshipping the Unity, we may attain to the Fruition of thy glorious Godhead.

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, accept, bless, and sanctify this Place, to the End whereunto, according to his own Ordinance, we have ordained it, to be a Sanctuary to the most High, a Church to the Living God: The Lord with his Favour ever mercifully behold it, and send upon it his Spiritual Benediction and Grace, that it may be the House of God, and the Gate of Heaven to us. Amen. xi

A

xii Post haec (Domino Vicecancellario et Doctoribus unà consedentibus, Populoque Capellam intrantibus) Dominus Epi-
xiii scopus in solio, sive Cathedrâ in superiori parte Sacelli satis commodè posito collocatus, pileoque tectus (assidentibus venerabilibus viris Domino Thomâ Barlow Archidiacono, et Doctore Deane, Cancellarij Domini Episcopi Deputato) Sententiam sive schedulam Dedicationis Capellae, porrectam ei a dicto Doctore Deane legit in haec verba,

Dedication of Chapel.

In Dei nomine Amen.

xiv Nos Gualterus providentiâ Divinâ Oxoniensis Episcopus Piae et Religiosae Petitioni Dilectorum in Christo Filiorum Thomae Yate Sanctae Theologiae Professoris Principalis Aulae Regiae et Collegij de Brasenose in Universitate Oxoniensi et Scholarium ejusdem, favorabiliter annuere volentes, hanc Capellam proprijs praedictorum Sumptibus noviter erectam constructam et ornatam, authoritate nostra Episcopali, ab omni communi et profano usu in perpetuum separamus, et soli Divino cultui, ac Divinorum celebrationi in perpetuum dicamus, ac tam ad Sacramenta et Sacramentalia in eâdem ministranda, quam ad Divinas preces Deo fundendas, et verbum Dei purè et sincerè proponendum et praedicandum, ac demortuos inhumandos et sepeliendos, atque ad omnia et singula alia sacra et divina perficienda, quae de jure Divino, ac etiam legibus Sanctionibus et constitucionibus Ecclesiae Nostrae Anglicanae in eâ parte sunt requisita et necessaria, ac si sigillatim essent in praesentibus specificata, modo et formâ in Similibus, jam de jure usitatis et usitandis, in Dei honorem et Sacros usus omnium in dicto Collegio degentium (quantum in Nobis est, et de Jure Divino, Canonibus Ecclesiae et Statutis hujus inclyti Regni Angliae possumus, et Nobis licet) consecramus et dedicamus per nomen Capellae Sancti Hugonis et Ceddae Aulae Regiae et Collegij de Brasenose in Universitate Oxoniensi, et sic consecratam et dedicatam esse, et in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere, palàm, ac publicè pronuntiamus et decernimus per praesentes In nomine Patris Filij et Spiritus Sancti Amen. Lectaeque nomen suum subscripsit.

B

¶ After this Prayer, the People enter'd into the Inner Chapel, and there took their Places. xii

¶ Then the Bishop sitting on a Chair (with two Assessors, on each side one) having his Cap on, read the Schedule or Instrument, and then pronounced the Decree of Consecration. xiii xiv

¶ This done, the Bishop and Clergy going into the Cloisters, and walking in solemn Procession round the Place, he repeated the 90th. Psalm, the Clergy answering alternately. xv

¶ Then making a stand at the East or Inner Part, the Bishop's Chaplain read for the Lesson, Genesis 23 Chapt. xvi

¶ Then all kneeling, the Bishop said this Prayer. xvii

Most merciful Father, thou hast been pleased to teach us in thy Holy Word, that the very Bodies of thy faithful Servants are not made in vain, but living and dying have their special Uses appointed by thy self: Thou hast framed them here on Earth to be the Workmanship of thy Hands, and to sound out thy Glory. Thou hast fashioned them unto the Shape of thine own Son, that by a Spiritual Union, they should be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone. Thou hast made them the Temples of the Holy-Ghost, that thy sacred Spirit may more and more work in them those things, which by thy Mercy are acceptable in thy Sight: And when they are to rest with their Fathers, and to return to the Earth from whence they were taken, thou hast appointed them not to remain there for ever in Corruption, but at the Day of the general Resurrection to come forth of their Graves, and to be possessed with Life, and to be crowned with Immortality. We cannot therefore but judge, as well by that which thy blessed Word hath rehearsed unto us, as also by the Example of Patriarchs and Holy Men in all Ages, that it is thy gracious Pleasure, that when thy Servants shall by thee be called out of this miserable World, their Bodies should not be left out, as the Bodies of Beasts, to become Dung for the Earth, nor yet buried with the Burial of an Asse in the open Fields; but be seemly and decently committed to the Earth in a religious

A

xv Deinde ad Claustrum sive locum Sepulturae cum toto Comitatu superius descripto, deducitur, ubi postquam circa totius loci ambitum more satis decoro, Psalmum Nonogesimum
xvi decantans, obambulasset (post Lectionem 23. Cap. Gen. et
xvii, xviii quasdam Praecationes) consedit, et aliam schedulam, sententiam Consecracionis Coemiterij continentem a Doctore Deane antedicto sibi traditam, publicè etiam perlegit in hanc formam,

Dedication of Cloister. In Dei nomine Amen.

xix Nos Gualterus providentiâ Divinâ Oxoniensis Episcopus Piae et religiosae Peticioni dilectorum in Christo Filiorum Thomae Yate Sanctae Theologiae Professoris Principalis Aulae Regiae et Collegij de Brasenose in Universitate Oxoniensi et Scholarium ejusdem, favorabiliter annuere volentes, hoc integrum Claustrum Capellae Collegij praefati adjacens,

â pristinis et alijs quibusdam usibus communibus et profanis separandum fore decernimus, et sic in perpetuum separamus: ac idem in Coemiterium sive locum Sepulturiae pro corporibus in dicto Collegio decedentium Christiano ritu humandis, (quantum in Nobis est, ac de jure et Canonibus Ecclesiasticis, ac de statutis hujus regni Angliae possumus) authoritate nostrâ Ordinariâ et Episcopali assignamus, ac per nomen Coemeterij Capellae Sancti Hugonis et Ceddae designamus, dedicamus et in usum praedictum consecramus, Et sic assignatum dedicatum et consecratum fuisse et esse, et in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere, palam et publicè declaramus et pronuntiamus, ac Coemiterium Capellae Sancti Hugonis et Ceddae deinceps in perpetuum nuncupandum decernimus per praesentes In nomine Patris Filij et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

xx Eandemque suo nomine subscripsit, et cum sententiâ Consecracionis Capellae, eidem Doctori Deane sibi ad latus adstanti, commisit, atque ut inter munimenta ac alia recorda in Archivis suis custodienda reponerentur, indeque acta conficerentur in perpetuam rei memoriam mandavit.

B

Manner, and in a separate distinct Place, there to rest in the Sleep of Peace, till the last Trump shall arouse them. And having for that Purpose made choice of this Place, that it may be (as the Plain of Mamre) a Receptacle and Storehouse for the Bodies of such as thou shalt ordain to be interred here: We beseech thee to accept of this Work of ours in shewing kindness to the Dead; and mercifully grant that neither they, who shall be here gathered to their Fathers, nor any of us, who are here present, may ever forget the Day of putting off the Tabernacle of this Flesh; but that living, we may think on Death; and dying, we may apprehend Life; and so rising from the Death of Sin to the Life of Grace here, (which is the first Resurrection,) we may have our Parts in the second,which is the Resurrection to Glory, through thy Mercy, O most Gracious Lord God,who governest all things,World without end. Amen.

¶ Then standing up, the Bishop said thus:

God the Father, who killest and makest alive, who bringeth xviii
down to the Grave, and raiseth up again. God the Son, who is the Resurrection and the Life, in whom whosoever believeth, though he were dead, yet shall he live, who will send his Angels at the last Day, and gather the Bodies of his Elect from all the Ends of the Earth. God the Holy Ghost who hath made our Bodies his Temples, by his sanctifying Grace dwelling in them, and therefore will not suffer them to lie for ever in Corruption, but will breathe even upon dry Bones, and they shall live. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, accept, sanctifie and bless this Place, to that end whereunto, according to his own Ordinance, we have ordained it, even to bestow the Bodies of his Servants in, till (the Number of his Elect being accomplished) they with us, and we with them, and all others departed in the true Faith of his Holy Name, shall have our Consummation and Bliss, both in Body and Soul, in his eternal and everlasting Glory.

¶ Then the Bishop sitting in his Chair (with his Assessors, and his Cap on his Head) he read the Schedule, and so pronounced the Decree of Consecration. xix

A

xxi Quibus ita peractis, Dominus Episcopus ad Sacram Mensam rediens, manumque sacris utensilibus imponens, haec verba sequentia vel eis similia publice protulit videlicet

What is here offered and consecrated to God Let no man profane.

xxii Sequutae sunt dein Publicae Preces (Domino Doctore Yate Collegij Principale ministrante) cum Psalmis et Lectionibus pro tempore accom[m]odis, et ad finem Litaniae quandam xxiii precationis formulam addidit Episcopus, processitque ad xxiv Caenae Dominicae administracionem.

xxvi Epistolam Domini Episcopi Capellanus, Sacrosanctumque Evangelium Archi-Diaconus legit.

Post Symbolum Nicenum (Episcopo ad Cathedram revertente) xxvii Radulphus Rawson Sanctae Theologiae Baccalaureus Collegijque Socius Suggestum ascendens Thema desumpsit e Sermon. Capite Vicesimo Exod; versu 24°.

xxviii Finitâ Concione recitabat Dominus Episcopus Sententias illas hortatorias ad Eleemosynas, dum Communicaturi obtulerunt Collecta est Summa Undecim Librarum et Duodecim solidorum, quam in usum Capellae expendendam decrevit. Finito tandem Hymno Gloria in Excelsis etc. conclusit cum xxix, xxx precatione selectâ, et populum benedictione dimisit. Acta fuerunt haec omnia et singula praemissa sub modo et formâ superiùs annotatis dicto Decimo Septimo die Novembris Anno Domini, Regnique Regis antementionatis.

xxxi Et Nos Gualterus providentiâ Divinâ Oxoniensis Episcopus antedictus in majorem fidem et testimonium praemissorum omnium et singulorum huic praesenti Instrumento subscripsimus Illudque Sigilli Nostri Episcopalis appensione communiri fecimus et mandavimus.

Datum apud Oxoniam Tertio die mensis Decembris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Sexagesimo Sexto Et nostrae Consecrationis Anno Secundo.

xxxii Et Ego Joannes Price Publicus authoritate sufficiente Notarius, atque in praesenti Consecracionis negotio in Actorum Scribam assumptus, Quia in praemissorum toto processu praesens personaliter interfui, Eaque omnia et sin-

B

¶ This done, the Bishop with the Clergy, returning into the Chapel, the Ordinary Prayers were said according to the Book of Common-Prayer; only instead of the Psalms, proper for the Day, these xxii

Psalms { 84 122 132 } I Lesson 2 Chronic. 6. II Lesson John 10 beg. at Ver. 22 to the End:

¶ After the Litany, this Prayer was said by the Bishop. xxiii

Almighty God, who dwellest not in Temples, made with Hands (as saith the Prophet) and yet vouchsafest to accept the devoted Service of thy poor Creatures, allotting special Places for Divine Offices, promising ever there to hear and grant their Requests; We humbly beseech thee to accept our this Day's Duty and Service of dedicating this Chapel to thy great and dreadful Name. And fulfill, we pray thee, thy gracious Promises, that whatsoever Prayers in this sacred Place shall be made according to thy Will, may be favourably accepted, and returned with their desir'd Success, that so all, that come into this House, in the Multitude of thy Mercies, and in thy Fear, shall worship in this Holy Temple, may, by the heavenly Intercourse of their Prayers, ascending unto thee, and thy Blessings descending upon them, have a comfortable Experience, that this is none other but the House of God, and that this is the Gate of Heaven, to thine eternal Glory, and our especial Comfort in Christ Jesus our Blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

¶ The Litany so ended, they proceeded to the Communion-Service, which the Bishop performed; and after the Prayer for the King this was used: xxiv

Most Blessed Saviour, who by thy Bodily Presence, at the Feast of Dedication, didst approve and honour such devout and religious Services, as this we have now performed; Be pleased to present thy self at this time by thy Holy Spirit; and as thou hast been pleased to separate this Place, to consercate us also, we pray thee, into an Holy Temple unto thy self, that thou dwelling in our Hearts by Faith, we may be cleansed from all carnal and prophane Affections, and devoutly xxv

A

gula sic fieri, vidi, scivi et audivi, Ideo hoc praesens publicum Instrumentum manu meâ propriâ fideliter scriptum, de mandato Reverendi Patris praedicti exinde confeci, publicavi, et in hanc formam redegi, Nomineque et Subscriptione meis solitis et consuetis subsignavi, ad id rogatus specialiter et requisitus.

[*Signed*] Gualt: Oxon.

[*Seal attached to the document.*]

[*Endorsed*] 17° Novembris 1666 Caroli 2^{i} 18°. Acta Consecrationis sive Dedicationis Capellae adjacentis in Coemiterium sive Locum Sepulturae infra Collegium de Brasenose Oxon.

B

given to serve thee in all good Works, to the Glory of thy Name, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, one God, World without End. Amen.

¶ Then one of the Clergy read the Epistle 1 Cor. 3. ver. 16. to the End. Another the Gospel. John 2 Chap. 13. ver. to the End. xxvi

¶ Then followed the Nicene Creed and Sermon, afterwards the Communion. xxvii

¶ After the Hymn (Glory be to God on High) this Prayer. xxix

Blessed be thy Name, O Lord our God, for that it pleaseth thee, who dwellest in the Highest Heavens, to have thy Habitation amongst Men, and to grace these Earthly Mansions with thy Presence. And blessed be thy gracious Goodness, that thou hast put it into the Hearts of thy gracious Servants in all Ages (and particularly of these of this College) to erect and prepare such Places for thee. As also thou hast given us again quiet and peaceable Times to meet and adore thee in them; that after the Enemy had prophaned thy Service, and done evil in thy Sanctuary, thou hast restored unto us our solemn Assemblies, and brought us back into thy Courts to praise thee. Lord, grant that we may shew our selves thankful for these thy Favours, by a reverend, devout, and constant Use of them. Let us not forsake the publick Assemblies (as the manner of some is;) but grant, that even they who now separate into Corners, may come and worship thee in the Beauty of Holiness, that they may love the Habitation of thy House, and the Place where thine Honour dwelleth, esteeming one Day in thy Courts better than a thousand; that so all of us with one Heart, and one Breath, glorifying thee in these material Temples made with Hands, we may in the End, come to that thy Temple on high, even to the Holy Place made without Hands, whose Builder and Maker is God, and there, with these who have erected this, and all other Places to thy Worship, and with all thy Saints, eternally to Sing, Honour, and Glory, and Praise be unto the Lamb, and him that sitteth on the Throne, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ After this, the Bishop pronounced the Benediction. xxx

E

LETTERS OF JAMES HAMER

Transcript of five letters and three accounts in the possession of Captain Stewart, of Alltyrodyn, Llandyssil, South Wales, made by Miss E. G. Parker, December, 1907.

I

Mr. Moore

I suppose by this time you have resolved, how to dispose of yor Brother, at yor departure from Oxon you intended to send for him vp to London about three weekes after that time: And this last weeke I thought, y^{t} you had sent for him, for hee asked leave of mee to goe out of towne to meet you at Reading, whither I suppose hee went. S^{r} I thinke his stay here cannot be so beneficiall to him, as his remoueall may bee, and therefore ye sooner you dispose of him, it may be ye better for him, I have no more at p^{r}sent to trouble you wth, onely wth my respects and service p^{r}sented I remaine.

Yo^{rs}
In all true respects of service
Brasen-nose Coll. Ja: Hamer.
Aug 6th 1670.

[*Addressed:*—] These. | To Edward Moore Esqr at M^{r} | Thomas Sturmy his chamber in | St Clemens-Inne. | London | p^{r}sent | wth my service. |

[*Sealed*]

II

August. 20. 1670.

Mr. Moore

I rec^{d} yor letter and a Bill of 15l. enclosed, wch I did not expect, hopeing rather, y^{t} upon ye true Account, wch I have given to yor Brother, you would have remoued him, and found out some other way of liueing, for wch hee may haue a better Genius, and wch may prove more beneficiall vnto him: S^{r} for my part I wonder, that you should now designe him to take a degree, when not only hee himself hath hinted to you, but I have plainly told you, y^{t} by reason of his naturall p^{ts} hee is not fitt for those studies, wch should fitt him for a Degree: and yet hee is not to be blamed for this incapacity, for though morall defects are justly blameable, because they are in o^{r} power either not to bee, or to bee cured, yet ye wants of a quicke apprehension, solid judgement, and faithfull memory are not so culpable, for all ye care and industry in ye world cannot procure some of those, And I verely belieue, y^{t} one in his circumstances may very well vnderstand to manage ye affaires of ye world, when yet hee shall neuer bee able, to make a philosopher, and therefore had better and wth more successe follow what his Genius inclines him too, then goe about to force nature aboue her capacity. Of his journey to Reading I can giue noe true account, but haue desired him to giue it to you, wch I hope hee will doe. And if ye Account bee not satisfactory, I hope yor charity is greater both as a man, a brother, and a Xtian, then to discard yor onely brother for one offence or two: I perceive hee is much troubled at yor letter, and promises neuer to offend in ye like case, and as wee expect pardon from God for o^{r} many and great offences against him, so we are to forgive them, y^{t} trespasse ag^{t} vs. S^{r} I dare not be so bold as to direct you, how to dispose of yor brother, but I can say, y^{t} I would not willingly keepe any Schollar, who will not, or cannot profitt vnder mee: I have dealt more plainely perhaps wth you, than some others would have done, but I doe it on purpose to

discharge my conscience, and if I haue offended, I know yor goodnesse will pardon. So in hast I remaine

Yo^{rs} to comand

J. Hamer.

[*Addressed*] These | To Edward Moore Esqr at Captaine | John Ardernes house in Ragged-staffe Court | in Great Drury-Lane. | London. | p^{r}sent | wth my service.

[*Sealed*]

III

7^{ber} 10th 1670.

Mr. Moore

The Q^{rter} is now drawing towards an end, and I hope, y^{t} after so long consideration, you are now come to a resolution, how to dispose of yor Brother: The truth is I found him at his entrance so ill grounded in Grammer learneing, and so naturally incapacitated for a Schollar, that I had neuer entertained him, but y^{t} I was told, his stay at Oxon was to bee but short, and ye design of it was to furnish him wth a little Logicke ye better to fitt him for ye study of Law; I have done my endeauour to instruct him in such studies, and if ye successe hath not answer'd my endeauours, perhaps neither I nor hee are to bee blamed, supposeing, y^{t} wee both have done ye best, y^{t} wee could doe: I haue since wthin twelve months time written to you my opinion of yor Brother, wthall signifieing, how convenient to you both, his remoueall would bee, and how little advantage his abode here would bring to him, and accordingly you have by letter signified to mee, y^{t} you intended to remoue him this last spring, and since by word of mouth you promised to take him away. But by yor last letters I perceiue you rather now intend his continuation here, wch though it might bee for my profitt, yet being y^{t} I am throughly convinced y^{t} it cannot bee for his, I am so much against his continuance, that I had rather lose my litle profitt, then my labour and paines: And therefore humbly request, y^{t} you

would dispose of yor Brother for his better advantage by takeing him from hence, if not so, you may try anothers tuition, wch I pray to proue more successfull: S^r^ I do not write this to putt you out of conceit wth yor Brother, I had rather lose my hand, then doe it, but I thinke, y^t^ his intellectualls are not for these studies, and yet would serue very well for a trade, or some other profession, and as for his morals, if a strict eye bee ouer him, I hope they may bee good, for I know many may bee led away, where there is no power to restraine: who yet may do well vnder strict gouernment: pardon this trouble, and freedome, and grant me a writ of ease from my charge: And so I shall remaine

Yo^r^

Ever oblig'd ffriend to
serue you.
Ja. Hamer.

[*Addressed*] These | To Edward Moore Esqr to bee | left at Captaine John Arderne | his house in Ragged-staffe-Court | in great Drury-Lane | London.

[*Sealed*]

IV

Brasen-nose Coll. Sept 25 1670.

Mr. Moore

I haue according to yor order taken care for yor Brothers comeing vp to London, I haue payd ten shillings coach hire for a place in ye next Tuesdays coach, so y^t^ on Michaelmas Eue at ye Saracens head vpon Snow-hill you may hear of yor Brother, and y^t^ night also ye Waggon will bring his Trunke to ye same place, in wch his Books and cloaths are corded vp: I see none of his books wanting, except one or two, wch hee had lent out, and those, hee sayes, are returned to him. O^r^ Accounts I will dispatch to send by him, if possible, if not, you shall receiue them by ye next Post, and what money I have of yo^rs^ shall be returned punctually by Bill of Exchange.

As for ye Questions, wch you proposed, I thinke myself noe competent judge to answer and resolue all of them, howeuer I will giue you what satisfaction I can in some, and first as for ye Study of ye Law, I fear his judgment is not quicke and solid enough to master it, for his apprehension is not so p^r^sent and quicke, nor his tongue so voluble, as is required in a good Orator in y^t^ profession, but as for his skill in Latine, I thinke hee hath enough of that, for ye drawing, answering, and vnderstanding such pleadings as are in y^t^ language, wch an ordinary latinist may doe, if hee vnderstand ye comon formes of Lawyers latin, and his skill in law is more required in speciall pleadings: howeuer I doe still advise him to read Erasmus Colloquies, or any other such books, whether history or Dialogues, wch may improue his skill in vnderstanding, or speaking that language: and this will bee of excellent vse to him, if hee should trauell. As for his being giuen to bad Company I cannot wholly excuse him, because I haue found him sometimes drawne aside, but yet I neuer saw him in drinke, and I would advise you to putt him, where some one may haue a strict eye ouer him, because hee is of a facile nature, and so ye easilier drawne aside. S^r^ if you let him chuse his owne trade or profession, I thinke it may bee ye best for him, for hee is now of age enough to know his owne concerne, and after such deliberate choise if hee miscarry, ye fault may lye at his owne doore.

S^r^ I hope you will second what advise I haue giuen him, and I hope god will direct him to chuse ye best, and forsake ye worst: to this end my prayers and well-wishes shall not bee wanting. thus wth my service p^r^sented I remaine.

Yo^r^

Most humble Servant,

J. Hamer.

[*Addressed*] These | To Edward Moore Esqr to bee left | at Mr Thomas Sturmy his Chamber | in St Clemens Inne. | London | wth care and speed.

[*Sealed*]

V

Mr Moore

I have here sent yor Brothers last Accounts, and generall Acquittances from Mercer, Taylor, and Bookseller: The Accounts I have putt in ye next leafe, and deductis deducendis there remaind due to you ten pounds eleven shillings six pence, wch sume is returned by a bill enclosed. If you have ye note of his Caution, you are desired to send it to mee, for I haue giuen my hand for ye receipt of it: his trunke was not weighed here, neither did I bargaine for the carridge of it, because they are vsed to bee payd by ye pound, and so it would haue been to noe purpose. Sr I hope yor Bro: will proue sober and ciuill, but you must haue an eye ouer him, for his nature is facile, and hee may bee easily drawn aside. I wish, hee may answer yor good designes for him, wch hee promises to bee carefull to doe. Thus wth my humble service prsented. I remaine.

Yor

Obliged ffriend to serue you

7ber 26. 1670 J. Hamer.

[*Addressed*] These | To Edward Moore Esq to bee | left at Mr Thomas Sturmy | his chamber in St Clemens-Inne | London. | wth my service.

[*Sealed*]

VI

Sep ye 26 1670

ffor mending a suit	0	0	6
ffor footing a pare of stockings	0	0	6
ffor making a pare of legings	0	0	8
ffor making a wastcoate	0	1	6
ffor making a pare of linings	0	0	8
Rec yn in full of this bill and all accounts due from Mr Moore to this present	0	3	10

Jaffry Street

VII

Mr Moore Bought of Wm Bayly
July 6th 1670

1 pr of Warsted hose	00	05	00
3 yds Cotton Ribond	00	00	06
4 yds 4d taffaty Ribond	00	01	00
1 yd ¾ 8d fferrett Ribond	00	00	09
silke	00	00	02
3 yds 4d taffaty Ribond	00	00	09
1 yd ¾ 8d fferrett Ribond	00	00	09
3 yds ½ dimethy	00	04	01
5 yds of brode tape & threed	00	00	06
1 yd ½ 6d fferrett	00	00	06
silke	00	00	01
6 yds ¾ dimathy	00	07	10
7 dz Wascots buttons	00	01	09
tape & threed	00	00	10
	01	04	06

Sept: 26th 1670

Receved then of Mr Hamer in ffull of the debts of Mr Moore the sum of twenty fouer shillings I say Red in ffull of all accounts } 24s

p me Wm Bayly

VIII

Mr Moore

Lypsius of constancy bd c	0 : 2 : 4
qr paper & penns	0 : 0 : 7
Bacon's essays	0 : 2 : 6
	0 : 5 : 5

Sept. 26. 1670.

Rd then in full of this Bill & all Accounts due from Mr More to this present, five shillings five pence. } o s. 5 d. 5

Ric: Davis. (70)

[*On the paper-wrapper in which the letters were tied up :—*]

Mr Hamer fellow of Brasen-Nose Acompt ye last He maid for my Brother

F.

INSCRIPTION ABOVE THE TOMB OF THOMAS YATE IN THE LITTLE CLOISTER

H. S. I.
THOMAS YATE, SS. Theologiae Professor
a Collegii hujus Sociis,
Quos anno MDCXLVIII
Ob fidem Regi, Ecclesiae, & Deo egregie praestitā
Proscriptio nobilitavit, in Principalem electus;
A parricidis democraticis,
Qui Academiam sub visitationis praetextu divastarunt,
Exauctoratus:
Dignus quē viri optimi sibi *praeficerent*, et pessimi *opprimerent*,
Regiis auspiciis anno MDCLX postliminio restitutus,
Injuriarum immemor.
Gregem sibi commissum non vi et imperiis,
Sed benevolentia et exemplo rexit.
Literarum et pietatis studia promovit,
Aedificia instauravit,
Rem familiarem auxit,
Tandem
Desideratissimus senex,
Collegii pater et patronus,
Et tertius tantum non fundator;
Post xx annorū pacatissimū in regimine decursū,
Et vitae LXXVIII:
Positis hic corporis exuviis, animā coelo reddidit,
Apr. XXII: An. MDCLXXXI.

XIII

History of the College 1690–1803

Part I Annals
Part II Social Life

By Reginald W. Jeffery M.A.
Of Brasenose College

Illustrations to Monograph XIII

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INTRODUCTION

It was with the greatest pleasure that I accepted the kind invitation of the Principal and Fellows to write a second Monograph for the Quatercentenary celebrations. I have not attempted to show how deeply Brasenose men are indebted to their predecessors for magnificent benefactions; but once again I have tried to sketch something of the annals of the College, and to depict the chief social features of Brasenose College life during the eighteenth century.

I have to thank Mr. Madan for his kind help in lending me many contemporary books; and I must again acknowledge how much I owe to Mr. Coxhill for the facts and figures that I have quoted.

REGINALD W. JEFFERY.

Oxford, 1909.

PART I

BRASENOSE COLLEGE ANNALS

1690–1803

THE most interesting and exciting period of the history of Oxford was over when William III and Mary ascended the English throne in the spring of 1689. The seventeenth century may be said to have closed at the time of that glorious Revolution, which was 'a revolution not made but prevented'. In the rapid events that occurred between 1686 and 1688 the University of Oxford played no small part; and the din of religious controversy and political struggle which resounded through the Halls and Common Rooms of Magdalen and University Colleges re-echoed in the quiet old quadrangle of Brasenose. This was chiefly due to the fact that 'a shatter-headed Fellow'[1] of the College, John Bernard[2] (matric. 1676), was an intimate disciple of the notorious Obadiah Walker, the Master of University College. The Fellows of Brasenose discussed with the keenest interest the fate of their contemporaries; and the scandalous aggressions of James II with regard to the rights and privileges of collegiate bodies in both Universities furnished a fruitful topic of conversation. Nothing, however, disturbed the outward calm of Brasenose College life, and the accession of the Dutch prince was accepted, though not without mutinous whispers. The rattle of arms during the Civil War had taught the men of Brasenose to prefer the paths of peace, and though the collapse of the tyrannous Stuart rule was a cause of much seditious talk, the matter ended here.

The Revolution of 1688.

[1] Mon. XII, pp. 23–4, 'he is the only Brasenose man in this period who held a University teaching office.'

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, i, p. 236.

The character of the period.

This period of College history is inevitably lacking in interest. Like the general history of the University it is open to one sweeping condemnation: it is dull. And yet it was, in the early years, a period of the most fierce political controversy, and 'party feeling ran high even for that age of partizanship: the storm of politics raged in the Academic tea-pot with quite as much violence as in the world outside'.[1] The fact was that Oxford was the real Jacobite capital of England, the place to which the eyes of honest country squires turned as the only true hope of the nation; and Oxford men, including the jovial Tories of Brasenose, delighted to pass their wine over the water, and were ever ready to 'toast "Betty of Hearts", or drink "King James, Ormond and Mar", and "Confusion to the Usurper", and "Damn the Constitutioners", and "Good Fortune to the Good Cause".'[2] Although these were some of the chief features of University life, it is only just to say that as far as Brasenose College was concerned the eighteenth century exhibited some activity, for there were the beginnings of some of the characteristics of modern life. It was the period of the birth of the noble dream, now at last realized, of a magnificent front along the High Street. It was then, too, that the good fellowship necessarily attendant upon the formation of a Common Room matured.[3] The old members showed more than usual generosity in bestowing upon their beloved College munificent gifts of plate and money,[4] which caused the commencement of the handsome Book of Benefactors,[5] which still bears witness to the loyal affection of Brasenose men. During these years the Library and the Hall were taken in hand, and were both much improved by the addition of their present ceilings.[6] The old quadrangle was altered in appearance, and the 'Deer Park', then the Fellows' Garden, was constructed and planted, and practically obtained its present shape. It was, too, the period of the dawn of 'reform'; the humbug of the exami-

[1] A. Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century* (1908), p. 13.
[2] J. Buchan, *Brasenose College* (1898), pp. 49–50.
[3] Mon. III, p. 37; Mon. VIII, p. 7.
[4] Mon. IV; Mon. V.
[5] Mon. IV, Plate III.
[6] Mon. III, pp. 34 and 43.

nation system was at last exposed, and a Brasenose man[1] led the way towards more honourable methods. As for undergraduate life, it was evidently of a somewhat hilarious character, as the members of Brasenose had 'an undue prominence in the Vice-Chancellor's Court'[2]; but as a check upon this the College authorities printed the Statutes, and attempted to persuade men to work by unchaining the books in the Library.[3] The foundation of the Phoenix Common Room was a very distinct feature in the progress of College institutions; and the history of the whole period is pre-eminently social. There is a joviality about the life which finds expression in the fame of Brasenose Ale,[4] and the earliest 'Ale Verses' that have been found belong to the first decade of the eighteenth century.[5]

[1] Mr. Napleton, see p. 25. [2] Clark, *Colleges of Oxford* (1892), p. 261.

[3] Mon. III, p. 34, 'Brasenose Library being the last in England to have its books set free.'

[4] Vic. County Hist., *Oxfordshire*, ii, p. 259.

[5] These verses were preserved in Hearne's *Diary* for 1709. They were spoken by the Butler (that year Mr. Shippery) on Shrove Tuesday :—

'With age and sickness, though unactive grown,
My duty still shall in my verse be shown,
And, while my strength and sprightly heat decays,
My grateful muse still her attendance pays :
For Aristotle sure will ne'er admitt,
From want of health to argue want of witt.
Thus, old and blind, the Græcian Homer sung,
His muse was, like his Phœbus, ever young.
But though my rhymes should heavy be, and dull,
My bowl shall still be good, shall still be full.
For while this yearly tribute here I bring,
'Tis much at one, whether I say or sing;
And if the criticks should my verse expose,
The bowl sounds well in downright honest prose.
Here's none of your new-fangled stuff from *Vigo*;
This comes from the cellar where Michael and I go!
For this generous liquor we ne'er cross the main,
Nor want either commerce with *France* or with *Spain*.
Old England affords us whatever we lack,
Give us ale,—and a fig for their claret or sack.
Then in true *English* liquor, my masters, begin,
Six go-downs upon rep. to our true *English* King!
In this orthodox health let each man keep his station,
For a Whig will conform upon such an occasion.'

See *Brasenose Ale* (edit. 1901), pp. 1–2. The Brewhouse where this famous

The benefaction of William Hulme.

Starting at the end of the seventeenth century, Brasenose College history opens with one of the most remarkable benefactions ever granted to any society in Great Britain, and hundreds of men have had good cause to bless the name of William Hulme, of Kearsley, in the county of Lancaster. This man, probably a member of the College, left land producing £40 per annum for four exhibitions to 'be paid to four of the poorest sort of Bachelors of Arts at Brasenose College, who were bound to reside for four years after taking their degree'.[1] The property, which lay in the Hulme district of Manchester, has become of very considerable value, and the original £40 has grown to about £15,000 net, not counting a past expenditure of more than £130,000 of capital.'[2] In 1904 there was some fear lest too much of the vast surplus should be appropriated to local Lancashire purposes; but the College succeeded in securing a large share, and settled 'once for all the proportion of their claim on the revenues of the estate, present and prospective.'[3] The first two recipients of the benefaction were Samuel Davie and John Hyde, who were elected on June 25, 1692. The former left the College in 1696, but the latter, having been elected to a Fellowship on November 24, 1692, served as Junior and Senior Bursar from 1706–10, and during the last twelve months of his office held the rectory of Dudcote.[4] He seems to have been a cantankerous man, for Hearne records on Friday, June 6, 1707, an acrimonious quarrel concerning Mr. South's vacancy at Brasenose. Dr.[5] Hyde tried to bring about trouble between Mr. Thompson,[6] the Vice-Principal, and a certain Mr. Baker; but what threatened to be a long source of ill-will was at last amicably settled.[7] Hyde was not spared long to cause any further quarrels, for he died on July 15, 1710.[8]

Ale was made was erected 1696–7. The College ceased to brew its own Ale when the New Quadrangle was constructed.

[1] Mon. IV, p. 30. [2] Mon. VIII, p. 28. [3] Mon. IV, p. 30.
[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 254. [5] Grace for D.D., April 11, 1707.
[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 252.
[7] O. H. S., vii, p. 18. Cf. Mon. XII, p. 26.
[8] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 254.

Brasenose Non-Jurors.

The substitution of William and Mary for the renegade James II caused a very serious secession amongst the clergy of the Church of England. They were all required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy by August 1689, and those who did not comply by February 1690 were deprived of their benefices. Between 300 and 400 refused the oath, and there thus sprang up that section of the clergy known as Non-Jurors. In the whole of Oxford there were, at first, very few who failed to take the oath, but some of these were members of Brasenose. The first was Stephen Sagar,[1] who is erroneously called a Fellow of the College by Mr. C. Wordsworth[2]; while the second was William Pincocke,[3] Senior Fellow, who was deprived of his fellowship on January 23, 169½.[4] Three undergraduates refused their B.A. degree rather than take the oath,[5] and James Eckershall[6] (matric. 1680), a Fellow of the College, 'professed himself a penitent.'[7] In later years a few other members of Brasenose joined this body of non-conformists, such as Robert Whitehead[8] (matric. 169¾), who was ordained by Bishop N. Spinckes in or about 1710, and Thomas Bennett[9] (matric. 1716), who was ordained ten years later.

Royal Chaplains chosen from Brasenose.

Some Brasenose men preferred to choose the task of preaching the Gospel in the colonies, and at the end of the seventeenth century Bartholomew Yates[10] (matric. 169⅘) was ordained and licensed to preach in Virginia, while on March 5, 1708, Benjamin Goodwin[11] (matric. 1697) was granted the same privilege. It is remarkable that although the College, like the University, was strongly Tory, if not actually Jacobite,[12] it supplied a large number of chaplains to the Hanoverian kings. Thus Thomas Bradshaigh[13] (matric. 1701) became chaplain in

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 254.
[2] C. Wordsworth, *University Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1874), pp. 14, 605.
[3] Palin, *History of the Church of England*, App.
[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 220. [5] Mon. XII, p. 25.
[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 241.
[7] *Life of Kettlewell* (1718), ii, App. xxxii.
[8] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 263. [9] Ibid., p. 297. [10] Ibid., p. 265.
[11] Ibid., p. 269. [12] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 27.
[13] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 276.

ordinary to George I; Charles Jenner[1] (matric. 1724) was chaplain to George II; John Johnson[2] (matric. 1721) afterwards became prebendary of Durham, and was probably domestic chaplain to Caroline, Princess of Wales. Robert Markham[3] (matric. 1748), Frederick Augustus Henry[4] (matric. 1754), William Bingham[5] (matric. 1761), and John Keysall[6] (matric. 1778) were all, at different periods, chaplains to George III. Henry Fly[7] (matric. 1762) had the more high sounding, though somewhat mysterious title of 'Confessor to His Majesty's household'. Ralph Sneyd[8] (matric. 1770) and Richard Scott[9] (matric. 1799) were both chaplains to the libertine Prince of Wales.

The Senior Common Room.

Mention has already been made of the Senior Common Room. How long this had been in existence it is now impossible to say, but at any rate there was such a room as early as 1682 situated on the left-hand side of No. II Staircase.[10] It was moved to its present site in 1707, and to-day 'the room has that comfortable atmosphere of the eighteenth century suggestive of good port wine'.[11] It is interesting to notice that many of the present coats of arms emblazoned in different parts of the room belonged to those men who contributed towards its adornment.[12]

John Meare, 1665–1710.

At this time the College was under the rule of John Meare,[13] who had matriculated in 1665. He was installed Principal in 1681, and in 1697 was elected Vice-Chancellor. He was, like most of the Heads of Colleges, a great pluralist, as he held several rectories during his period of office. Some time before his death, on May 18, 1710, he was insane, and it is recorded that there was great difficulty in electing to College offices owing to the 'incapacity of the Principal'.[14] One thing in particular marked the days of his rule, and that, the foundation of the Bridgeman oration by Sir Francis Bridgeman, who

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 309. [2] Ibid., p. 305. [3] Ibid., p. 341.
[4] Ibid., p. 349. [5] Ibid., p. 356. [6] Ibid., p. 378. [7] Ibid., p. 357.
[8] Ibid., p. 367. [9] Ibid., p. 405. [10] Mon. III, p. 37. [11] Ibid.
[12] Mon. IV, pp. 57–8. [13] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 214.
[14] V. P.'s Reg. B. for March, 170§. The difficulty was accentuated by the sudden death of the Vice-Principal, James Smethurst, on March 5. Cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 258, and Mon. XII, p. 25.

left £500 in 1701 for an annual composition in praise of King James II.[1] Besides this it is also memorable that several men distinguished themselves at this time. Amongst these were Pierce Dod[2] (matric. 1693), who afterwards became a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and took some interest in the then extremely rare inoculation for small-pox; and Thomas Carte[3] (matric. 1698), an historian of some note and a voluminous writer.

Robert Shippen, 1693–1745.

Meare's peaceful rule gave way to more stirring times when Robert Shippen[4] was elected eleventh Principal on June 2, 1710. He was devoted to music, and was made Professor of that art at Gresham College in 1705; while his general culture earned for him a Fellowship of the Royal Society in the next year. A fortnight after his appointment as Principal he became rector of Stepney[5]; he then proceeded to his B.D. and D.D. degrees, and within the month acquired the rectory of Great Billing. The Fellows of the College were evidently most anxious to make the new Principal as comfortable as possible, for on January 11, 171$\frac{0}{1}$, after his marriage with Frances Legh of Lyme, 'absente Dno Principali convenerunt Vice-Principalis sociique sex seniores qui lubentissime unoque ore consenserunt, cameras medias supremasque juxta novam Bibliothecam septentrionem versus positas Principalis usui in posterum esse dicatas.'[6]

Brasenose a Tory hot-bed.

Robert Shippen was throughout his life a quiet but devoted Jacobite, as evidenced by several of his actions. His election exactly coincided with the period of furious excitement over the trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverell, the strong upholder of the doctrine of non-resistance, and when the Lords only suspended

[1] By a decree in Chancery, 1734, the money was to be applied to pay one Fellow to be appointed yearly to pronounce an oration on the Arts and Sciences. The prize is now given for an essay in History or Philosophy. See Mon. V, p. 31.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 270.

[3] Ibid., p. 271.

[4] Ibid., p. 262. Hearne said 'This Shippen is so illiterate a man that he understands nothing of Latin. Nor can I learn that he ever yet preached. He is a mere Hocus Pocus and very unfit for a cure of souls.' Cf. O. H. S., xliii, p. 16.

[5] V.P.'s Reg., September 30, 1717.

[6] V.P.'s Reg. C. 6.

this preacher, Dr. Shippen, with the other Heads of Colleges, as well as 'most persons of distinction in the neighbourhood of that city',[1] hastened to welcome him and offered him every form of lavish entertainment. Another reason for suspecting the Principal of strong Tory, if not actually Jacobite proclivities, is afforded by a letter written by Roger Kenyon to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Kenyon, on October 27, 1711. 'I saw Mr. W. Shippen',[2] wrote Kenyon, 'who told me he had received a letter from the head of Brazen-nose, who said he would favour what he could, Mr. Entwissle's[3] pretensions, but he added that the young man, he finds, was a Whig, which was against the present humour of the College. In truth, unless the young man's learning distinguish him a good deal, I doubt not the party he is of will be some prejudice to him.'[4]

Dislike of George I.

One may be allowed to imagine that Dr. Shippen was amongst the strong body of senior members of the University who, in 1714, 'upon their chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, openly embarking in the service of the Pretender, testified their unaltered attachment to him by choosing his brother, the Earl of Arran, to hold his station.'[5] The whole Common Room of Brasenose, no doubt, chuckled at the absence of rejoicing on the night of October 20, 1714, when George I was crowned. 'Nor did any person that I know of,' says Hearne, 'drink King George's health . . . the illuminations and bonfires were very poor and mean.'[6]

The Constitution Club and riots, 1715.

The Principal must have found great difficulty in preserving discipline in the College during the exciting year 1715, when every Brasenose Tory was eagerly waiting for the news of

[1] *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 541.

[2] This was William Shippen of Cheshire (matric. 1687). Pope said of him:—

'I love to pour out all myself as plain
As downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne.'

Sir Robert Walpole declared 'that he was the only incorruptible man he knew'. See *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 254; Mon. XII, p. 27; *D. N. B.*

[3] Robert Entwistle, *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 289.

[4] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xiv, App. 4.

[5] Monk, *Life of Bentley*, i, p. 375.

[6] *Reliq. Hearn.*, Bliss, i, p. 311.

the success of the rebellion. Nor was it possible to preserve peace in the Oxford streets when the members of the *Constitution Club* paraded their Whig doctrines and beliefs, and celebrated their 'revolution' festivals from the King's Head Tavern in the High Street.[1] Amongst the members of this club there were five fellows, a chaplain, and four gentlemen-commoners of New College, one gentleman-commoner and seven others of Oriel, three undergraduates from Christ Church, and one from each of the colleges, All Souls, Merton, St. John's, and Worcester.

'On the King's birthday, the 28th of May . . . the whole body of the Constitution Club met together at a tavern, and ordered the windows of the house to be illuminated and some faggots to be prepared for a bonfire. But before the bonfire could be lighted, a very numerous mob, which was hired for that purpose, tore to pieces the faggots and then assaulted the room where the Club was sitting, with brickbats and stones. All the time that the mob was thus employed, the disaffected scholars, who had crowded the houses and streets near the tavern, continued throwing up their caps and scattering money amongst the rabble and crying out, "Down with the *Constitutioners*, down with the *Whigs*, No George, James for ever, . . . &c."'[2]

'Healths were everywhere drank,' says Hearne, 'suitable to the Occasion, & everyone at the same time Drank to a new Restauration, which I heartily wish may speedily happen.'[3] These events took place on a Saturday night, but on the Sunday the affair grew worse. The Constitution Club met this time at Oriel College,[4] and again was attacked by the scholars and the mob. During the conflict a most serious accident took place. A Brasenose man was wounded by a gunshot fired by a Constitutioner, which had the effect of dispersing the crowd, and it rushed away to its old and welcome task of pulling down the conventicles, 'and doing

[1] Jeaffreson, *Annals of Oxford.*

[2] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, pp. 42–4.

[3] O. H. S., xlii, p. 62.

[4] Nicholas Amhurst, in his *Terrae-Filius* (edit. 1754), pp. 269–70, makes the astounding statement that 'it was immediately resolved to demolish that college. The Oriel men, as it happen'd, had foresight enough to bar up their gates before the approach of the mob.'

the most extravagant mischief that so ingenious and learn'd a mob could contrive.' [1]

The dissolution of the Constitution Club.

With such excitements as these to engage the attention, it was no enviable position to be Proctor, as Mr. Thomas Dod,[2] of Brasenose, found, especially on the night of June 10, which was the Old Pretender's birthday, 'being now compleat 27 years of age.' Hearne records that a riot was expected, and was only prevented by the intervention of the Vice-Chancellor, 'so that all honest Men were obliged to drink King James's Health, & to show other tokens of Loyalty, very privately in their own Houses, or else in their own Chambers, or else out of Town.' [3] The Constitution Club still continued to flourish, and only came to an end during the period that Dr. Shippen was Vice-Chancellor.[4] The fact was that the University as a whole was strongly against this Whig Society; graduates and undergraduates were ardently Jacobite, and the Fellows steadily evaded the oath of allegiance to King George. [5] The King was very angry about this, and several 'rattling' letters passed between the authorities and the Vice-Chancellor.[6] Nicholas Amhurst tells the story of the dissolution of the Constitution Club.

'As the constitution-club about this time began to sicken and decay, so it was not long after this before it gave up the ghost. . . . A most impudent and seditious sermon . . . was preach'd before the university on the twenty-ninth of May 1719, by one W . . . n,[7] a fellow of Merton-college and the professor of poetry. Complaint was made of this sermon

[1] Amhurst, *ut supra*, p. 270.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 275. The Brasenose men who were Proctors during the eighteenth century were:—1700, William Thompson; 1708, James Smethurst, Thomas Stanley; 1715, Thomas Dod; 1723, Robert Leyborne; 1731, Thomas Foxley; 1738, Edward Traherne; 1746, Thomas Cawley; 1754, Mathew Maddock; 1761, Thomas Barker; 1769, Henry Mayer; 1777, John Foley; 1784, William Stalman; 1792, Thomas Wright; 1800, John Tench.

[3] O. H. S., xlii, p. 65. [4] 1718–22.

[5] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 15. For the Jacobite character of Oxford, cf. Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (edit. 1901), ii, p. 68; Walpole, *Memoirs of George II*, i, p. 413; Smollett, *Hist.*, bk. iii, ch. i; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, i, p. 35.

[6] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 44, and O. H. S., xlii, p. 64.

[7] Rev. Thomas Warton, 1688–1745; father of the more celebrated Joseph Warton (1722–1800).

to the vice-chancellor,[1] by a fellow of Merton-college; but the vice-chancellor refusing to proceed against the preacher upon this complaint, Mr. Meadowcourt sent up an account of the sermon and of the vice-chancellor's refusal to proceed against the preacher, to Mr. Secretary Craggs.[2] After this account had been laid before the lords justices,[3] they commended Mr. Meadowcourt and ordered the vice-chancellor to take action. He, however, had, very conveniently, lost all his notes, and the matter ultimately dropped, but not before Dr. Shippen, at Commemoration, had branded Meadowcourt, "delator turbulentus qui de peritissimo poetices professore, in oratione accuratissima tyrannidis miserias depingente, conquestus est; & quum ipse delatori inobediens fui, ad extraneos judices provocavit, spretâ meâ authoritate, spreto juramento suo."'[4]

Dr. Shippen and Thomas Hearne.

A year before the dissolution of the Constitution Club, Dr. Shippen had been troubled by an action taken by the Whigs against the 'honest' Jacobite, Thomas Hearne; but all danger from attack passed away because the Principal of Brasenose was 'mightily inclin'd to stop my Prosecution'.[5] The fact was, 'the prefaces to Hearne's editions of Camden's *Elizabetha* and of Guilielmus Neubrigensis afforded some ground for his enemies to allege that he had slighted the Reformation, and thereby the Protestant character of the Church of England.'[6] Fortunately for that industrious combative little man, the Chancellor, Lord Arran, and Vice-Chancellor Shippen were far too wedded to the Stuart cause to allow any evil to befall him, and he was permitted to live in peace in St. Edmund Hall, collecting 'University scandal with his usual acrimonious diligence'.[7]

The punishment of a blackmailer.

The common knowledge that the men of Brasenose were so notoriously Jacobite in their sentiments tempted a blackmailer to make an effort to catch them red-handed in their 'evil' practices. He was, however, overstepped in cunning, and whipped at the Cart's Tail from 'Cairfax to East Gate'. Hearne says, on July 23, 1721:—

[1] Dr. Robert Shippen, of Brasenose.

[2] *D. N. B.* (edition 1), vol. xii, p. 440.

[3] Amhurst, *ut supra*, pp. 274–5.

[4] Ibid., p. 82.

[5] O. H. S., xliii, p. 395. Hearne wrote on October 14, 1718, 'the V. Chanc. is very much inclined to do me all possible service, which makes me apt to think the Prosecution will be stopt.'

[6] Ibid., p. v, Preface.

[7] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 153.

'He was a perfect stranger and sometime since came into Brazen-nose Coll: Common Room and into some Chambers of the same college, uninvited and against all People's Wills, took up the Glass and proposed and drank the Healths of K. James, and the D. of Ormond &c, on purpose to trepan gentlemen; upon wch complaint being made to the Vice-chancellor,[1] he was apprehended and committed to the Castle, and being try'd this Assizes, he was sentenc'd to be whipt, and 'tis found that he is a Rogue that goes about to ensnare men.'[2]

Domestic affairs of the College, 1710–20.

In the meantime the purely domestic affairs of the College are not without interest. Throughout the eighteenth century the Fellows always arranged matters with the greatest care for their own comfort and welfare. In the old days, a Fellow, when absent, ceased to reap the advantages of his fellowship; but in the reign of Queen Anne, when flying visits to London were becoming far more frequent than they had been, the ancient system of stopping 'pay' proved extremely vexatious. For this reason, on June 16, 1710, and January 5, $171\frac{0}{1}$, the Principal and the six senior Fellows decreed 'that a Fellow, absent with leave, should have his emoluments, except commons'.[3] When the Fellows were in residence they had to appoint to College offices, and there are frequent references to this, and in particular to the election of the clerk of the accounts. The status of this man had completely changed, for when the office was originated, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was held by a master of arts[4]; but during the eighteenth century this was no longer the case.[5] The Seniority of the College had also to appoint to different livings,[6] and

[1] Still Dr. Shippen.

[2] O. H. S., xlviii, p. 261.

[3] V. P.'s Reg.

[4] Mon. X, p. 38. The office ceased to exist some few years ago. The last to hold it was Mr. Walsh, who died 1909.

[5] See V. P.'s Reg.:—

$171\frac{8}{9}$, March 13. Francis Heywood junior admitted clerk of the accounts and took the oath.

1739, Dec. 20. Thomas Browne, armiger, admitted 'clericus computi'.

1743, Dec. 20. Robert Jenner admitted 'clericus computi'; he had been steward of the Buttery.

1772, Feb. 28. Rawlins appointed clerk of the accounts.

1776, Oct. 30. Rawlins died and Joseph Goodenough appointed.

1779, March 10. Elias Taunton appointed.

1796, Dec. 20. T. H. Taunton elected in place of Elias Taunton.

[6] Mon. VIII, p. 13. 1713, 'An Act . . . for restoring to the Principal and

to the mastership of Middleton School.[1] This latter did not always prove an easy task, and occasionally the authorities selected the wrong man, as is shown by an entry on March 13, 171$\frac{6}{7}$, when John Makinson was removed from the undermastership, 'negligentiae pravorumque morum causa'.[2]

The duties of the Vice-Principal and Bursars.

The dons were kept busy with college work, and while the Vice-Principal had to make visits to London to consult the bishop about Stepney,[3] the two Bursars were engaged with their accounts.[4] Nor was their work made any easier by a rescript of the Visitor,[5] issued on November 7, 1717. It was pointed out that a practice had grown up of using two accounts, the Great Account settled in November, and the Bye Account, which continued open and unaudited for some months after. This system was contrary to the statutes, as they enjoined that the Bursars' Account be made up in November. The Visitor, therefore, commanded that both the senior and junior Bursars, in future, bring in a complete and final Account to the Auditors every year, on or before November 30; he also decided that the new Bursars and other officers must enter upon their office on or before the ensuing feast of St. Thomas.[6] The Bursars' task was by no means an enviable one, as besides innumerable difficulties of catering, persuading men to pay their battels, and such heart-rending problems, they had also to contend with a most peculiar assortment of money, of varying values and confusing denominations. This is well illustrated by taking one

Scholars of *King's Hall* and College of *Brazen-Nose* in the University of *Oxon.* their Right of Presentation to the Churches and Chapels in Stepney Parish.'

[1] Mon. X, p. 10. Cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 292, 'Ds Fielden app. Schoolmaster of Middleton, 13 Mar. 171$\frac{6}{7}$.'

[2] V. P.'s Reg. C.

[3] Ibid., Aug. 11, 1718.

[4] For a full account of the Great Roll see Principal Cawley's Note-book, preserved in the Muniment Room of the College.

[5] Edmund Gibson, Bishop of Lincoln.

[6] V. P.'s Reg. C. Cf. ibid. for 1785, when there was again difficulty in concluding the audit and electing officers. On this later occasion, it was because Principal Cleaver was called away by the illness of his wife. On February 10, 1786, it was resolved that it was not necessary to refer the matter to the Visitor [Thomas Thurlow, Bishop of Lincoln].

example, out of many, of a 'count'[1] that was made to find how much money was in the college chest.[2] The following sums were found:—

	£	s.	d.
400 guineas	420	0	0
64 guin. and ½	67	14	6
7 Broads[3]	8	1	0
2 Scepters[4]	2	10	0
10 Moidores[5]	13	10	0
1 Moidore	1	7	0
½ Moidore		13	6
2 Portugais[6]	3	12	0

The Sun-dial and 'Cain and Abel'.

The Bursars were particularly active in 1723 and 1734, when they had to discuss the pros and cons of the plans of Nicholas Hawkesmoor for the entire rebuilding of the College. It is not often that one has to rejoice at the lack of College funds, but the present generation may well be thankful that pecuniary circumstances presented an insuperable difficulty, and Hawkesmoor's scheme was rejected. But if there was not enough money for rebuilding, smaller payments for the supposed improvement of the College[7] had to pass through the Bursars' hands. Thus they were responsible for the Sun-dial, which was placed on the south side of the northern wall of the quadrangle in 1719. It appears to have cost just under £9; the bill for 'painting and gilding the diall with the blew' amounted to £7 7*s*.[8] So, too, the Bursars made arrangements for the reception of a copy of Giovanni da Bologna's valuable 'Cain and Abel',[9] which was presented by Dr. George Clark (matric. 1675)[10] in 1727. It is described

[1] This 'count' was made in the year 1731.

[2] Mon. V, Plate I. It is still preserved in the College Muniment Room.

[3] A name applied after the introduction of the guinea to the 20*s*. piece, i. e. the Jacobus or Carolus; in 1691 those of James I were worth about 23*s*.

[4] Cf. Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England*.

[5] A gold coin of Portugal current in England in the first half of the eighteenth century; Newton, in 1711, said they were worth £1 7*s*. 8½*d*.

[6] In 1658 they were said to be worth £3 10*s*.; they had evidently depreciated by this period.

[7] Mon. III, pp. 47–50.

[8] Ibid., p. 41.

[9] *Notes & Queries*, Series 4, iii. 83; 6, iv. 517; 8, vi. 285, 437, 497.

[10] Mon. V, p. 35; Mon. XII, pp. 30–1; *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 234.

by one writer as 'the fine, though Shocking Statue'[1]; while Hearne, who was much annoyed by the alterations, wrote on October 25, 1727:

'last week they cut down the Pleasant Garden in Brasenose Quadrangle . . . a delightfull and pleasant Shade in Summer Time . . . purely to turn it into a grass plat and to erect some silly statue there'.[2]

Brasenose and the new Methodism.

Undoubtedly the material interests of the community were carefully watched,[3] but the intellectual side of college life was neglected, and the religious side altogether spurned. And yet it is worthy of notice that the strongly Jacobite College was not altogether untouched by the new Methodism that came into existence in Oxford about 1728 and 1729, and with which the name of Wesley is so intimately associated. John Wesley, after five years at Christ Church, was ordained deacon in 1725. Two years later he left Oxford to assist his father, but returned as tutor in Lincoln College in 1729. In the meantime his brother Charles,[4] James Hervey,[5] George Whitefield,[6] and two or three other undergraduates showed such religious earnestness as to provoke the remark, 'Here is a new sect of Methodists sprung up.' The means they employed were what most ages would have called purely beneficent, but they found themselves prophets without honour in their own country, and soon learnt that the University of Oxford was stony ground. One Brasenose man, John Clayton[7] (matric. 1725), was captivated by the

[1] J. Pointer, *Oxoniensis Academia* (1749), p. 70.

[2] Quoted by Godley, *ut supra*, p. 33. The statue was removed in 1881; cf. Mon. III, Plate XIII. Mr. Buchan, in his *Brasenose College*, p. 79, says 'The statue seems to have been a strange perversion of the Scriptural fact, for Cain, as we learn from many a *jeu d'esprit*, was painted a shining white. Occasionally, too, so runs the story, both figures would be habited in odd raiment and coloured red by sportive gentlemen of the College.'

[3] Sometimes the Bursars did not fulfil the confidence placed in them, cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 339. John Kynaston, after being Junior Bursar, 1762–4, was deprived of his office and required to remove himself from the College on account of 'gravia delicta', on March 22, 1764; he is finally allowed to leave the kingdom, 'si quidem huiusmodi veniâ, secundum vim et tenorem statuorum opus esse videatur.'

[4] Charles Wesley (1707–88).

[5] James Hervey (1714–58).

[6] George Whitefield (1714–70).

[7] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 311, not to be confused with John Clayton on p. 315.

courage, virtuous living, and good works of these youthful pioneers; and, although in subsequent years he became a High churchman and Jacobean, still there can be no doubt about his earnestness, when, as an Hulmeian Exhibitioner, he wrote to John Wesley on August 1, 1732:

'Bocardo,[1] I fear, grows worse upon my hands; they have done nothing but quarrel ever since you left us; and they carried matters so high on Saturday that the bailiffs were sent for, who ordered Tomlyns to be fettered and put in the dungeon, where he lay some hours, and then, upon promise of his good behaviour was released again.

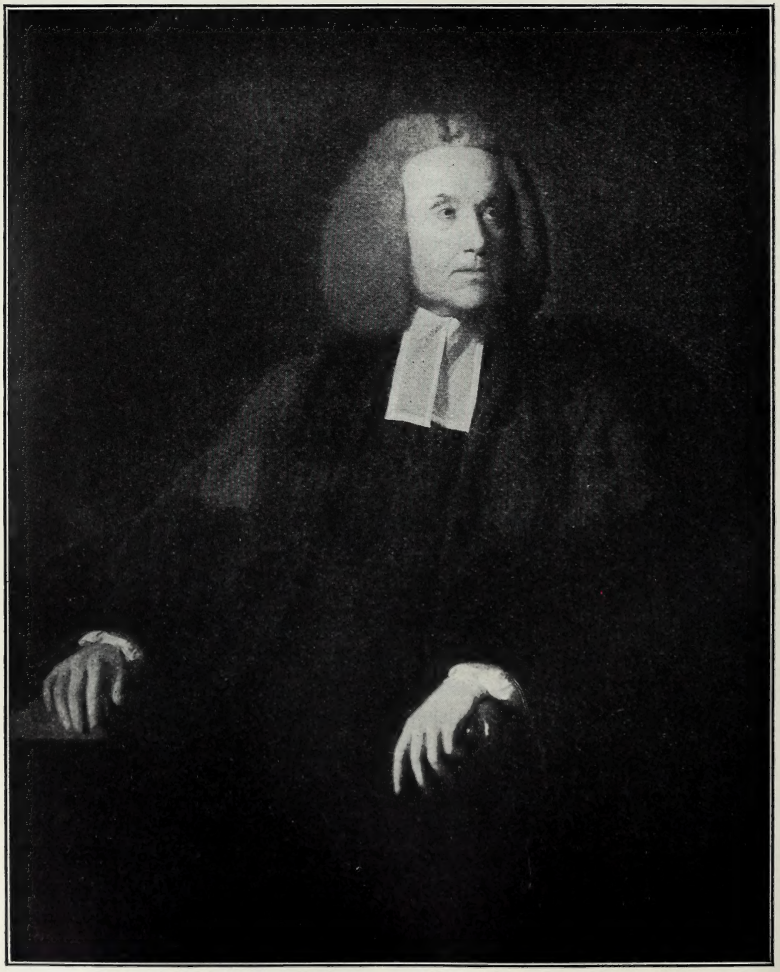
'The Castle is, I thank God, in much better condition. All the felons were acquitted except Salmon, who is referred to be tried at Warwick; and the sheep-stealer, who is burnt in the hand, and who, I verily believe, is a great penitent. Jempro is discharged, and I have appointed Harris to read to the prisoners in his stead. Two of the felons likewise have paid their fees and are gone out, both of them able to read mighty well. There are only two in the gaol who want the accomplishment—John Clanville, who reads but moderately, and the horse-stealer, who cannot read at all. He knows all his letters, however, and can spell most of the common monosyllables. I have them both read, three times a week; and, I believe, Salmon hears them so many times a day.

'One of my college scholars has left me, but the others go on mighty well. The woman, who was a perfect novice, spells tolerably; and so does one of the boys; and the others made shift to read with spelling every word that is longer than ordinary. The boys can both say their Catechism as far as the end of the Commandments; and can likewise repeat the morning and evening prayer for children in Ken's manual'.[2]

'Mrs. Tireby has been very ill this last week so that she has made no great proficiency. I am to go down at six o'clock to hear the determination of a meeting of St. Thomas' parish respecting separating Bossum and his wife. When I had promised to give a crown towards clothing the woman, and the overseer had determined to take her upon that condition, the churchwarden would needs have him try to foist the man upon me, too, to get a crown towards clothing him; but as he is able to work for his living, I don't think him a proper object for charity; nor can I at this time afford to do anything for him, because I am apprehensive that I must be forced to contribute to Salmon's relief, who will want near twenty shillings to subpœna proper witnesses to Warwick at his trial; and I cannot but think it a much greater act of charity to relieve a suffering innocent than to relieve an idle beggar.

[1] This was the City gaol; it was destroyed in 1771. Cf. Godley, *ut supra*, p. 25.

[2] Is this Bishop Ken's *Manual of Prayers for Scholars of Winchester College* (1674)?



Dr. Francis Yarborough
Principal 1745–70

'I have been twice at the school, namely on Tuesday and Saturday last, and intend to go again as soon as I have finished this letter. The children all go on pretty well except Jervaise's boy, who, I found truant till eleven o'clock in a morning. I threatened the boy what we would do to him if ever he truanted any more, and he has promised (as all children do) that he will do so no more; nay his mother assures me that she will take care for the future that he shall not. I got a shilling for her from our Vice-Principal,[1] and gave her sixpence myself to prevent the gown that is in pawn from being sold; and the woman who has it promised not to sell it, provided Jervaise will bring her sixpence a week towards redeeming it.

'I have obtained leave to go to St. Thomas's workhouse twice a week. I am sure the people stand much in need of instruction, for there is hardly a soul that can read in the whole house, and those that can don't understand one word of what they read. Pray don't forget a few Common Prayer-books for the Castle'.[2]

Marriages in College Chapel.

This letter is the only evidence that Brasenose men took any interest in an important and far-reaching movement. From this time for some years the College records are somewhat meagre; but two curious entries for the years 1735 and 1738 occur in the North Hincksey Parish Register. 'John Watts and Rebecca Spindler were married in Brasen Nose College Chapel, Oxon, by J. Parker,[3] June 2, 1735'; and 'James Hanks and Elizabeth Besly' were married in the same chapel by the same man on December 31, 1738. Such services were somewhat unusual, though similar instances have been found at Hart Hall between 1730 and 1732, and at Corpus Christi College in 174¾.[4]

Francis Yarborough 1713–70.

The most important event in College history at this time was the election of Francis Yarborough[5] as Principal on December 9, 1745. He was a Yorkshireman by birth, and for that reason was appointed to a Higden fellowship in 1719. He was Junior Bursar in 1729 and 1730, and Senior Bursar from 1730 to 1737. In 1739 he became rector of Aynhoe, and according to custom resigned his fellowship on May 10 the following year. When Yarborough became

[1] Rev. John Prichard (matric. 1717); cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 299.

[2] Buchan, *ut supra*, App. J., pp. 189–91.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 301.

[4] It is to be remembered that these marriages were made before Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753.

[5] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 293.

Principal, Great Britain was passing through a period of alarms caused by the landing of Prince Charles Edward and his six companions at Moidart. The Rebellion of 1745 played an important part in the history of Great Britain and of Europe, and probably affected in a much less serious manner the history of the University and of Brasenose College. From April 4, 1745, to March 20, 1746, there were only twelve matriculations, a scarcity of entries that must have been partially caused by the rush young men made to serve in the armies of either the 'Bonnie' Prince or the 'Butcher' Cumberland. Brasenose men, however, kept quiet in Oxford itself, and there was not so much excitement as there had been at the time of the 'Fifteen'. It was well that they were more peacefully inclined, for stringent measures were taken against some of their youthful contemporaries at Balliol, and the harsh action of the Crown served as a warning to the more boisterous spirits at B. N. C.[1] From this time better order was kept; political bitterness and 'party' rowdyism began to disappear; and the College authorities began to pay more attention to their own private affairs and to the claims of learning and education.[2]

Internal improvements, 1740–50.

A great stimulus to learning was given in 1749 when the Radcliffe Library was opened.[3] By the erection of this handsome building the external appearance of Brasenose was completely altered, for it was 'situated in the midst of an ample and superb square'[4] which had been formed by the destruction of old buildings, amongst them the Brasenose College stable,[5] which was transferred to Holywell. About the same time the College undertook internal improvements,

[1] For this story cf. O. H. S., xvi, p. 422, and Smollett, *Hist.*, Bk. III, ch. i, § 16.

[2] That this was needed, cf. Scott, *Works of Dean Swift* (1824), ix, p. 68; Boswell, *Johnson*, c. iii; Brodrick, *Hist. Univ. Oxford*, c. xv, p. 177; Bentham, *Memoirs*, x, pp. 38–41; Thistlewayte's *Memoirs of Bishop Bathurst*; Polwhele, *Traditions and Recollections*; *Autob. of Dr. Carlyle*, p. 363; and Moritz, *Travels*, pp. 89–95.

[3] The foundation stone was laid on May 17, 1737; the opening ceremony took place on April 13, 1749. Cf. O. H. S., xvi, p. 422.

[4] *The New Oxford Guide* (1775), p. 12.

[5] Mon. X, pp. 46–7; cf. Mon. IV, p. 37. In 1770 Ralph Cawley gave £42 for accommodating the new lodge and building a coach-house.

and in 1748 the open fire in the middle of the Hall beneath the louvre was done away with and a chimney built at the cost of £14 7*s*.[1] But the Hall was not even then warm enough, for the open timber roof left it draughty, so Dr. Yarborough, in 1751, gave £120 'for stuccoing the ceiling in the Hall and passage',[2] besides a further sum for glazing the windows. A few years later he renewed his benefactions by helping to pay for the repaving of the Hall.[3] Funds were evidently plentiful at this time, and the gifts of land, money, and plate were very considerable.[4] The Fellows, also, did their best to improve the incomes of the different benefices in their gift,[5] and to bring the College finances to a high state of perfection.

The Seven Years' War, 1756–63.

The University of Oxford showed the very keenest interest in the Seven Years' War,[6] but the share that members of the University took in the actual fighting was very small; and there is no evidence to show that more than one Brasenose man, Thomas Nowell[7] (matric. 1752), received a commission. It is, however, noticeable that the year 1756 shows the smallest number of matriculations throughout the University during the eighteenth century, and there were only thirteen entries at Brasenose, which meant, as in the year 1745, that more men took up the profession of arms. But eventful as these years were in the world's history, it may truly be said that, as of nations, so of colleges, happy is the one that has no history, and Brasenose from 1745 to 1770[8] must have been in an exalted state of felicity.

[1] Mon. III, p. 42. [2] Mon. IV, p. 34.

[3] Mon. III, p. 43. An oak floor was laid in the Hall in 1909.

[4] Mon. IV and V, passim.

[5] July 11, 1757, it was decided that the next time the rectories of Limehouse and Stepney became vacant, they were to be separated and the income of Stepney increased.

May 7, 1758, the income of the rectory of St. Dunstan's was augmented.

1765, many incomes of rectors increased.

Jan. 20, 1790, all the livings unenclosed at their becoming vacant to be valued at the College expense; incomes of all College livings to be increased up to £250.

June 28, 1793, certain livings made up to £300 *de claro*.

[6] O. H. S., xli, 276. [7] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 346.

[8] But compare the romantic story of Thomas Clack (matric. 1763), *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 358.

William Gwyn, 1751–70.

Dr. Yarborough died at Bath on April 24, 1770, and in his will he once again remembered the needs of his college, leaving £350 for the use of the Library.[1] He was succeeded by William Gwyn,[2] as thirteenth Principal, on May 10. This man was the son of a Lancashire clergyman, and had matriculated at Brasenose at the early age of fifteen in 1751. He was elected to an Hulmeian Exhibition in 1754, and five months after taking his Bachelor of Arts degree was appointed a Founders' Fellow on July 4, 1757. He was not spared long enough to prove himself a capable principal, for on August 17, following his election, he died under somewhat remarkable circumstances.

'He had arrived at Brighton on Friday morning, 17 Aug. 1770, and after ordering dinner by two o'clock went to take a walk, but never returning alive, on Sunday 19 Aug., his body was discovered by some boys lying flat on his face by the edge of a path-way west of the town close to Brighton churchyard among standing barley. There were several guineas, a pocket-book &c found about him. The body was taken to the New Ship and examined by the principal physician of Brighton, Dr. Awsiter, who gave it as his opinion that Mr. G. fell in a fit and was suffocated for want of timely assistance.'[3]

Ralph Cawley, 1738–77.

The Principal's sudden death in vacation made it necessary for the Fellows to meet earlier than usual, and on September 4 they elected Ralph Cawley[4] as fourteenth Principal. He was many years senior to Mr. Gwyn, having matriculated in 1738, thirteen years before the latter came to the College. On January 21, 174¾, he had been elected Fellow, and for the rest of his life showed the greatest generosity to his College.[5] He was the first Principal to live in 'an elegant house lately fitted up at considerable Expence'[6] on the High Street; for up to that time the Principal had lived in Old Lodge[7] in some-

[1] Mon. IV, p. 37.
[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 344.
[3] Quoted in the *B. N. C. Reg.*
[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 330.
[5] Mon. IV, p. 37.
[6] *The New Oxford Guide* (1775), p. 46.
[7] An entry in Principal Cawley's Note Book says 'At Mich[s] 1771, the Principal left the Old Lodge, and went into the new one—after this, the Old Lodge according to an act of Seniority, was divided and fitted up for the Reception of the Fellows and others.'

what confined quarters. The new lodgings were not built from the ground, but a house near St. Mary's Church was altered and enlarged.[1]

Mr. Napleton's proposed reform, 1773.

This period, however, was marked by something more than mere bricks and mortar. It was a time of agitation, a time when thinking Fellows were doing their best to propose schemes[2] to remedy the scandalous abuses and utter slackness exhibited in the different examinations for degrees.[3] The one really great and sound reform that has been preserved sprang from the brain of Mr. John Napleton (matric. 1755).[4] He was Vice-Principal of Brasenose 1769–70, and Senior Bursar from 1771–6. It was during his period of office as Bursar that he published, in 1773, *Considerations on the Public Exercises for the First and Second Degrees in the University of Oxford.* He pointed out very carefully that some reforms were necessary because 'we have no distinction of Classes, the Degree itself, if he obtain it in any

[1] Mon. III, pp. 40–3, Plate XXVII. See photograph in the Senior Common Room. Another alteration that was made during Cawley's rule was the numbering of the staircases; cf. Mon. III, pp. 43–4.

[2] Some of these proposals were, of course, purely jocular, as the scheme brought forward in 1782, containing four main points:—(1) Fellows' incomes to be reduced and All Souls 'which is useless' to be abolished; (2) no young man to be allowed a barber to disfigure the natural comeliness of youth; (3) tutors and professors were not necessarily to be parsons; (4) examinations were to be private, 'that no boy having dull parts should be exposed to the sneer of his comrades.' Cf. O. H. S., xvi, p. 430.

[3] Godley, *ut supra*, pp. 178, 179, says, 'Examinations for the B.A. degree were almost social functions, held not, as now, at fixed times, but so as to suit the convenience of the individual candidate and the examiners whom he chose. "The examiners and the candidate often converse on the last drinking bout or on horses, or read the newspaper or a novel, or divert themselves as well as they can till the clock strikes eleven, when all parties descend and the *testimonium* is signed by the masters." . . . John Scott (Lord Eldon) took his B.A. degree in 1770, after an examination in Hebrew and history: he is said to have been asked two questions only—"What is the Hebrew for *the place of a skull*?" and "Who founded University College?" The story is related by Cambridge men and disbelieved . . . by Oxonians: but whether true or false, it is not *a priori* improbable, and Oxford need not strain at a mere gnat like this.' Cf. Gibbon, *Autobiography*; *The Correspondence of the first Earl of Malmesbury*; Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, bk. v, ch. i; and Twiss, *Life of Lord Eldon.*

[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 350.

way, is equally reputable.'[1] He then asked, 'Can it in reason be expected that a student shall take any pains . . . . when his audience consists solely of his Fellow Disputant?'[2] 'The principal reason,' he stated, 'of the decline of our Academical Exercises is that they are become TOO PRIVATE.'[3] He therefore proposed for the degree of Bachelor of Arts:—

I. 'To provide that in the first part of the DISPUTATIONES IN PARVISO, which is usually called GENERALS, be duly superintended *a principio ad finem*: to reduce the length of them to one hour; and to hold them all at one particular time. To omit the latter part commonly called JURAMENTS.'

II. 'To provide that the Disputations called ANSWERING UNDER BACHELOR, be duly superintended either the whole or at least the greater part of the time.

'To add to the preceding Exercises TWO DECLAMATIONS, one in English, the other in Latin, to be delivered publicly in the Theatre in Oct. Term.'

III. 'To hold the EXAMINATION annually in the Lent Term . . . to ascertain and enlarge that part of the Examination which respects Mathematical Learning: to make the Historical Parts of the New Testament one of the Books prescribed by the Statute; and to substitute the Articles of the Church of England: and lastly to assign an honourable distinction to such Candidates as excel.'

Mr. Napleton also proposed to reform the examinations for the M.A. and B.C.L. degrees.[4] The practical outcome of his scheme was that there should be three classes, the third being composed of those who, to use modern terms, 'satisfied the examiner'.[5] Mr. Napleton's[6] plan was not adopted, and all reform had to wait until the 'new Examination Statute', the parent of the present system, was passed in 1800.

Four Brasenose celebrities.

While Mr. Napleton was exercising a considerable influence towards hard work,[7] there were four men who were contemporaries at the College and worthy of note. The first

[1] Napleton, *Tracts* (edition 1805), p. 27. [2] Ibid., p. 31. [3] Ibid., p. 33.
[4] Ibid., pp. 75–6. [5] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 180.

[6] Mr. Napleton's attack did not win him sufficient popularity to gain the post of Camden Professor of Ancient History. On December 2, 1773, there was a most spirited contest for this chair, and it was won by Mr. William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell. The voting was as follows:—Mr. Scott, 140; Mr. Bandinel, 115; Mr. Napleton, 99. Cf. O. H. S., xli, p. 326.

[7] It was probably due to Napleton's influence that Hugh Morgan (matric. 1769, *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 366) won the English Essay prize in 1774, his subject being 'Gaming'. He was the first Brasenose man to win this prize.

was Ralph Churton[1] (matric. 1772). He was born in 1754 in the parish of Malpas, Cheshire, and was educated at the grammar school of that town, and found a friend and patron in its rector, Dr. Thomas Tomson. It was largely due to the kindness and generosity of this man that Churton was able to come to Brasenose. He became devotedly fond of his college, and spent much of his time researching into the history of its founders and of its ever-memorable benefactor, Alexander Nowell.[2] He was elected a Frankland Fellow in 1778, and was Bampton lecturer in 1785.[3] On December 20, 1808, the Bursars were 'authorized to present Archdeacon Churton with the sum of £100 in consideration of his literary zeal and labour so assiduously devoted to the memory of the Founders and Benefactors'.[4] Henry Addington[5] (matric. 1774) was a contemporary of Ralph Churton. He was the son of Dr. Anthony Addington, who had been physician to the great Lord Chatham. After some years at Winchester, he came to Brasenose and took his B.A. degree in 1778. At first he became a barrister, but quitting the Bar for politics he was returned as member of Parliament for Devizes in 1783. From 1789 to 1801 he was Speaker of the House of Commons; and upon Pitt's resignation, over the Catholic Emancipation question, he was invited to form a ministry. His administration, which was entirely undistinguished, except for the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, came to an end in 1804. In 'the year of Trafalgar' he was created Viscount Sidmouth, and between 1812 and 1821, as Home Secretary, he earned the bitterest hatred of the working-class owing to his coercive measures.[6] The third member of this famous quartette was Benjamin Hobhouse[7] (matric. 1774). He was born in 1757, and was educated at Bristol. After leaving Brasenose he proceeded to the Bar, and took up with avidity the politics

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 369. [2] Mon. X, p. 25.

[3] These lectures had been started in 1780, though the bequest had been made in 1751.

[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 369. [5] Ibid., p. 371.

[6] His life was written by Dean Pellew in 1847.

[7] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 372. Not to be confused with Henry Hobhouse (matric. 1793).

of his time. He was first returned for Bletchingley in 1797, and then for the notorious borough of Grampound in 1802, and for the scarcely less notorious Hindon in 1806. Under his old College friend, Addington, he served as Secretary to the Board of Control in 1803; and two years later was chairman of the Committee of Supplies. He was created a Baronet in 1812, and died on August 14, 1831. John Latham[1] (matric. 1773) formed the last of the group. He was born in 1761, and after a brilliant career at the University, he became Physician to the Prince of Wales, and President of the College of Physicians. He was a voluminous writer on medical and scientific subjects, while at the same time he attained an enormous private practice at his residence in Bedford Row. The College so respected this great doctor that they thought him worthy of being commemorated by a portrait, which is hung in the Hall.[2]

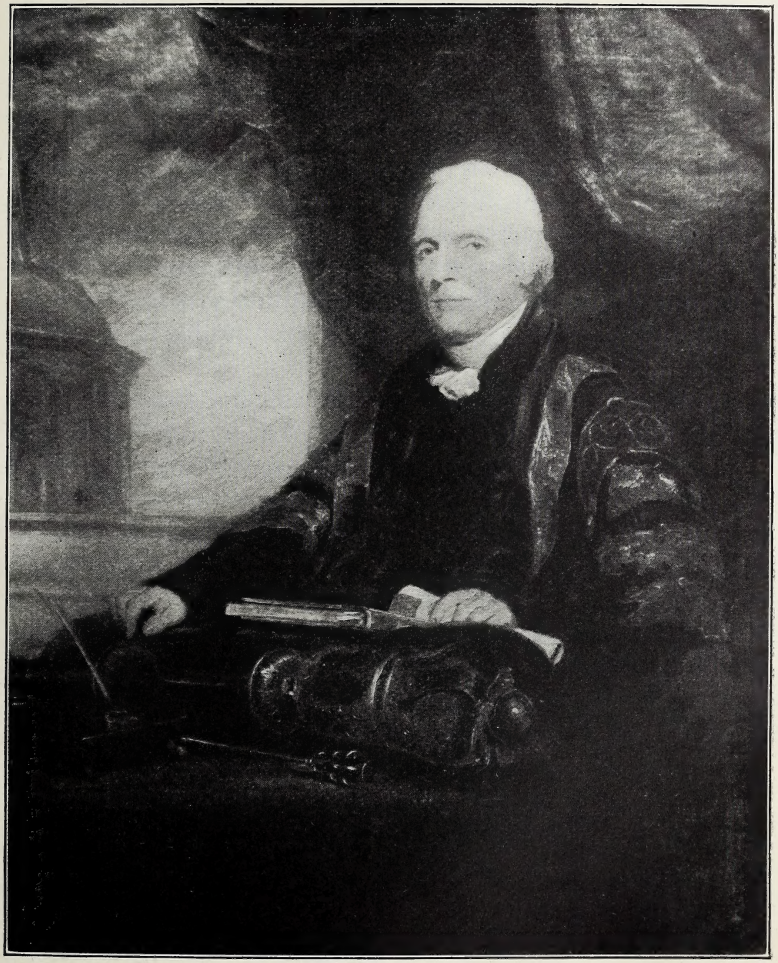
The War of American Independence, 1775–83.

The names of Brasenose men who became celebrated ought not to preclude the mention of Brasenose *minora sidera* who also played a part, however humble, in the great events of the world:

> 'And passed content, leaving to us the pride
> Of lives obscurely great.'[3]

While Addington and his contemporaries were imbibing a knowledge of classics and mathematics within the quiet walls of the College, the outer world was stunned by the clash and din of arms, caused by the unfortunate parsimony of the American colonists on the one side, and the pig-headedness of George III and his advisers on the other. Two Brasenose men, at any rate, took some share in this American War of Independence. Thomas Gildart[4] (matric. 1774) was a captain in Colonel Tarleton's Legion which won such renown at Camden and elsewhere[5]; while John Harries[6] (matric. 1774) was a captain of the 33rd Foot, and fell, fighting bravely for his

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 372. [2] Mon. VII, p. 21.
[3] Newbolt, *The Island Race* (edit. 5), p. 26. [4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 372.
[5] Hunt, *Political History of England*, 1760–1801, p. 220.
[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 372.



Dr. John Latham
President of the Royal College of Physicians
(matr. 1773)

King and country, at the battle of Brandywine, on September 11, 1777.

Domestic disputes.

The external bickerings of nations had their counterpart in the internal quarrels of the Common Room. Some time before Principal Cawley died, old age and failing health prevented him from keeping the peace among the younger members of the governing body. At the end of 1776 there is a long record of disputes between the senior members of the College concerning the completion of the audit and the election of officers. As the Principal was too ill to settle the matter, the quarrels grew worse and worse, until at last an appeal was made to the Visitor.[1] Before his decision came, however, the elections were concluded on December 28, and fortunately the Visitor's injunctions on January 3, 1777, merely confirmed them.[2]

Thomas Barker, 1744-85.

Ralph Cawley died on August 31, 1777, and was buried in the ante-chapel, where now his window, originally for the east, forms the western light. He was succeeded by Thomas Barker[3] (matric. $174\frac{4}{5}$), who was elected on September 14. He was the brother of the butler of Brasenose, a respectable old man who lived in a small house in what was then Cat Street.[4] He had been elected to a Founders' Fellowship on January 27, $17\frac{49}{50}$, and had served as Senior Proctor in 1761. In the same year he had become a member of the little known political club, the *Red Herring*,[5] which existed as far back as 1694, and was composed of senior members of the University.[6] During Barker's period of rule a far more interesting club was founded, which is now known as the Phoenix Common Room, and which has had the longest life of any social club in the

[1] John Green, Bishop of Lincoln.

[2] V. P.'s Reg.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 338.

[4] Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, p. 161.

[5] 'Feb. 24. 1761. Mr. Barker of Brazennose College was unanimously elected a member of this Club. Rd. Scrope. Sec.'

[6] Meetings were held every Tuesday night at the rooms of each member in turn, and they discussed politics between seven and nine o'clock. The anniversaries of the Club were celebrated at the King's Head Tavern, High Street, or at the 'Turl'. Each member was fined for non-attendance, and these fines were spent at the anniversary 'as usual'. See an interesting octavo volume of MS. in the possession of Mr. Falconer Madan, which contains a complete list of members, rules, and fines; it ends in 1761.

University. It immediately attracted a certain amount of attention, and it has embraced within its circle some of the most brilliant men that Brasenose has ever produced.[1]

The 'Whippiad'.

The year 1783 is remarkable for the matriculation of two men who afterwards made names for themselves, but not of an enviable character. The first of these was John Tench,[2] who was Proctor in 1800, and Regius Concionator at Whitehall in 1809. He must have been a very extraordinary character, and 'was at once pronounced to be an odd fish, when he came up after some years' absence from Oxford, wearing a vulgar-looking, powdered one-curled wig, speaking with a strong Lancashire dialect, and reading with a voice of thunder: indeed his enunciation of the oaths and exhortations on Degree-days was an awful infliction on the drum of one's ear'.[3] Henry Halliwell was a contemporary of Dr. Tench; he was elected to a Fellowship on February 26, 1790, served as Junior and Senior Bursar, and was commonly known as 'Dr. Toe'. It was, indeed, under this title that he became the central object of Heber's humorous poem, the *Whippiad*.[4] The way in which Henry Halliwell earned his unenviable notoriety was somewhat unpleasant.

'A certain friend of Heber's,[5] Bernard Port,[6] was found cracking a four-horse whip in the quadrangle, to the immense disgust of a certain doctor, a fellow and tutor, and at that time also dean of the College, commonly called Dr. Toe from a defect in one of his feet. This gentleman had made himself obnoxious to most of those of his own College by his absurd conduct and regulations. On the following day Mr. Port again cracked the whip in the quadrangle, whereupon the doctor issued from his rooms in great wrath, and after remonstrating with Mr. Port and endeavouring to take the whip from him, a scuffle ensued in which the whip was broken,

[1] See *Social Life*, Pt. ii, p. 61.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 384.

[3] Cox, *ut supra*, p. 203. Mr. Hornby in a marginal note says 'one cd hear him reading in chapel as far off as the archway into the quad . . . he wore, as Hodson expressed it "nasty fustian breeches and filthy worsted stockings".'

[4] *Blackwood's Magazine* (1843), vol. lxiv.

[5] Reginald Heber, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 406. It is rather curious that they should have known each other intimately, for B. Port took his M.A. degree a fortnight before Heber matriculated.

[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 398.

and the doctor overpowered and thrown down by the victorious Port, who had fortunately taken his degree of Master of Arts.'[1]

The famous *Whippiad* begins in the true heroical style:

'Where whiten'd Cain the curse of Heaven defies,
And leaden slumber seals his brother's eyes,
Where o'er the porch in brazen splendour glows
The vast projection of the mystic nose,
Triumph erewhile of Bacon's fabled arts,
Now well hung symbol of the students' parts;
'Midst those unhallow'd walls and gloomy cells
Where everything but Contemplation dwells,
Dire was the feud our sculptural Alfred saw
And thy grim bearded bust Erigena.'

'Dr. Toe' then threatened Dr. Port with a severe imposition,[2] but Port wrestled on, until suddenly the end came.

'Till now the Dean with throat extended wide,
And faltering shout, for speedy succour cried
To them who in yon grateful cell repose
Where Greenland odours feast the stranger's nose.—
"Scouts, porters, shoe-blacks, whatsoe'er your trade,
All, all attend, your master's fist to aid!"
They heard his voice and trembling at the sound,
The half-breech'd legions swarmed like moths around;
But ah! the half-breech'd legions, call'd in vain,
Dismay'd and useless, fill'd the cumber'd plain;
And while for servile aid the Doctor calls,
By Port subverted, prone to earth he sprawls.'

Reginald Heber added a somewhat wicked footnote:—'"Procumbit humi bos." This is not the first time the Doctor has been overcome by *port*.' Mr. Buchan has supplied another anecdote about this unfortunate 'Doctor Toe':—

'He is lampooned by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and a letter in the same volume of the *Maga* adds still another page to his fame. "As an appendage to the Whippiad," says the writer, "the following *jeu d'esprit*, attributed to the same pen, may not be unacceptable. The young lady to whom Dr. Toe's attentions were supposed to have been paid was

[1] *Blackwood's Magazine* (1843), vol. lxiv. [2] See Pt. ii, *Social Life*, p. 41.

a certain Miss Bell H . . ., who eventually jilted him and married her footman, a circumstance which gave rise to the following stanzas:—

'Twixt footman John and Doctor Toe
A rivalship befell,
Which of the two should be the Beau
To bear away the Belle!

'The Footman won the lady's heart
And who can blame her? No man.
The *whole* prevailed against the *part*,
'Twas *Foot*-man *versus Toe*-man.'[1]

William Cleaver, 1757–1809.

Long before this event had taken place Dr. Thomas Barker had died,[2] and was succeeded on September 10, 1785, by William Cleaver.[3] He had matriculated at Magdalen College in 1757, and was elected to a Darbie Fellowship at Brasenose on October 22, 1762. Twenty-two years later he was made prebendary of Westminster, and was promoted to the Bishopric of Chester in 1788, whence he was translated to Bangor in 1800 and to St. Asaph in 1806.[4] He has been described by De Quincey as 'a wise, temperate, and successful reformer; a splendid pluralist, armed with diocesan thunder and lightning'.[5] He was 'a tall man with good features and a stately gait'; he looked (as the old Brasenose porter used to say) 'quite the bishop'. The *effect*, too, was not a little increased by a habit of walking with both his hands upon his chest, and these hands, as in the portrait, made conspicuous by gloves of bright *Bishop's purple*.[6]

[1] Buchan, *ut supra*, pp. 65–6.

[2] That Principal Barker took some interest in the history of the College is shown by a letter of his thanking Lord Dacre for a drawing of the ancient arch and door of Brasenose Hall at Stamford. 'The beauty of the drawing itself as well as the relation it bears to the College in Oxford will always render it a valuable possession to the Society.' Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., xiii. App. 4.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 352.

[4] There is a fine portrait of Bishop Cleaver in the College Hall, painted by John Hoppner. It was engraved in mezzotint by James Ward between 1800 and 1806.

[5] Quoted in Mon. VII, p. 20.

[6] Cox, *ut supra*, p. 159. 'In 1768, Mr. Cleaver . . . offered himself as a candidate for the office of Librarian to the Bodleian, and was opposed by Mr. Price of Jesus College. The contest was so close, that after a long polling in Convocation Mr. Price was elected by a *majority of only one vote*.'



Dighton's Caricature of Bishop Cleaver, Principal of the College, A.D. 1808
(entitled 'A View from Brazen-Nose College')

During his period of office Brasenose seems to have been a very expensive college, and the Principal himself was known to declare that 'he hated a college of paupers'.[1] Nevertheless, he was evidently most popular and respected, for on November 1, 1809, it was resolved to present him with a piece of plate 'in recognition of the zeal, talent, and integrity with which he has presided over the interests of the College for 24 years, and the effects of which are testified by an unexampled increase in its members, its revenue, and its fame.'[2]

Frodsham Hodson, 1787–1822.

Bishop Cleaver undoubtedly attracted many men of considerable intellectual capacity to come to the College. In 1787 Frodsham Hodson[3] matriculated, and ultimately succeeded Cleaver as Principal. Hodson had the 'rare advantage of a good figure, handsome countenance, and winning address';[4] and had a most brilliant career as an undergraduate. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on January 14, 1791, and in the following May was elected as Hulmeian Exhibitioner. In 1792 he won the English Essay prize, his subject being 'The influence of Education and Government on National character.' He became a Founders' Fellow on October 28, 1794, and from that time served the College with the greatest loyalty. It was of this man, in later years, that Mark Pattison tells the now familiar story, and says:—'After one Long Vacation Hodson drove the last stage into Oxford with post-horses. The reason he gave for this piece of ostentation was "that it should not be said that the first tutor of the first College of the first University in the world entered it with a pair".'[5]

Richard Heber (matric. 1790).

In the year that Frodsham Hodson took his B.A. degree, Earl Temple,[6] son of the Marquis of Buckingham, matriculated

[1] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 127.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 352. During Bishop Cleaver's term of office he occasionally ordained men in the College Chapel. Cf. the case of Robert Potter (matric. 1792) who was ordained by the Principal in 1799.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 388.

[4] Cox, *ut supra*, p. 193.

[5] Pattison, *Memoirs*.

[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 394. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 1894, I, Pt. ii, p. 239. The Marquis of Buckingham, writing to Lord Granville on December 13, 1791, says: 'Your messenger followed me to Oxford, where I have passed the two last days, having at length settled my boy at Brazenose.'

at Brasenose, and earned some fame in after years in the field of politics and affairs of state. Richard Heber,[1] elder brother of the more famous Reginald, was a contemporary of Hodson and of Lord Temple.

'He was extraordinarily precocious, and at seventeen is said to have begun an edition of Persius. He graduated B.A. in 1796, and M.A. the year later. In 1792 he had published an edition of Silius Italicus and had completed part of an edition of Claudian. . . . His chief title to fame rests on his enormous collection of books, of which, at his death, he had eight houses full—two in London, one at Hodnet, one in Oxford High Street, others at Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent. There seems to have been altogether about 146,827 volumes, besides countless pamphlets and loose papers . . . "No gentleman," he used to say, "can be without three copies of a book—one for use, one for show, and one for borrowers." The "fiercest and strongest of all bibliomaniacs", the poet Campbell called him; and Dibdin, in his grandiloquent way, styled him "the Atticus who united all the activity of De Witt and Lomenie, with the retentiveness of Magliabecchi and the learning of Lelong". Scott, in a letter to Ellis, talks of "Heber the magnificent, whose library and cellar are so superior to all others in the world".'[2]

Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta.

Richard Heber's half-brother Reginald earned for himself a far wider reputation. He matriculated at Brasenose in 1800.[3] 'He was then a gay young fellow, a wit and a satirist, and burning for literary fame.'[4] His career as an undergraduate was most remarkable; in his first year he won the Latin Verse Prize with a *carmen seculare* on the opening of the new century.[5]

'Two years later he won the Newdigate,[6] with his *Palestine*, a poem which Dr. Crotch set to music in 1812, and which has often been reprinted. It was probably the most successful prize poem ever written, and to us of to-day . . . it seems strange to hear of the Sheldonian crowded not only at the Encænia but at the rehearsal and the audience crazy with delight.[7] . . . The Newdigate Poem is associated with a story

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 392.

[2] Buchan, *ut supra*, cf. Scott, *Marmion*, Intro., Canto VI.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 406.

[4] Scott, *Journal*, ii, p. 250.

[5] No Brasenose man had won this prize between 1769 and 1800.

[6] Reginald Heber was the first Brasenose man to win this.

[7] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 58. Cf. Cox, *ut supra*, p. 48. He says: 'there was also such a peculiar charm in his recitation'; but in the Brasenose Library copy, in a marginal note, George Hornby (matric. 1808) says this is 'not true for his

in which Sir Walter Scott plays a part.... He breakfasted with... Reginald in his rooms in Brasenose,[1] where the young man read to the now famous writer the verses which had gained the prize.'[2]

Lockhart says:—

'Scott observed that in the verses on Solomon's Temple, one striking circumstance had escaped him, namely, that no tools were used in the erection. Reginald retired for a few minutes to the corner of the room, and returned with the beautiful lines[3]:—

'No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung,
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.
Majestic silence!'[4]

Heber, having gained an All Souls Fellowship, left Oxford, and some twenty years later died at Trichinopoly, worn out by his exertions on behalf of his diocese of Calcutta.

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

Just before Heber brought such lustre upon Brasenose College several men matriculated who afterwards took an active part in the service of their country during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The first of these was John Thoyts[5] (matric. 1789), who became a lieutenant-colonel of the Horse Guards Blue, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Waterloo. Samuel Briscall[6] (matric. 1797) did not actually engage in fighting, though he witnessed a great deal, for he became chaplain to the Duke of Wellington and served with him throughout the Peninsular War, was present at Waterloo, and accompanied the Duke to Paris in 1815. A contemporary of his, Edmund Henry Joddrell[7] (matric. 1798), commanded the 2nd Grenadier Guards, fought at Barossa and elsewhere in the Peninsula; while another, Henry William

recitation was remarkably bad as I was told by those who heard him. His friends were in despair: my brother [Edward Thomas Stanley Hornby (matric. 1800)], who was then at B. N. C. and Ric. Heber, his brother, were constantly at work to improve him.'

[1] One pair left No. VI; one window overlooks 'Heber's Tree' in Exeter Gardens.

[2] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 59.

[3] Lockhart, *Life of Scott* (1837), i. 374.

[4] The printed editions run :—

'No workman steel, no ponderous axes rung;
Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric sprung.'

[5] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 391. [6] Ibid., p. 402. [7] Ibid., p. 402.

Davenport[1] (matric. 1798), also took up the profession of arms. It is reasonable to suppose that the military instincts of these two men had been aroused in the year of their matriculation, for at that time 500 members of the University enrolled themselves in a volunteer corps, or 'Armed Association'; and in their blue coats faced with white, their duck pantaloons, and short black gaiters, presented a very imposing spectacle on Port Meadow when reviewed by the Duke of York.[2] Besides these undergraduates to take his Majesty's commission there were Charles Delact Sibthorpe[3] (matric. 1801), who served in the 4th Dragoons during part of the great struggle in Spain; Charles Hervey Smith[4] (matric. 1801), who attained the rank of colonel; and Simon George Newport[5] (matric. 1802), who afterwards became lieutenant-colonel of the 10th Hussars.

Sir Tatton Sykes, an example of Brasenose character.

Of all Brasenose men at this period, Sir Tatton Sykes[6] (matric. 1788) is probably the most typical of the College, and possessed of those characteristics that the College has at all times delighted to honour. Mr. Buchan has well said of him:

'Hearty, kindly, a prince of sportsmen and good fellows, he was one of the last members of an ancient and honourable community, the old English country gentlemen. He was born in August, 1772, and came to Brasenose from Westminster School. Unfortunately no tradition of his College life is preserved, but his lot fell in the happy days of abuses when men used the College as a hunting box, and took their degrees as a matter of course. . . . When he succeeded to his estates he settled down to the life of a country gentleman, and gave himself to agriculture and his well-beloved sports. . . . His feats on horseback almost pass belief . . . he once rode from Sledmere to Aberdeen to ride his friend the Marquis of Huntly's "Kutusoff", and when the race was over, started off home again without waiting to dine, and slept the first night at Brechin. He took six days to the performance, and the distance there and back was not much off 720 miles. . . . Yorkshire regarded him as her peculiar pride,

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 403.

[2] Cox, *ut supra*, pp. 33–4. The University and Colleges had already subscribed funds for the support of the nation in the great struggle with revolutionary France. Cf. V.P.'s Reg., April 11, 1794, resolved 'ut ad internam Defensionem summa centum et quinque librarum (£105) e communi collegii cista conferatur'.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 408. [4] Ibid., p. 408. [5] Ibid., p. 410.

[6] Ibid., p. 390.

and it used to be said that natives of that county had three things which they wished all visitors to see. The first was York Minster, the second Fountains Abbey, and the third without fail Sir Tatton.'[1]

Brasenose ideals.

With this hero of sport and agriculture it would be well to close these annals. His name is still a household word in his own county, and though long forgotten in Brasenose College, something of his character still remains among Brasenose men. Sturdy self-reliance, dogged determination in the Schools, upon the playing-fields, and above all upon the river, and an honest endeavour to uphold the long and grand traditions of a noble society, still remain the great ideals of all those men who for a brief but happy spell of their lives passed in and out beneath the cherished Brazen-Nose.

[1] Buchan, *ut supra*, pp. 133–5. Mr. Buchan has several other good stories about this remarkable 't'owd squoire'.

PART II

BRASENOSE COLLEGE SOCIAL LIFE

1690–1803

The College buildings.

THE features of Brasenose College as a building changed hardly at all throughout the eighteenth century. The great alterations had been made some fifty years before, and except for the painting of the Sun-dial and the erection of 'Cain and Abel' in the quadrangle, very little was done to its external aspect. Fortunately there is on record a description of the College, and the quaint wording, together with the fact that it illustrates the effect the appearance of the College had on the eighteenth-century mind makes it worthy of quotation:

'The Refectory itself is neat and convenient, adorned with the Pictures of the principal Benefactors, and very good Paintings on Glass of the two Founders.[1] It stands on the South side of the first Quadrangle. In the Center of which is a Statue of *Cain* and *Abel.*

'Through a Passage on the Left-hand of the Gate of the first Quadrangle we enter the second. This is a more modern Structure, and is supposed to have fallen from the Hands of that great Architect Sir *Christopher Wren.*[2]

'A Cloister with a Library over it forms the East Side, the Chapel the South. The Area is disposed in the form of a Garden planted with flowering Shrubs.

'The Library is rather calculated for real Use, than ornamental Shew. The Chapel has a Neatness and Simplicity becoming the House of God. If these may be considered as the Parents of Beauty, this Edifice has very strong Pretensions to it. The Roof and Altar-Piece and East-Window are each respectively fine.

'The Ante-Chapel has an elegant Monument to the Memory of the late Principal Shippen, who during his presiding over the College had the utmost Regard to its Interest. His Bust gives the strongest Features of his Face.'[3]

[1] Mon. VII, Plates II and III. [2] This is quite erroneous.

[3] *A New Pocket Companion for Oxford* (1781), pp. 45–6.

The character of an eighteenth-century undergraduate.

Although Dr. Shippen had 'the utmost Regard to its Interest', it must be allowed that during his rule and for years after discipline was never rigidly exacted. In 1718,[1] it seems that undergraduates could knock in as late as one or two o'clock in the morning; and the versifier of the day paints a picture of an undergraduate which shows, amongst other things, a great lack of discipline:

'I rise about nine, get to Breakfast by ten
Blow a Tune on my Flute, or perhaps make a Pen;
Read a Play 'till eleven, or cock my lac'd Hat;
Then step to my Neigbours, 'till Dinner to chat.
Dinner over, to *Tom's*, or to *James's* I go,
The News of the Town so impatient to know;
While *Law*, *Locke*, and *Newton*, and all the rum Race,
That talk of their Modes, their Ellipses, and Space,
The Seat of the Soul, and new Systems on high,
In Holes, as abstruse as their Mysteries, lie.
From the Coffee-house then I to Tennis away,
And at five I post back to my College to pray:
I sup before eight, and secure from all Duns,
Undauntedly march to the *Mitre* or *Tuns*;
Where in Punch or good Claret my Sorrows I drown,
And toss off a Bowl "To the best in the Town":
At One in the Morning, I call what's to pay,
Then Home to my College I stagger away,
Thus I tope all the Night, as I trifle all Day.'[2]

Attempts to check extravagance.

The College authorities did their best in 1731 to remedy some of the abuses of Oxford life, and it was resolved on December 18 of that year, 'quod quilibet scholaris ab admissione in collegium donec ad gradum aliquem promotus fuerit, cameram intra collegium continuô habebit, sub pœna quod si quis in hoc deliquerit, nullis collegii Privilegiis aut beneficiis fruatur'.[3] There are, however, no further references in the Vice-Principal's *Register* to any attempts to enforce discipline for thirty-six years. On March 18, 1767, there is an order that the gate should be kept closed until after the chapel service every morning,[4] and from this time onwards there are

[1] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 372. Bishop Cleaver was much more strict, and he insisted on the College gate being locked at 8 p.m. Cf. O. H. S., xvi.

[2] *The Oxford Sausage* (1764).

[3] V. P.'s Reg. C.

[4] Ibid.

numerous instances of the dons attempting to check undue licence and too great extravagance. Thus, on April 9, 1767, the Cook is prohibited from trusting any undergraduate or Bachelor for any dinner or supper not allowed in College Commons. But this rule seems to have broken down, for on November 23, 1779, the Cook was very severely reprimanded and warned for several instances of gross misbehaviour, in particular, for raising the price of Commons without authority.[1]

The enforcement of discipline.

At that time it was a common thing for men to ride up to London, or to go by Haynes' flying coach, which took one day in summer and two in winter.[2] This the College was determined to stop, and, at last, on February 11, 1768,[3] it was resolved that leave should not be granted to any one till he has specified the Principal's permission to the Senior Domus and his Tutor, and has also obtained his Tutor's *exeat* upon paper, to be duly delivered to the Butler for the notice of the Bible Clerk.[4] A fortnight later the dons insisted on a reformation of manners, and the Vice-Principal[5] was especially instructed to see that the men when walking in the College quadrangle paid the usual and proper respect to the Fellows, which they had neglected to do for some time past. The Vice-Principal, however, evidently failed to carry out his instructions, for on May 22, 1775, it was resolved that all Scholars, whether Bachelors or Undergraduates, should show respect to the Principal and Fellows, by 'de via decedendo caput aperiendo, et reverenter salutando quando convenerint et nondum graduatis praesertim intra muros collegii aperto capite assistendo et incedendo quamdiu Dominus Principalis

[1] V. P.'s Reg. C.

[2] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 405.

[3] V. P.'s Reg.

[4] The Bible-Clerk's actual stipend was £1 12*s.* 8*d.*, but in 1773 he received about £54 7*s.*, which was made up from various perquisites, as a Christmas-box of 13*s.* 4*d.*, a guinea when the 'passing-bell' was rung, and the same sum on the election of a Fellow. Principal Cawley, *ut supra*, says that the Bible-Clerk 'of late Yrs . . . . in Considerat^{n} of his Extraordinary Trouble & Attendance has been allow'd the Absence-Money of Nowell's Scholars even for those Weeks wherein he himself was absent—He has also some scholarship comonly given him'.

[5] V. P.'s Reg., Feb. 28, 1768.

vel socius aliquis in conspectu maneat',[1] otherwise they would be severely punished by fine[2] or imposition.[3]

The powers of the Vice-Principal.

The College possesses an interesting document of about the year 1770, which is entitled *Notes for the Vice-Principal*, containing a very useful account of the disciplinary powers of that official. With regard to divine service in chapel, he is to have the appointment of everything, though, as the document remarks, 'it is customary to consult the Principal.' During the service the Vice-Principal has to watch the behaviour of every one, and has the power of punishing all except Masters of Arts. Then, too, he is to fine all absentees, 'and persons tardy,' that is, those 'persons coming in after confession'. The next sentence, however, is somewhat droll, for it says, 'absences in the morning are supposed to be only by Accident.' Dining in Hall was practically compulsory, or at least the Vice-Principal is to see that men are not absent too frequently. 'Absence at afternoon prayers, where the person dines in Hall,' is 'punishable always because it implies too often that he is drinking in his own room'. The Vice-Principal must take every precaution to prevent parties in men's rooms at chapel time, for it will lead to a falling off in attendance. No one is to be out after midnight 'without censure', and all punishments are to be made on Saturday morning, except where it is a case of absence from chapel, then the delinquent is to be called up at once.[4]

Payment of battels and canteen-money.

As in earlier periods,[5] so in the eighteenth century, the

[1] V. P.'s Reg., May 22, 1775.

[2] Principal Cawley's Note Book contains the following entry. 'Mulcts. If any of the young gentlemen or College servts misbehave, the Principal, the Senr Fellow, or a College Officer, sometimes puts, according to the College-Statutes, a Sconce or pecuniary Mulct on the Offenders Name in the Buttery Book—These pecuniary Mulcts belong to Domus; and as the Junr Bursar receives them in Battels, he pays them (when it has been discover'd what they amount to for the whole year) to the Senr Bursar in the last Acct between them, who is charged with them in his *onus*.'

[3] Impositions as punishments were started in 1517, cf. Mon. X, p. 37. In the eighteenth century and up to 1858, they consisted generally of so many lines of Sophocles in Greek and English; but cf. the line in the *Whippiad*:

'Six ells of Virgil shall the crime repair.'

[4] This document is preserved in the Muniment Room.

[5] Mon. X, p. 41.

Bursars had great difficulty in getting prompt payment of battels. Thus, on April 5, 1775, it was resolved that if 'any scholar (except M.A.'s) is crossed at the Buttery, and remains so for seven days, on account of negligence or contumacy, he be confined to college, if he has a room in college, for a fortnight, and not go out except by permission of the Principal and Fellows: and if he remains crossed for a fortnight, be rusticated for three months'.[1] To guard against possible debts, the College authorities passed several decrees with regard to Caution money in 1778. On January 28, it was resolved 'that in the future the Bursar inform those who pay caution money that it is not to be repaid by the College unless demanded within 7 years from the date on which the name has been removed from the books'.[2] On April 7 the Bursar was empowered to apply caution money to unpaid battels, and having done so the defaulter's name was to be removed from the Buttery books; while on December 1, these rules were still further extended so that every Fellow after taking his M.A. or B.C.L. degrees 'should pay £5 to the Bursar for caution'.[3] A further decree was issued on May 18, 1787, to the effect that 'if any Bachelor or Undergraduate does not pay his battels within one month after they are issued, "nomen ipsius in Libro Promptuarii stigmate censorio notabitur"'.[4]

The different kinds of undergraduates.

Throughout the century there were five kinds of undergraduates — the gentleman-commoner, the commoner, the scholar, the batteler, and the servitor.[5] The gentleman-commoner was the 'smart' young man of the period, and in 1721 he is described as wearing a silk gown, a flaxen tie-wig, a bully cock'd hat, white stockings, thin spanish-leather shoes,

The Gentleman-commoner.

[1] V. P.'s Reg. Occasionally men were sent down for good, cf. V. P.'s Reg., March 20, 1782.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

[5] Principal Cawley, *ut supra*, shows that all these men paid numerous sums to the College for faggot-money, Hall man, promus, library, &c. The Library fees were taken at the time of the B.A. degree and consisted of £1 for commoners and scholars, 13*s.* 4*d.* for batteleers and servitors. They also paid £1 5*s.* at the taking of the B.A., M.A., B.D. or D.D. degrees as 'wine-money', which was divided amongst the Principal and Fellows. Up to 1758 every member had to pay a small sum 'for the Benefit of the Poor', which was distributed by the Principal and Junior Bursar.

and ruffles on bosom and wrists. If he were a peer, or the son of a peer, he was in 1770 allowed to wear a gown, that was not necessarily black, with a good deal of gold lace upon it, and a 'mortar-board' with a gilded tuft.[1] The baronet dressed much as the peer, but in his case the gown must be black; while a gentleman-commoner, who was neither a peer nor a baronet, wore a silk gown and a velvet cap.[2] In all cases the undergraduates wore bands and far longer gowns than they do in modern times; and they were still bound to refrain from 'the absurd and extravagant habit of wearing boots'.[3] On May 18, 1787, it was decreed by the Fellows of Brasenose that a gentleman-commoner should pay £30 for caution money,[4] but if he was born beyond the boundaries of Great Britain he was to pay £50, according to a decree of November 26, 1787.[5] About the middle of the eighteenth century the gentleman-commoner was under no restraint[6]; but the Brasenose dons were determined to stop this, and on November 9, 1768, 'ordered that in future all Gentleman-Commoners shall write and show up a theme with the other undergraduates'.[7] As years went by the favours bestowed upon these men were withdrawn, and in June, 1786,[8] they had two severe blows. Their seats in chapel were henceforth to be appropriated to the Bachelors, and they were to sit below; and no gentleman-commoner in future was to be admitted to the High Table or become a member of Senior Common Room unless he has either taken his M.A. degree or been four years in residence and is a Bachelor of Arts or a Student of Civil Law. Up to 1768 the gentleman-commoners had had their own private servants, who lived in the college garrets. But this was forbidden on October 31, 1768, if these garrets were wanted 'for any scholar, Battler, or servitor, or member who wears a gown in college'.[9]

[1] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 167. 'These barbaric puerilities did not definitely disappear until 1870—one hopes for ever.'

[2] Ibid. and O. H. S., xli, p. 52.

[3] 'absurdus ille et fastuosus publice in ocreis ambulandi mos.' Quoted by Godley, *ut supra*.

[4] V. P.'s Reg. [5] Ibid. [6] O. H. S., xli, p. 53. [7] V. P.'s Reg. [8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., cf. December 21, 1769, resolved: 'ut quilibet Baccalaureus Artium et

The Scholar and Exhibitioner.

The scholar and the exhibitioner led much the same life as they do to-day, though there was a good deal less work and certainly less physical exercise. One thing, however, they had as a donation, which they have no longer, and that was money for their caps and gowns. The College still possesses a receipt [1] of the year 1704, which reads:

> Rec[d] then of M[r] Bursar Freeman [2] the sum of fifty shillings due to me for a Gown as being one of ye Duchess of Somersets scholars, I say rec[d]
>
> by me r[d]
> [A.] Gartside.[3]

On December 12, 1781, the Bursar was informed that he was not to allow the Thornhill scholars the usual sum of £3 for cap and gown unless it shall appear that they have resided thirty-two weeks in the year beginning at St. Hugh [4]; and on December 15, 1783, it was decided that the Somerset scholars were still to be allowed a sum for cap and gown, their year beginning on March 25.[5] It is obvious that the gown and all that it meant was not always treated with the respect that was its due, for Hearne, in April, 1714, says 'there is a scholar now (an undergraduate who wears no gown and never intends it more) that is chief Butler of Brasenose College'.[6] All the scholars, like the other undergraduates, had to pay caution money,[7] and by a decree of March 14, 1788, any scholar born

nondum graduatus solvat quot annis pro stipendio Famuli sui cubicularis, si sit superioris ordinis commensalis solidos quadraginta duos, sin minus solidos triginta duos: quae quidem summae in Libro promptuarii tum praesentibus, tum etiam absentibus imponantur, a Bursario ita erogandae ut stipendii singuli Minister princeps sive superior dimidiam partem percipiat, dimidiam servus (is quis cui ministraverit) vicarius.'

[1] College Muniment Room.

[2] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 246.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 273.

[4] V. P.'s Reg.

[5] Ibid. These Somerset scholars were 'oblig'd to purchase of the College, the Duchess of Somerset's Print for w[ch] he puts in the Buttery-Book 2*s*. *Domus* was at the Expence of the Plate & the Monies p[d] for the Prints go to the reimbursing her—The Jun[r] Bursar receives them in the Batels & pays them to the Sen[r] Bursar in the last Acc[t] between them.' The Fellows were also bound to purchase for 2*s*. 6*d*. the prints of the two founders. Cf. Principal Cawley, *ut supra*.

[6] O. H. S., xxxiv, p. 335.

[7] Somerset scholars only paid after 1752.

outside the limits of Great Britain had to pay twice the sum of a native.[1]

The batteler and the servitor.

The batteler and the servitor have both now completely disappeared. The former, by 1780, was no longer under obligation to wait on the commoners; he was still regarded as of an inferior order, but what really distinguished him from the rest was that he 'sized' or bespoke and ate his meals in his own room.[2] He was liable to pay caution money, and on May 18, 1787, it was declared that a 'battelarius' must give on entrance £10.[3] The servitor was the real waiter, and took the place of the present scouts in attending in hall and at other meals.[4] At the beginning of the century, if not at the end, he lived in the most dismal and squalid surroundings.

> 'Poor Scraps and cold, as I'm a Sinner
> Being all that he can get for Dinner.'[5]

He made a few pence to eke out his frugal fare by writing impositions for the wealthier undergraduates, and this was done at least as late as 1790.[6]

Incomes and age.

The distinctions which existed between undergraduates at this time also meant that there was great disparity in their incomes. In the year of the accession of George I it has been calculated that £60 per annum was quite enough for a

[1] V. P.'s Reg. This was probably because in 1788 Robert Forrest and Bryan Machey matriculated; the former was born in the East Indies, the latter in Jamaica. Cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 389.

[2] O. H. S., xvi, p. 435.

[3] V. P.'s Reg.

[4] At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were only three official College bedmakers or scouts. The other servants were the cook, servant of the cook, the scullion, the Butler and the servant of the Butler, the Common-Room man, the Hall man and his servant, the Barbitonsor, porter, gardener, and servant of the Bursar.

[5] Quoted by Godley, *ut supra*, p. 116.

[6] Mr. Godley (pp. 118–19) says: 'while the relations between servitor and scholar or commoner were those of master and man, social separation was quite natural and would not be felt to be invidious: it became odious, when, as later happened, servitorships ceased to be held by sons of "aspiring husbandmen" and such like, and began to attract poor men of a rather higher social grade. These latter inherited the advantages and disadvantages of their humble predecessors, and social deprivations which did no harm to the son of a labourer were naturally felt by poor gentlemen.'

commoner, while just double that sum would be spent by a gentleman-commoner.[1] At the end of the century £150 a year was considered ample for most men,[2] though there were a few rare instances of men having £300 or £350.[3] Difference in age no longer existed in the eighteenth century as it had done in the past. In the reign of Elizabeth there were boys of nine, ten, and eleven[4]; but the average age of the members matriculated in 1690 was 17½ years, the youngest man being sixteen. Exactly a hundred years later the average was 18½ years, and again the youngest was sixteen. Taking two years at random the matriculation lists show the following ages:—

17$1\frac{9}{1}$. 18. 17. 17. 18. 18. 17. 16. 17. 16. 17. 17. 15. 17. 17. 18. 15.
1798. 18. 19. 18. 17. 19. 18. 20. 18. 17. 17. 22. 18. 18. 15. 18. 17. 17. 19.

So that it is evident that during the eighteenth century the age of undergraduates did not differ so very much from those of modern times.

Amusements and recreations.

Probably the greatest distinction of all between the past and the present is to be found in the amusements and recreations of Brasenose men. Of football in the eighteenth century we hear little or nothing, though it had been introduced.[5] Fives, tennis, cricket, and billiards had engaged the attention of a few since about 1660[6]; and card-playing had always the fascination of an illegal game. All through the century the chief recreations were fox-hunting, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting, the last being held at Headington or Carfax.[7] In 1772, however, cock-fighting and horse-racing were forbidden by statute, 'forasmuch as the unbridled and deadly love of games for a monied stake has in some measure made inroads upon the University itself, whereby the fame and reputation of the University may be stained, from the hearts of young men being set upon horse-racing and cock-fighting.' Apparently there were strange things to be seen

[1] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 414.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cox, *ut supra*, p. 5.
[4] Mon. X, p. 35.
[5] Ibid., pp. 35–6.
[6] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, pp. 666–7.
[7] As late as 1780, the bull-ring remained at Carfax, and the cock-pit in Holywell. Cf. Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 181, and O. H. S., xli, p. 78.

in the streets, and one can imagine that in 1723 Brasenose men flocked 'over against the Theatre' to see a smoking match, in which a journeyman tailor smoked 3 oz. of tobacco, and 'was so sick that 'twas thought he would have died'.[1] In 1751 the amusements sound most peculiar, and the account must surely be satirical. The writer speaks of

'several *gymnastica* constructed for the exercise of our youth and a relaxation from their severer studies. But these are not so much frequented as formerly, especially in the summer; our ingenious gownsmen having found out several *sports* which conduce to the same end, such as *battledore and shuttlecock, swinging on the rope,* &c in their own apartments; or in the fields, *leapfrog, tag, hop step-and-jump,* and among the rest, *skittles*; which last is a truly *academical* exercise as it is founded on arithmetical and geometrical principles.'[2]

A very popular amusement was riding to London for a wager, and this love of horse-flesh and the excitement of the road drove some daring spirits to the 'high toby'; and Brasenose men must have seen the awful sight of two undergraduates hanged for highway robbery on Gownsman's Gallows in Holywell.[3] For the more studious youth who eschewed the wild pleasures of skittle-playing at Wolvercote, carousing at Wallingford, or gambling in College,[4] there was always the chance of a quiet visit to the Ashmolean museum. Here, in 1749, at any rate, he could improve his mind by studying, amongst other things, these terrible apparitions: 'the skin of a man stuff'd out', 'man's skull with 5 horns on it', 'monster of a pig with 2 bodies and 8 feet', 'Dodar birds, one of which watches whilst the other stoops down to drink'; and last, but not least, 'a whole whale's skin stuff'd out.'[5]

Fox-hunting and rowing.

As the century drew to a close, undergraduate recreations became more rational, and consisted for the most part of fox-hunting with Captain Bertie's hounds,[6] or rowing and sailing

[1] O. H. S., xli, p. 68.

[2] *The Student, or the Oxford and Cambridge Monthly Miscellany* (1751), ii, p. 374.

[3] Dr. Routh, of Magdalen College, said he had seen this in his young days.

[4] O. H. S., xli, p. 78.

[5] *Oxoniensis Academia* (1749), pp. 156–60.

[6] O. H. S., xli, p. 79.

on the Isis. The latter form of sport came in about 1776, and by 1790 the boating fraternity had adopted a strange garb, consisting of reefer jackets, trousers, and green leather caps. They sometimes went in 'a gay yacht the Hobby-horse' to Iffley and Sandford, where 'Beckly provides accustomed fare'; and they play a game of quoits 'or rustic ninepins'.

'then once more
We hoist our sail and ply the Oar,
To Newnham bound'.

On another occasion we read of them going

'where a Dame
Hooper yclept, at station waits
For gownsmen whom she aptly freights
In various vessels, moored in view,
Skiff, gig and cutter, or canoe.
Election made, each in a trice
Becomes transformed with trousers nice
Jacket and catskin cap supplied
Black gowns and trenchers laid aside.'[1]

From these small beginnings Brasenose achieved great things, but another forty years had to pass away before the College entered upon the period of rowing triumphs that have made the Brasenose boat world-famous.

Brasenose in eighteenth-century plays.

The peculiar name of the College made it an easy butt for eighteenth-century playwrights; and much fun was made of Brasenose men, who were occasionally held up to scorn. Thus in Baker's comedy, *An Act at Oxford*, published in 1704, one of the characters is 'Chum', 'a gentleman-servitor at Brazen-Nose College.' His father was a chimney-sweep and his mother a poor ginger-bread woman at Cow Cross. His business was to wait upon gentlemen-commoners, to dress and clean their shoes, and make their excuses. In the drama he takes the place of the faithful slave in heathen comedy, and by personating a rich lover wins Berynthia for his master, Smart. The poor fellow, whose fortune was 'soon told—the reversion of old shoes which gentlemen-

[1] Quoted by Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 665.

commoners leave off, two Raggs call'd Shirts, a dog's eard *Grammar*, and a piece of *Ovid de Tristibus*'—was rewarded with a gratuity of 500 guineas.[1] In 1721 Nicholas Amhurst grossly libelled the College by saying that Brasenose thought only of engrossing good livings and brewing good ale. The latter was so potent that it 'flies to the seasoned head of an Essex squire'. He declares that in any play of the period a man who wishes to be taken for a Fellow of Brasenose must use an immense pillow for a stomach.[2] The College was attacked in much the same spirit during the rule of Principal Barker, for 'Gradus', the awkward Brasenose scholar in Mr. Cawley's *Whose the Dupe* (1779), when he first came from Oxford, wore 'a grizzle wig curled as stiffly as Sir Cloudesley Shovel's in the Abbey—a dingy brown coat with vellum button-holes—and cambric enough in his ruffles to make his grandson's shirt'.[3]

The educational system.

There is no doubt that the playwrights were not far wrong in showing that the intellectual side of college life was neglected. The collegiate educational system was very poor indeed, and the Brasenose dons liked to 'live easy . . . without prosecution of studies',[4] and for this reason college tuition had to be supplemented by private assistance. In certain instances the private tutor lived within the College walls, and so Hearne records, in 1717, that Mr. Atherton[5] of Brasenose, having a college tutor, was also under the care of a non-juring clergyman who resided in college.[6] It is interesting to notice that even with this double assistance Mr. Atherton never obtained his degree. Not that he loved his old college any less for its failure to instruct him, as in later years he gave some very handsome gifts to Brasenose.[7] In this way he somewhat resembled Edward King[8] (matric. 1721), who, though he never took his degree, remained an ever loyal son of the College, keeping his name on the books for no less than eighty-five years. Had the statutes been obeyed,

[1] Quoted by Wordsworth, *ut supra*, p. 101. [2] Ibid., p. 305. [3] Ibid., p. 473.
[4] Mon. XII, p. 26. [5] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 299.
[6] Quoted by Godley, *ut supra*, p. 55. [7] Mon. IV and V.
[8] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 305.

it would not be surprising that men should find some difficulty in taking their degrees. A Brasenose scholar wrote in 1742, 'we are here quite taken up with logic, which is indeed a very dry study.'[1] The men, however, were not only engaged in logic, for there was far more than that to be mastered. There was

'a regular course of study intended to cover the seven years from matriculation to the M.A. degree, ordained by the Laudian Statutes: a course, which, had it been duly followed, was catholic enough to satisfy the demands of that, or indeed, of any age. It is no system for the specialist. Oxonians are required to take all knowledge for their province. In the first year of residence there are to be lectures on Grammar and Rhetoric. The second is devoted to the study of Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, Logic and Economics: the third and fourth to Logic, Moral Philosophy, Geometry and Greek: and the three or nearly three years intervening between the Bachelor's and Master's degrees are to be given to Geometry, Astronomy, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Greek and Hebrew.'[2]

Letter from John Kenrick illustrating College life.

After the bitter quarrels of 'party' subsided the College did pay some attention to the claims of education; and this is well illustrated by a letter from John Kenrick,[3] of Brasenose, to Lloyd Kenyon, written on November 14, 1750:—

'It is true as you observe that we in college here are not absolutely obliged to pursue our studies, but then there are so many restraints laid upon us, that they almost put it out of our power to avoid it. For, if we appear out, we are in danger of being taken by the Proctors, or of being branded by names of loungers; besides we have duties in our college to attend, all of which we consider make our confinement here as great as at school, but far from being so disagreeable, for you may suppose that we can employ some part of the day with a great deal of pleasure in our private chambers exclusive of all obligation.

'That you may the better understand the method we go upon I shall divide our Lectures, into public and private. First, then with our private tutor we are lectured upon Plato's dialogues and logic, *whenever he pleases* to call upon us; for our public lectures in the hall, we have particular days in the week, which consists of Xenephon's *Memorabilia* and Horace, by two different lecturers, one of whom is Mr. Mather,[4]

[1] Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae* (1877), p. 86.

[2] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 57.

[3] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 343.

[4] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 327. Roger Mather was Public Orator, 1749–60. The post was filled by election of Convocation, and up to 1811 the income was £6 13*s.* 4*d.* Roger Mather is the only Brasenose man who has held the office since its foundation in 1564.

a very ingenious man, whom, I dare say, you have heard of. As for our exercises, they are disputations, three times a week, besides a declamation every term.

'I must now, since you desire me, give you some account of my examination for admission.

'My tutor first of all tried me in Ethics and Horace; the next day the Principal sent for me and put a Horace in my hand, and then Virgil and lastly Sophocles, where I read half a dozen lines . . . and to conclude the farce he gave me a theme to make.

'But I must not omit telling you that I came on to dispute last week, a work which I do not like much as yet, though I chop logic pretty fast.'[1]

Two curious customs.

A more strenuous life in matters of education and learning gradually caused the disappearance of quaint old customs; two very curious ones, however, survived well into the eighteenth century. The first was 'for the scholars of the College to have Almonds, Raisins, and Figs for Dinner on Good Friday'[2]; while the second was 'for the Bachelors of Arts and Undergraduates of this College every Year upon New Year's Day, to wait on their Principal, all in a Body, and present him everyone with an Epistle by way of New Year's Gift, wishing him a happy New Year'.[3] These two customs show a rather peculiar feature of College life; from them it is clear that in the first part of the eighteenth century the vacations were quite different to what they are now, for it would be impossible, in modern times, for undergraduates to be in College either on New Year's Day or Good Friday. There is, however, plenty of evidence to show that the scholars of the College, if not the commoners, remained in residence each year far longer than to-day. As late as 1781 the Thornhill scholars had to reside at least thirty-two weeks, which would give a term of roughly ten weeks and four days; and in earlier days the Claymond scholars could only have forty days' vacation in the whole year.[4]

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. xiv, App. 4.

[2] Pointer, *Oxoniensis Academia* (1749), p. 71, says: 'For I by chance met with a Receipt of 30*s*. paid by Mr Edward Shippary (when Butler of this College) to one John Langley, for eleven Pounds of Almonds, thirty-five Pounds of Raisins, and thirteen Pounds of Figs served into Brazennose College Mar. 28th 1662.'

[3] Ibid.

[4] Mon. X, p. 34.

Room rent. A longer term of residence did not mean, fortunately for the undergraduates, a very excessive sum for room rent. In 1702, the 'middle chamber over ye Buttery'[1] was £5 10*s.* per annum. The room 'next to All Hallows' was £3 10*s.*; and that sum was also paid for the next room on the north-west, with 'study in ye st^r^case'. With regard to ground floor rooms the rents were rather higher; five were entered at £6, and one at £4. On the other hand, the 'Cock lofts' were very cheap; certainly there was one at £4, but ten were only £1 each, and two were fixed at £2. At the same time two chambers in Staple Hall were £1 each, and two were only 10*s.* The Black Hall rooms were rather better, for one was £6 5*s.*, one £4, one £3, and two £2 each. From records of 1773 the rents had evidently risen, but only very slightly.[2] The highest rent on staircase No. 1 was for room No. 5 £8. The highest on No. 2 was £6; on No. 3 £7, on No. 6 £6, on No. 8 £4 10*s.* Room rents remained very much the same throughout the rest of the century, though there seems to have been a small increase in 1792, when the cheapest room was about £3, while the dearest was £9.

Excessive drinking. Even if rents were not very high, the longer period of residence would mean proportionately greater expense than at the present time, and this was increased by the excessive drinking that undergraduates and dons thought it was the correct thing to do. Drinking immoderately was the fashionable vice of the eighteenth century, and one Brasenose man suffered for his undue consumption of alcoholic liquor. On October 22, 1729, Hearne records the death of John Whiteside,[3] the keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, from drinking 'a pretty deal of bad small beer at Christ Church'.[4] A Brasenose bill for May 29, 1762, shows the consumption of about

[1] This is now the Senior Common Room.

[2] Principal Cawley, *ut supra*. He adds to his figures two curious notes. (1) 'Ten rents of garrets belonging to Ten Senr Fellows & of Comon-Room Cellar—11 0 0; (2) Mem. when there are no Claymond-scholars their Chum-Room goes to Domus, viz. No. 7 in No. I.'

[3] John Whiteside matriculated at Brasenose in 1696; he became Chaplain of Christ Church and Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in 1714. Cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 268.

[4] O. H. S., xli, p. 72.

a bottle apiece, which was very moderate drinking for that period; but this bill did not include any private supplies that might have been used on that occasion.

'For wine at the Gaudy.'

2 doz. and 11 bottles of Port	2	18	4
1 doz. of Mountain	1	0	0
3 [bottles] of Madeira		9	0
2 [bottles] of Lisbon		3	4
To the Bachelor's Room 6 bottles of Port		10	0
To the Com. Room 17 bottles of Port	1	8	4
4 [bottles] of Lisbon		6	8
1 [bottle] of Madeira		3	0
1 [bottle] of Mountain		1	8
	7	0	4[1]

The ale bill of 1762–3 has also been preserved.

1762. Nov. 24–Feb 7. 1763. to Alderman Jues for Ale	£36	18	9
1763. Feb. 11–May 11 „ „ „ „ „	£34	2	6
May 19–Aug. 3. „ „ „ „ „	£20	1	3
Aug. 22–Nov. 9. „ „ „ „ „	£25	17	6

This is a very considerable sum, and is more than twice as much as the modern beer-bill.[2] About the period of the above bill Lord Eldon says in his anecdote book that he saw a Doctor of Divinity striving to make his way to Brasenose through Radcliffe Square; 'he had reached the Library, or rotunda, then without railings, and unable to support himself except by keeping one hand upon the building, he continued walking round and round,' till rescued by a friend.[3] There is little doubt that this habit of excessive drinking increased as the century drew to a close. Crosse says that about 1799 'Oxford is a perfect hell upon earth'[4]; while Southey wrote, 'Temperance is much wanted; the waters of Helicon are far too much polluted by the wine of Bacchus ever to produce any effect.'[5]

[1] College Muniment Room.

[2] Principal Cawley wrote in 1773, 'Double or Ale is now bought in at £1 10 0 a Barrel and sold out in Coll at £2 2 0: And Middle or Small Beer is bo̅t in at 7^{s} 6^{d} a B & sold out at 11^{s} 3^{d}.'

[3] O. H. S., xli, p. 69. [4] Ibid., p. 70. [5] Ibid.

College dinners.

If Brasenose men drank heavily, certainly the Brasenose dons dined well. Some very interesting bills have been kept which not only show the style of living at High Table, but are useful to those who desire to know the prices of articles of consumption during the eighteenth century. On Christmas Day, 1703, 'the High Messe diner' consisted of:—

A p[ie]ce Beefe	6	0
Cabage and Rootts		6
a Racke Veale	2	2
a Chine Bacon	5	4
1 Turkey	4	6
1 Capon	2	6
2 [Ox] Tales	3	0
2 Cockes	3	4
12 Larkes	1	0
Butter	2	0
Anchovie		3
Wine		3
Leamon		6
Grasses		3
Spices		1
Flower		1
Butter and cheese		4
2 mince pyes	2	4

But the dons did far better at the 'Tower Diner' on January 26, $170\frac{3}{4}$, for here the *menu* was more varied:—

1 Jack 2 Perch 3 Eyles 2 carps	13	0
3 Calfs heads	3	6
6 Marrow bones	2	0
for dsed [? dressed] meat	1	0
Bacon	1	2
A S[r] of Beefe 51 lb.	12	9
A chine of veal	4	0
A marrow puding	5	0
3 mince pyes	3	6
2 wild duckes	3	0
2 wood cockes	3	4
12 larkes	1	6
2 [Ox] Tales	2	6
4 Cramed chicken	4	8

A Tansey	3	4	
Oringes		8	
A Trotter pye	2	6	
Butter	5	4	
Anchovie		9	
Wine	2	6	
Spices		6	
Oringes and Leamons	2	11	
Oysters	2	0	
Horse radish		3	
Mustard		1	
Flower		3	
Sweat harbes		1	
Driping		3	
Butter and cheese		6	
	4	2	10

A very expensive meal, called the 'Gorday', was given on May 29,[1] 1704. The total cost was £19 1*s.* 6*d.*, and amongst many other viands there were:—

1 English Hame 14 lb.		10	6
10 quarts Beans		10	0
7 Toungs		9	0
400 of Sparagrasse		3	4
30 great Tarts	1	10	0
12 small do.		6	0
4 custerds		6	0

The 'Diner' on September 7, 1704, was of a rather curious character, and differed considerably from those already mentioned. Amongst other things it consisted of:—

A dish of pickles with warnuts and mushrooms	2	8
2 rabatts	1	4
100 lb. crafish	3	6

[1] Principal Cawley says: 'Everyone that enters within the year before each 29th of May, of whatever Quality or Degree, present or absent, puts on in the Buttery-Book 2s 6d towards defraying the Expences of the Gaudy on that Day—The Junr Bursar receives these Monies also in the Battels and pays them to the Senr Bursar in the last Acct between them.'

Another Gaudy was held on 'May ye 29 1762', and here again a tremendous banquet was given :—

23 lb. Fresh Fish	1	4	0	*Jack too large.*
Salmon 36 lb. at 10*d.*	1	10	0	
Hams 107 lb. at 8*d.*	3	11	4	*Hams too much.*
Lobster 50 lb. at 10*d.*	2	1	8	*Lobsters too many.*
Pease		5	0	
32 Chichings at 1/6	2	8	0	
18 Ducks at 1/6	1	7	0	
12 Geese	1	16	0	*2 geese supplied for H^{gh} Table.*
Mutton 74 lb.	1	4	8	
Sr Beefe 78 lb.	1	6	0	*Beef too much by half.*
two tongues and Udders		10	0	
Crawfish		10	0	
Roots		6	0	
Wine [and] Ancovies		5	0	
Currin Jelley		2	6	
Sugar [and] Spice		3	0	
Lemmons and Oringes		4	0	
Gravey Meat		5	0	
Bread flower and eggs		3	6	
Oyl vinegar and must[ard]		2	6	
20 lb. Butter.		13	4	
Garnish		2	0	
6 dozen Tarts		18	0	*5 doz. enough.*
6 dozen cheesecakes		12	0	*5 doz. enough.*
4 doz. custards		8	0	*3 doz. enough.*
Sallad and Cucumbers		10	0	*Cucumbers unnecessary.*
	£22	8	6	

The time for dinner gradually became later as the century neared its close. At first the hour was eleven, but it changed to twelve about 1730[1]; and was fixed at one in 1753.[2] At the end of the century, however, the hour was still further postponed, and about 1800 'hall' was usually at four o'clock,[3] when every one changed into evening dress. After

[1] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, pp. 29 and 34.

[2] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 101.

[3] V. P.'s Reg., Oct. 21, 1814. Dinner was then changed from four to five o'clock, and the time of prayers was fixed at seven. It is interesting to notice that in 1834 the dinner was altered back to four.

dinner the dons retired to Senior Common Room, and wherever, in the eighteenth century, there is a mention of that room there is sure to be a reference to smoking.[1] A Brasenose bill for 1762 shows that pipes and tobacco were very cheap:—

	s.	*d.*
'for 1 lb. of best tobacco . . .	1	8
'for 2 dozen best pipes . . .		8'

With cheap but good wine,[2] and decidedly cheap but probably nasty tobacco, untroubled by troublesome pupils, the old port-loving Fellows passed away many a happy evening in that finely panelled room on Staircase No. 1.

College breakfasts.

With regard to other meals, it is very clear that breakfast was not so popular as it is now. In fact, between 1700 and 1730 it was hardly a regular meal,[3] though men still continued to rise as early as their Elizabethan ancestors.[4] There is an isolated reference to a breakfast, on October 30, 1704. The entry is as follows:—

Coffee and tea	2	0
Sugar and nutmeg	1	0

Up to 1764, and possibly later, it was still customary to have ale for breakfast,[5] and the taking of tea or coffee was described as 'a fashionable vice which leads only to the squandering of money and misspending the morning in jentacular confabulations'.[6] But the custom had become fairly well established, as shown by numerous bills of the period. Two examples will be sufficient:—

[1] O. H. S., xli, p. 67.

[2] Claret in Oxford in 1706 cost 1*s.* 6*d.* a bottle; cf. *Reliq. Hearn.*, Bliss, i, p. 122. Port at the end of the eighteenth century cost 1*s.* 6*d.* or less a bottle.

[3] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 101.

[4] O. H. S., xli, p. 48.

[5] Ale after breakfast is not yet an obsolete custom.

[6] O. H. S., xli, p. 82.

1762. November 5.		1763. January 26.	
Chocolate	2 0	Chocolate	2 0
Tea	1 6	Tea	1 6
Coffee	1 6	Coffee	1 6
Sugar & Cream	1 4	Sugar & Cream	4
Bread	10	Bread	10
2 lbs. of Butter	1 6	Charcoal	1 0
Linen & Plate	1 2	Linen	1 0
		Plats	2
	9 10	Half a sack of Sea cole	3 6
		Mould Candles	7
		Common Candles	3
		Pipes & Tobacco	11
		Smoking Candle	2
			13 9

College supper.

Lunch and afternoon tea were unknown, and the only other meal in the day consisted of a light supper. In 1747 this was taken at six, but by 1792 the hour had been changed, and with a later dinner at four o'clock supper was not laid till nine. Between dinner and supper at the end of the century large parties were invited to private 'wines', during which a moderate dessert was discussed with large quantities of claret and port.

College bills.

The College bills of the period contain many interesting little points that show how the times have changed. In 1762 a half-year's firing cost £20, which was a great increase on that of earlier years.[1] A bill for charcoal for the Hall was paid on December 5, 1763, amounting to £3. This charcoal, together with pit coal, which cost 2*s.* 6*d.* a cwt., was placed on six chafing-dishes which stood on brass plates at different points in the Hall, just as, at the present day, they stand in Italian houses.[2] The sweeping of the Hall chimney cost more than cleaning the whole room, for, in 1763, the former was £1 1*s.*, while the latter was 19*s.* 10*d.* 'For leiting the lampes' in the Hall for one year, is entered at £1 10*s.* Some of the

[1] Mon. X, p. 40.

[2] Mon. III, p. 43.

expenses of the Principal's Lodging seem to have been very small, and are entered thus:—

Salt[1]	5*d.*
Whiting	2*d.*
Rollen Stone	3*d.*
Amrey	4*d.*
Scouring paper	6*d.*

The Buttery required more, but even here the entries are not very excessive:—

Matches			1
4 Buttery Books	1	16	0
Best writing paper		1	0
6 quires imperial paper	1	7	0
Bromes			4
Mopp		1	0
Mug brush			8

Amongst items for the Kitchen there were three that do not seem to apply to the culinary art: 'Rosern', 2*d.*; packthread, 4*d.*; tow, 4*d.* Other miscellaneous sums occur, such as 6*s.* for a 'matt'; 5*s.* for a bell rope; 1*s.* 8*d.* for a 'long hare broom'; and 2*d.* for 'oyl for bells'. And lastly there is the Butler's bill for each quarter, which occurs over and over again, but practically never varies in its items. They were in 1763:—

Cats	3*d.* per week
Laundress	2*d.* per week
Plates	1*d.* per week
Scouring buttery plates	6*d.*
Ordination	2*d.*
Assize	2*d.*
Sacrament bread	9*d.*
Sand	6*d.*
Cakes	5*s.* 0*d.*[2]

[1] Pepper and fine salt used in the Hall were supplied by the Hall-man and 'p^{d} for by the Junr. Bursar Q^{rly}; and formerly according to the Quantity us'd'. Previous to 1753 Principal Cawley says there is no entry for Oil and Vinegar, but he thinks that it is a reasonable charge which should be paid for by the Junior Bursar to the Manciple.

[2] All these figures have been given to me by Mr. Coxhill and are taken from several thousand bills preserved in the College. There is another curious bill mentioned in the V. P.'s Reg. in 1767: 'The Porter's bill for errands &c to laid before the Fellows and if approved to be put in the Jun: Bursar's Book.'

The income of he Principal,

Other College payments are even more interesting than those already mentioned. Nominally the old fees and stipends still continued, and the Principal's true income was very small indeed.[1] In June, 1749,[2] it had been fixed at £100; and on May 5, 1750, the Fellows resolved that the stipend of £100 be continued as long as the Principal had no benefice from the College, and the Visitor was asked to confirm this.[3] The sum, however, was not sufficient to meet the growing expenses of the period; and on December 11, 1770, the Principal's stipend was increased to £200 per annum, as long as he held no benefice. This resolution required re-enactment, which it obtained on January 28, 1778, and on December 20, 1785. Here matters remained until, on December 19, 1810, it was decided that the income should be at least £800 per annum, exclusive of dinner allowance; while a year later the minimum was fixed at £1000.[4]

Incomes of the Fellows

The Fellows of the College also found it necessary to obtain augmentations, and they resolved on January 22, 174$\frac{6}{7}$,[5] 'quod unusquisque commensalis non graduatus (donec annos quatuor Academicos compleverit) sex libras et totidem solidos: Bachalaureus vero quatuor libras et totidem solidos, Tutori suo annuatim solverit [*sic*].'[6] In the latter half of the century a Fellow could live fairly comfortably on £100 per

[1] Mon. X, p. 39.

[2] V. P.'s Reg. C, p. 151, June 16, resolved 'that a stipend of £100 be paid to him in two half yearly payments of £50 until he be presented to a benefice by the college. That he be presented to either the Rectory of Steeple Aston or that of Dudcote, which ever should first become vacant, and that the said Rectory be held with the Principalship in perpetuity.' The Rectory of Dudcote was offered to him on March 28, 1750, but Dr. Yarborough definitely refused it on May 5. Cf. *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 293.

[3] V. P.'s Reg. C, pp. 162–3. The Visitor [John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln] was asked on December 20, 1750, and gave his confirmation on May 9, 1751. Cf. another case of troubling the Visitor on February 24, 1753, when he was asked that election to Fellowships should be confined to men within eight years from matriculation. The Visitor gave his sanction, cf. V. P.'s Reg. C, p. 173.

[4] V. P.'s Reg., *passim*.

[5] V. P.'s Reg. C, p. 140.

[6] Ibid. Cf. a list which is given on a fly-leaf of the V. P.'s Reg., referring to a period between 1754–88, of fees for admission. A Baron £5 5*s*.; a Baronet £4 4*s*.; a Gentleman-Commoner £2 2*s*.; a Commoner £1 1*s*.; a Batteler 10*s*. 6*d*. The undergraduates had also to pay Plate-money, according to their position. f. Mon. V, p. 44.

annum, which was made up from many sources. They occasionally gained a slight increase: 'when all the 3 [Claymond] Scholarsps are vacant the whole of the above £8 is to be divided by the Junr Bursar among the Princ & Fellows on St. Andrew's Day.'[1] The two Bursars augmented their incomes previous to 1770 by a poundage on the brewers' bill, 'But of late Years the Coll has allow'd them £40 in Lieu thereof to be equally divided between them.'[2] Besides this, 'The Junr Bursar has for many Years taken Poundage of Bread, Pies, Buns, Almonds & Raisins, viz. 3s a Pound, at the Paymt of the Bills for these articles. He also took 1s a Pound wn he pd the Bill for Pepper & fine Salt—Of the Monies, thus arising from Poundage, he himself was entitled to $\frac{4}{9}$, as a Perquisite; & he here pays the Remainder, viz. $\frac{5}{9}$ to the Senr Bursar as a Perquisite also to him.'[3] On December 18, 1783, it was found that the Vice-Principal could not continue to exist on his stipend; it was therefore increased by charging Bachelors and undergraduates 1*s.* 6*d.* instead of 6*d.* a week for his 'augmentation.'[4]

The foundation of the Phoenix Common Room.

From a social point of view the greatest feature of the eighteenth century in Brasenose College history was the foundation of the Phoenix Common Room, to which reference has already been made.[5] The records of the first year or two of its existence are clouded and uncertain, but it undoubtedly owed its foundation to Joseph Alderson[6] (matric. 1779). In 1781, or at the beginning of 1782, Alderson, then in his third year, and Robert Hesketh, James Pemberton, and George Powell, all in their first year,[7] founded a dining club, which may possibly have been called the Phoenix Society. Two years later two new members were admitted in the persons of Robert Willis Blencowe and Francis Rodd.[8] It was not, however, until October, 1786, that the Club, as it is now known,

[1] Principal Cawley, *ut supra.* [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. Until a few years ago the Bursar also had a Christmas-box of 13*s.* 4*d.*, 'pro ocreis.'

[4] V. P.'s Reg. This would fall rather heavily on the Iver Scholars, as, on November 5, 1782, their scholarships had been reduced from £20 to £15.

[5] See p. 29. [6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 379.

[7] Ibid., pp. 381–2. [8] Ibid., p. 385.

was fully established. It came to be called the 'Phoenix Common Room', or in full title, 'The Phoenix Society, or Junior Common Room at Brasenose.' Dr. Cradock always thought that it was meant to be a revival of a suppressed club, and that the motto, 'Uno avulso non deficit alter,' was an allusion to this; but what this mysterious club may have been it is now quite impossible to say. It was decided in 1786 that there should be twelve actual undergraduate members of the Phoenix Common Room, each of whom was to pay 5*s.* to the funds of the society. At the same time it was resolved that the 'anniversary' should be held at the King's Arms, and that ordinary meetings were to take place on Sunday nights. A new rule was issued in 1793, that all the business of the Club was to be transacted in the room of the secretary, at a public breakfast paid for out of the funds of the Society. By this time it became obvious that 'the Phoenix' must be put on a more sound financial basis, so that in 1797 each member was to pay three guineas caution-money, which, two years later, was raised to five. In 1801, each member was allowed to bring one guest; and 2*s.* 6*d.* per head was collected for the Common Room man. The toasts at this time consisted of five regular ones—'Our old Friend', 'The King', 'The Phoenix', 'Absent Members', and 'The Secretary'.[1] During this early period the Club was waited on by a very faithful old servant of the College, Thomas Reynolds,[2] whose portrait was engraved in 1801 at the expense of the members. A very interesting feature of this old social club is the fact that all the records are singularly complete, even to the caricatures on the blotting-paper of the dinner books.[3]

The foundation of 'THE Club'.

Another important society was founded about this time, known as 'THE Club', and which is now the oldest senior social club existing in the University. It was established in 1790, with the intention of propagating the principles of the French Revolution. It at first consisted of ten members,[4]

[1] A full list of the Secretaries and all information concerning the Club is to be found in Mr. F. Madan's *A Century of the Phoenix Common Room*, &c. (1888).

[2] Thomas Reynolds had a present of £5 'for his honesty and attachment'.

[3] See Mr. Madan's article in Clark, *ut supra*, p. 262.

[4] Now twelve.

a majority of whom, in the early years of the society, were Brasenose men. The original members, who were elected from Brasenose, were: George Harper[1] (matric. 1779), James Pemberton[2] (matric. 1781), John Haddon Hindley[3] (matric. 1784), and either Mark Sykes[4] (matric. 1788) or Tatton Sykes[5] (matric. 1788).

Letters from R. D. Baker illustrating College life.

Some letters of Richard Dod Baker[6] (matric. 1801) have been preserved, and give something of a picture of Brasenose life at a time of transition, and thus form a suitable conclusion to the history of this period. On October 14, 1801, Baker wrote:—

'My dear Cousins,

'I should not feel perfectly content without addressing a few lines to you just to inform you how I am fixed in this Seat of Learning. I took possession of my rooms[7] on Saturday, and I assure you they are much more comfortable than I expected—my sitting room is as large as your little parlour and to appearance much more comfortable—a bureau, 5 chairs, and a table in it. My drawing room (for so I please to call it) is smaller, but neater, a glass door out of my sitting room to it with two chairs and 2 tables. My bedroom is a little larger than sitting-room with a very comfortable bed, bureau etc., all together, as if it were our three parlours at Highfields, but a door to each out of my S. R. I have been this morning with some of the Tutors to buy myself a set of tea-things, Candlesticks, silver tea-spoons, sheets, towels etc., and though Oxford is the most improving place in the world it could not I think cheat us enough in our small articles. Figure to yourself a venerable elderly man and myself with our caps and gowns choosing and buying the best China, good judges, I'm sure I could not tell China from common ware. . . . Oxford is at this time extremely dull, the young men not coming up till the 17th, there are but 13 of us here, on Sunday we shall be quite full. . . . We all dine together in the Common Hall with servants to wait, and you order what you like. Supper at 9. Prayers 7 morning, 5 evening.'

[1] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 379. [2] Ibid., p. 381. [3] Ibid., p. 385.
[4] Ibid., p. 390.
[5] Ibid., p. 390. These two men must not be confused with the Mr. Sykes of Brasenose who made careful observations of the transit of the Planet Venus on June 3, 1769. Cf. O. H. S., xli, p. 306.
[6] *B. N. C. Reg.*, p. 407.
[7] These rooms, according to the Rent Book of that year, were O. L. 6.

Richard Baker again wrote to his cousin, on the last day of Term, December 10:—

'I dare say little as you know of this seat of learning you have heard that our examinations for degrees have always hitherto been laughed at as trifling and a mere matter of form, but now they have assumed a very serious aspect, and as your cousin is to take one you will not deem the following short account of the end Examination, I have to undergo, at all improper. There is now a large room fitted up for the purpose which will contain, I should imagine, 300 persons, there are benches for the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Drs, Heads of Colleges and Halls etc., who are all required to attend at this most solemn occasion, and about 200 auditors. There are perhaps six examined at a time and this occupies from 9 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon; so that whoever thinks of taking a degree must fag. I have found a very respectable and agreeable acquaintance, but it was long before I thought I should form any, and nothing is so dull and melancholy as having no one to speak to me, as was my case for a fortnight or more.'

The making of friends seems to have been a great difficulty to Richard Baker, and yet he is evidently fond of 'company', as seen in the following letter, which is undated:—

'After a very pleasant journey we arrived at this celebrated seat of learning on Thursday last. . . . On Friday my father introduced me to a Mrs. Smith—a lady of considerable property in the neighbourhood. Such an acquaintance will be very pleasant, at least very different from the noisy riot of a College evg., without Company of some sort Oxford, I do assure you, would be quite intolerable, and the man who pens himself up in his attic poring everlasting over his book can be compared to nothing better than an "Owl in a Desart". Study, however, affords many an hours rational amusement, but like everything else there may be too much of it; for my own part I think 6 hours in the day quite sufficient, much time therefore must be devoted to other objects and it should be our own care to spend it in the best manner.'[1]

Conclusion.

The nineteenth century brought new ideas and new notions. The previous century when it opened 'found Oxford turbulent and anarchic and left it law-abiding'.[2] The old days had gone for good when the New Examination Statute was passed in 1800. The old style of don began gradually to disappear. The period had too long influenced the man, and as the Fellows were celibates by compulsion and had no outlet in

[1] Quoted by Buchan, *ut supra*, pp. 192–5.

[2] Godley, *ut supra*, p. 158.

the shape of sports or games, College history in the eighteenth century naturally contained far too much of quarrels, bickerings, and backbitings. Discipline was lax, the standards of learning were low; Brasenose College, like the University, was 'a rakish, modish place, full of foppery and drunkenness'.[1] The century, however, served a purpose and led the way to greater things. Another monograph will show that the men who matriculated in the first decade of the new century were able, brilliant and persevering. To them is partially due the unique Brasenose record of carrying off all the first classes in one year. If this were the stuff of which Brasenose men were made, it was good stuff indeed; and succeeding generations have continued to strive to preserve the College glory and to keep the College name and traditions clear and untarnished in all parts of the world.

[1] Buchan, *ut supra*, p. 47.

XIV. 1

Nineteenth Century

Brasenose Rowing

By H. C. Wace M.A.
Fellow of the College

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PREFACE

THIS History of Brasenose Rowing does not profess to be more than an account from year to year of the doings of Brasenose and Brasenose men upon the river. It is founded mainly upon the College Minute Books, which begin in 1837 and have been kept, with rare exceptions, very fully and carefully ever since, and as far as possible I have let them tell their own story. In the Diary I have noted, at the head of each year, the chief events and the rise or fall of the boats and have then added any extracts from the Minutes which seemed to be of interest. It has often been difficult to decide what should be inserted and what omitted. Almost every page of the Minutes has an interest of its own and they unfold a great story. The most remarkable thing about Brasenose rowing is its consistency and tenacity. The Eight is found Head of the River in the very first year of which we have records, and at the end of the century its average place is 3·63—the highest average attained by any College: similarly the Torpid is found 2nd in 1839 and its average at the end of the century is 2·56.

Neither boat throughout the century fell into double figures. The Eight was twice 9th, in 1858 and 1896, and eight times dropped below 6th. The Torpid was 8th in 1877, 7th in 1886, and seven times dropped below 4th.

The Eight was head of the river 18 times out of the 84 years in which the races were rowed—a proportion of rather more than 1 in 5; the Torpid 22 times in 62 years or rather more than once in every three. The total number of nights the Eight rowed head is 117, with a consecutive run of 30[1] in 1852–55: in the case of the Torpid the nights are 141, with a run of 53 in 1886–94. On seven occasions

[1] Trinity hold the record here with a run of 34 nights 1861–65.

the College held the Headships both of Eights and Torpids in the same year, namely in 1845, 1852 and 1853, 1866, 1899, 1890, 1891. In the O.U.B.C. Challenge Races the College won the Sculls 9 times, the Pairs 7, the Fours 8—being thus in the Sculls second to Magdalen; in the Pairs equal first with Christ Church and New College; in the Fours equal second with Magdalen. It supplied 33 Blues, and in this point is beaten by Christ Church, but is well in front with 56 Trial Eightsmen. At Henley, with 47 entries and 18 wins, it easily holds the record for Oxford Colleges.[1]

It is hopeless to summarize such a story in a few lines, but one can pick out the chief epochs of the College success.

The first great period of the College rowing is the year 1840–41, when R. G. Walls, E. Royds, S. Meynell, J. J. T. Somers-Cocks—the four stern oars of the 'Varsity Boat with W. B. Garnett the Cox—undoubtedly laid the foundation of the College's rowing fame. The second period, 1845–47, is that of F. E. Tuke, F. C. Royds, S. R. Winter—all of them Presidents of the O.U.B.C., while Tuke was also stroke of the 'Varsity Boat. The third period, 1850–54, is associated with the names of J. J. Hornby, W. Houghton, R. Prescott (both these latter Secretaries of the O.U.B.C.), R. Greenall (President O.U.B.C.), and J. E. Codrington.

The fourth period is a brilliant one: it lasts from 1860–67, and largely centres round the names of H. F. Baxter (Secretary O.U.B.C.) and W. B. Woodgate, though there are other names which should not be forgotten. W. Champneys (Secretary O.U.B.C.), S. R. Coxe, F. Crowder (both Treasurers O.U.B.C.), R. Shepherd, and D. Pocklington (stroke of the 'Varsity Boat). In the seventies, 1874–76 are prosperous years, and we find a brilliant trio—J. P. Way, T. C. Edwards-Moss, H. P. Marriott, who for three years 1875, -76, -77, furnished stroke and seven to the 'Varsity boat, in addition to which J. P. Way stroked it in 1874, and H. P. Marriott in 1878–79, so that for six years the 'Varsity was stroked by a B.N.C. oar.

[1] For nearly all these figures I am indebted to an article by the Rev. F. H. Legge in the *Oxford Magazine* of January 30, 1907.

Finally, in the eighties, we come to what is perhaps the greatest period of the College rowing: it is at least the longest, and it holds two records which will take much beating. For nine consecutive years, from 1886-94, it rowed Head in Torpids, and for three of these years consecutively it was also Head in Eights. In that period there are many names: R. H. J. Poole (twice bow of the 'Varsity Boat), E. L. Puxley, W. F. C. Holland (three times bow and once stroke of the 'Varsity Boat), L. Frere and W. C. Kent (both 'Varsity strokes), H. R. Parker, F. Wilkinson, J. A. Ford, and W. B. Stewart.

It is a worthy roll of fame, yet in a College record of this nature that is not what strikes the imagination most or is most worth admiration; success is a function of many variables; the great possession of Brasenose in the past century is after all not the number or the brilliance of its successes, but the tenacious dogged purpose with which generation after generation of men have received the tradition that was handed down to them—have kept it up in bad days as well as good, and have in turn handed it on to others.

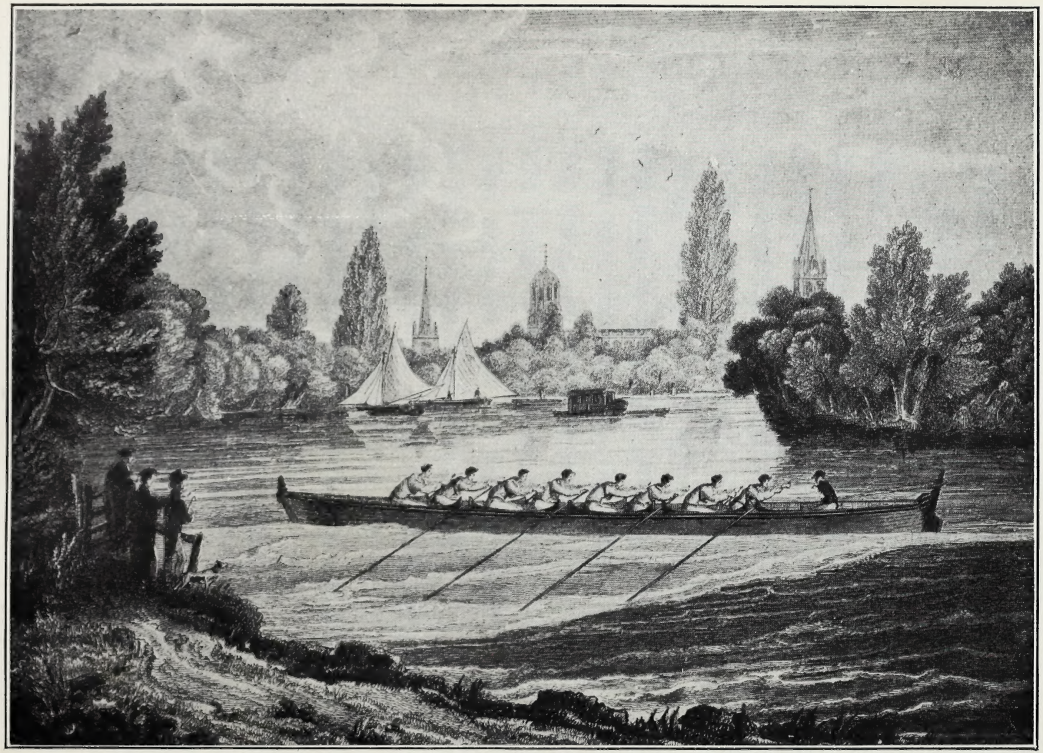
Most of these men have never received any reward or looked for one. There may be a vote of thanks—hidden away in the Minute Book—a few have an oar or a pewter pot, but for the great majority the only reward was the consciousness of having served their College and of having done their best to secure her in her 'Pride of Place'. If this record serves no other purpose I shall be grateful if it rescues their names from oblivion and keeps fresh the great memories of the past. One other purpose I trust it may also serve—I trust it may help to keep alive in the College the great tradition which has been its very breath of life.

There is no worthier wish that a Brasenose man can wish to Brasenose men than that every successive generation will show the determination of those that have gone before, to 'maintain' and if necessary regain that 'Pride of Place' which 'our Sires have left us'. With that wish I close and leave the record that follows to the indulgence of its readers.

VERSES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST MINUTE BOOK

WHO e'er thou art who readest o'er
These records of brave deeds of yore,
By which the name of B.N.C.
Has been ennobled and *shall* be,
Of all their lessons learn this one—
'What has been, may again be done.'
Pay them no heed, but pass them by
With fit contempt, who e'er decry
The valour of the present day,
The pluck of living men, and say
That arms are now not half so tough,
In fact are made of weaker stuff
Than those whose deeds are here recorded.
Despise a lie, so mean and sordid:
That self-same pluck which erst has shone
On Isis waters is not gone,
But still remains, perhaps unseen,
And will again come on the scene
And raise, dear Brasenose, thy name
To its own pinnacle of fame.

ALIQUID DELENDUM SI PLACEAT.



The Brasenose Eight in 1824
(from a print in the Buttery and J. C. R.)

BRASENOSE ROWING

DIARY

1815–1836. THE Minute Book of the Club does not start till 1837, which is the year that Mr. Sherwood takes as the first in which we have an official record of the College races—but racing had been going on for some twenty years previously; and the College rowing tradition dates back to its very commencement. The first boat recorded to be head of the river is B.N.C. in 1815. The College kept its place in 1816, lost it in the following year to Christ Church—but is again head in 1822. After no races in 1823, it starts for some reason second of the three boats entering in 1824, and ends in the same place; 1825 it does not put on; 1826 it puts on again and in 1827 is head, and this is the first year in which we have a list of the crew: 1828 it drops to second, and in 1830 to third (1829 there are no races): it is then off for two years, reappears in 1833, and is off in 1834. It put on in 1835, and finishes third, but drops to sixth in 1836.

The method of racing in these early years is described as follows by Mr. Sherwood:—

'It was the custom with these the early Eights to row down to Sandford, and then to return together to Iffley Lock. The boats were large ones, with a "gang-plank" running across the seats down the middle of the boat. When the lock gates opened, the stroke of the head boat, who was standing in the bows with a boat-hook, ran down the boat, either along the plank or along the side, and pushed her out of the lock as quickly as possible, immediately taking his seat and rowing. The first boat was followed as quickly as possible by the second, and that by the third, and thus the race was started.'

'In 1825 the races started above, not in, the lock. . . . The method of starting was now changed. The boats were arranged at intervals of fifty feet apart. A stick, afterwards painted in the college colours,

1815–36. marked the position of each boat, and an umpire (or in later days three umpires) was appointed to see that each was in its place. Wyatt, the lock-keeper, stood in the middle, and asked, "Are you ready?" and it was only on getting "Yes" from all the umpires that he fired his pistol.'

'In 1826 we learn from Woodgate that a meeting of strokes drew up the following rules to regulate the racing:—

'Resolved:

'(1) That the racing do commence on Monday, May 1.

'(2) That the days for racing be Monday and Friday in each week, and that if any boat does not come out on these days its flag to go to the bottom.

'(3) That no out-college men be allowed to row in any boat, except in the case of illness or other unavoidable absence, and then that the cause of such absence be signified to the strokes of the other boats.[1]

'(4) That all boats below the one that bumps stop racing, and those above continue it.

'(5) That there be a distance of fifty feet between each boat at starting.

'(6) That the boats be started by pistol shots.

'(7) That umpires be appointed by each college to see each boat in its proper position before starting, and to decide any accidental dispute.

As there are no minutes there are few incidents to be recorded, but Mr. Sherwood mentions two or three which concern the College:

'In 1822 a dispute arose between Brasenose and Jesus. It appears that the former caught a crab and were bumped, but rowing on again came in first, and claimed to remain "head". It must be remembered that the rules were so far only in process of formation, for, of course, now such a claim would be quite inadmissible. This led to a confusion of opinion, the Jesus men hoisting their flag as head, and the Brasenose men hauling it down again.' . . . . . .

'It was finally agreed that the race should be rowed again, when Brasenose retained their place.'

In 1823, there was no racing—

'Christ Church refusing to put on because Stephen Davis, the boat-builder, rowed for Brasenose, and Isaac King in the Jesus boat. Woodgate records that when Brasenose came up the river the Christ Church men used to run alongside shouting "No hired watermen".'

[1] In 1827, a rule was made that 'no out-college man be allowed to row in any boat'.



The Brasenose Eight about 1830
(from a coloured print in the Buttery)

1815-36. In 1824—

'There was a great four-oared race this year between Jesus and Brasenose, the crew of the latter consisting of F. Slade, Stephen Davis (a waterman), T. Morres, and a *Worcester* man. Mr. Morres gives this account in a letter: "We went down in the evening to Sandford. On our return to Iffley Lock the Jesus refused to go up first, so we pushed ourselves out of the lock, and were sharply followed by the Jesus, who nearly sent us down the lasher, but I cautioned the steerer to keep his hand upon the rudder. When we came to the third willow in the reach I asked Slade to quicken the stroke. We soon left them, and reached Davis' Barge seventy yards ahead, and met them returning, to the no small delight of Isaac King, who had made the match".'

1837. The Minute Book opens with a note characteristic of a College Club, but one which shows that the Boat Club was an established institution, with some years of life behind it, since it had already the respectable debt of £63. No boat is entered for the races, but this is the last year in which the College fails to enter.

'It was found that the boat fund was £63 11*s.* in debt. Mr. Hale, who was then stroke, set on foot a subscription to pay these bills; finding, however, the keeping of books hindered reading, he speedily got rid of them by appointing the first treasurer. The subscription raised in College amounted to £75 18*s.*'

'Having an indifferent crew who were by no means backward in throwing the blame upon the boat, we allowed their excuse and deemed it prudent not to put on. H. S. Champneys, Treasurer.'

1838. The previous year had seen the first Treasurer, and this year apparently the first committee was appointed.

'It being deemed expedient that a committee should be appointed to manage the affairs of the boat, at a meeting held on 14th March the following gentlemen were requested and kindly consented to act in that capacity:—

Messrs. Buckley,
,, Hale,
,, Garnett,
,, Holme,
,, Coote,
,, Penrice,
,, Champneys, Treasurer.

'Subscription in College £107 13*s.*'

Eights. B.N.C. started sixth; bumped Worcester the first night, but on the third fell to Merton and on the last to

1838. Trinity. They ended, however, in the same place, since Christ Church took off above them on the third night.[1]

Torpids.[2] There is no mention of a crew, but Mr. Sherwood thinks that B.N.C. must have put on, at least on the last night, and bumped Balliol, since they started above them the following year.

1839. Subscription in College £127 10*s*.[3]

Eights.[4]

'May 27th. Merton bumped Exeter, which prevented Brasenose, then close into them, from bumping St. John's.[5]

'29th. The chief interest this evening seemed to be between St. John's, B.N.C., and the Christ Church boats, and betting was 4 and 6 to 1 on Christ Church against B.N.C.

'In spite of this, however, B.N.C. bumped St. John's very soon.

'31st. After about 20 strokes B.N.C. ran into Exeter.

'June 7th. It was the opinion of many that Merton would re-bump B.N.C. before the latter got fairly off. This, however, by the pulling was proved erroneous, for Wadham soon ran into Exeter, immediately after which Balliol ran into Merton, and B.N.C. came up head of the river.

'B.N.C. gained 5 places and were only idle one night.'[6]

[1] In spite of the rain the racings came off at the usual time. The Brasenose, however, was the only boat that ventured down to Sandford; the others stayed at Iffley (*Oxford Rowing*, Rev. W. E. Sherwood, 1900).

[2] The origin of the Torpids is obscure; the name seems to have been applied to the second boat of a College, and was certainly in use in 1827. A scrap of loose paper, undated, in the B.N.C. book has the following note: 'Humphreys thinks that "Torpids" were allowed to row in the races with other boats when there were not many on, but that when there were enough there were separate races.' Up to 1838 practically nothing is known of Torpids; in that year they were forbidden to put on with racing boats; from 1839 with the exception of 1841 there is a complete chart, but till 1852 they were rowed after, or on the nights between the Eights (Sherwood).

[3] The Brasenose flag this year was a red cross on an orange ground (vide Sherwood).

[4] The first night the boats were late owing to a dispute at starting caused by the high wind, and the race only began 'after dark' at nine o'clock. The race accordingly was cancelled. In consequence of this, starting lines were instituted, which were held 'by a man on the bank, and it was agreed that for the future the boats should leave Sandford at seven o'clock, and the race should be started by two pistols instead of one, and at the second pistol all must start'. This was possibly the last year that the Eights went down to Sandford before the races (Sherwood).

[5] This is explained by the rule then in force, that when a bump was made, all the boats below stopped racing. The rule was altered in 1840.

[6] The members of Brasenose gave a supper in their Hall to 150 gentlemen, in honour of their victory, after the race (Sherwood). There is no mention of this in the B.N.C. book.

1839. **Torpids.**[1]

'May 30th. B.N.C. ran into Exeter directly, and then pulled off steadily after Christ Church, which they bumped at the Cherwell.

'June 1st. The Christ Church, though they strained every nerve, could not catch B.N.C.

'4th. There were only 2 boats on, the Oriel bumped B.N.C.

'6th. The Oriel kept head of the river.'

This year the O.U.B.C. Pairs were instituted, and the first Henley Regatta was held. For the Pairs W. B. Garnett of B.N.C., with R. Hobhouse of Balliol, presented a silver rudder; and a B.N.C. crew entered, but were beaten in the second heat.

At Henley B.N.C. began its long connexion with the Regatta by entering for the Grand Challenge Cup, but were beaten by the Etonian Club boat, 'which may be accounted for by the B.N.C. having pulled down from Oxford to the scene of action only the day before.'

1840. This was a great year for B.N.C.; they stayed head in the Eights, won the University Fours, which were instituted this year, and in the University Boat race supplied the four stern oars and the cox in the Oxford Boat. E. Royds also stroked the winning boat in the University Pairs. No B.N.C. crew appeared at Henley, but J. J. T. Somers-Cocks stroked the Westminster Club boat, J. Randolph rowing 3, and W. B. Garnett rowed 7 in the Etonian Club.

Subscription in College £123 14*s*.

Eights.[2] B.N.C. stayed head during the nine nights. The first three nights they were undisturbed, but on the fourth Wadham were behind them, and they only got home by a quarter of a length. On the seventh University made their fifth bump by securing Wadham, and on the last two nights they pressed B.N.C. very hard.

[1] From 1839 with one exception we have a complete chart of the Torpids. They were rowed till 1852 after or on nights between the Eights (vide Sherwood).

[2] This year new regulations were made for the Eights, among which are the following:—

The start was to be at 7.45.

There should be a night for each boat entered.

That each boat should have three umpires (vide Sherwood).

1840. 'June 17th. There was a most spirited race between the B.N.C. and University boats, the rush made by the latter below the Cherwell was most terrific; in spite of it, however, the B.N.C. contrived to land their boat a quarter of a length ahead.

'19th. The race on Wednesday made it evident that the struggle between the leading boats would be a severe one, and never was strength and pluck more severely tried. Up to the Gut B.N.C. drew a little upon their opponents; the pace of the University from the Willows to the Crossing over was tremendous, in so much, that below the Cherwell they were again within a quarter of a length of B.N.C. From this to King's Barge, however, B.N.C. rallied a little, and came in winners by half a length.'

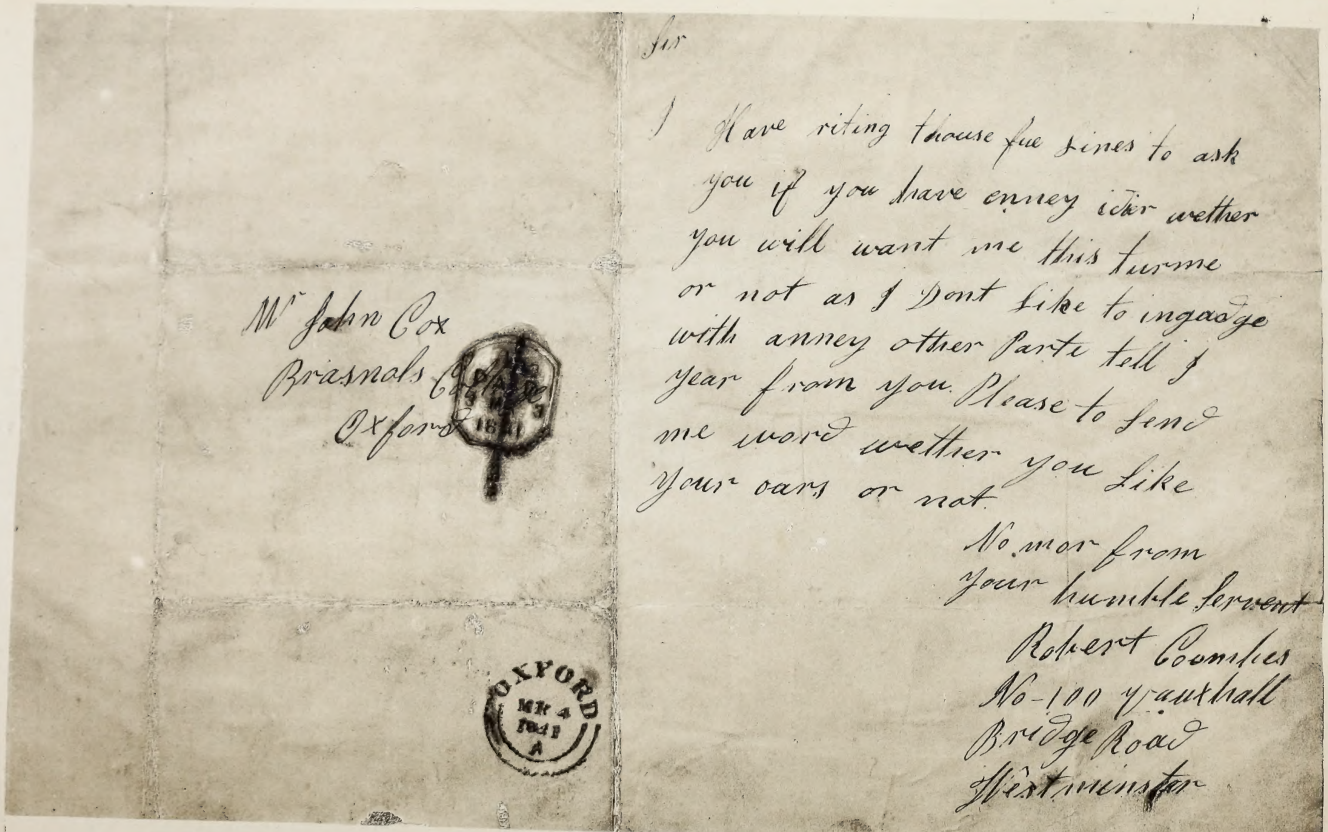
Torpids. Brasenose started third, and left off in the same place, but on the last night Wadham alone put on in consequence of the following incident:—

'June 20th. Wadham bumped Exeter, but [the latter] objected to the stroke of the Wadham because he had rowed several nights in the racing boat. Evidence was heard, and it was decided by the O.U.B.C. "that every man who had pulled one night in a racing boat was disqualified from pulling in a Torpid".[1] As this decision was injurious to the crews, no boat but the Wadham put on the last night.'

O.U.B.C. Fours. In the Michaelmas Term the O.U.B.C. presented a cup for Four Oars, and six crews entered, Brasenose, Trinity, Wadham, University, Exeter I, Exeter II. In the first heat B.N.C. beat Wadham easily; in the fourth they defeated Trinity by half a length, and won the final against University by two lengths.

'Brasenose beat Trinity, who also won the choice of sides and took the Towing-path. The start on both sides was very good, at first we thought Trinity had rather the lead, but when the first burst was over and the Brasenose had settled down to steady pulling, they gradually drew upon them, so that when entering the Gut they were half a length ahead, however, the advantage of sides told, as before leaving the Gut the Trinity had not only recovered their lost ground, but were also about ¾ length ahead of Brasenose. In going out of the Gut we believe the steerer of the Brasenose might have put an end to the race by running into the Trinity who crossed him, instead of which as we afterwards heard, he good-naturedly hallooed to the Trinity steerer to give him more room. Brasenose being now in the best water regained their lost

[1] The rule was later modified, so that a man rowing for three nights in the Eights could not row in the following Torpids (Sherwood).



A Letter, A.D. 1841

1840. ground until they came to the crossing over, from which point it was anybody's race. It is utterly impossible to describe the excitement which now prevailed, one moment Trinity was a foot ahead, the next a foot astern of the Brasenose, and thus it continued up to the Cherwell. Here it was the final struggle for victory took place. The exertions on both sides were very great, the strength of the Brasenose however, although they were in the stream, gained them the day and enabled them to land their boat at the winning post half a length ahead of their opponents. The pulling of both crews could not be too much praised, and never before was seen such a well-maintained struggle on the Isis. The pace was first-rate throughout.

'The following day, Saturday, the final heat for the Cup came off between Brasenose and University. The betting, what little there might be, was very strange, as in some cases as much as 10, 5, and 3 to 1 was given in favour of Brasenose, whilst in others 5 and 3 to 1 was given to their opponents. We think the average would be about 6 to 4 on Brasenose, who won the toss and chose the Towing-path side. Both crews seemed confident; on starting, University, after a few strokes took a decided lead, they had not rowed far, however, before they forfeited all claim to the Cup by fouling the Brasenose, but Mr. Champneys, by keeping his own course, turned this movement to the advantage of his crew, as the University were obliged to stop pulling and let the Brasenose go ahead. Satisfied with this, and at the same time conscious of the power of his crew, he disdained claiming the race, and afforded them another opportunity of redeeming their loss by proceeding steadily onwards.'

The race was over at the crossing, and Brasenose won easily by two lengths.

'The winners it will be remembered were the 4 after-oars in the late severe contest which took place in the Spring from Westminster to Putney between the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.'

1841. The success of the previous year was not maintained. In the Eights the boat fell to Third. A crew entered for the O.U.B.C. Pairs, but was easily beaten in the final. In the O.U.B.C. Fours, B.N.C. as holders met University in the final, but were beaten; the College, however, again supplied four members of the University boat.

There is no mention of the Torpids in the Minute Book, and Mr. Sherwood notes that 'we can find no details of the Torpids for this year'.

A curious letter is immortalized in the Minute Book this year, and an illustration is given opposite this page.

1841. It is worth noticing that in the Eights the steerer, Mr. M. H. S. Champneys, was an M.A.

1842.[1] The Torpid races again appear; ten boats put on, and B.N.C. starting second ended head. This was the only success of the year. In the Eights, rowed on seven nights, beginning May 11, B.N.C. started third and ended fifth.

Christ Church this year put on a second boat, and Merton and Corpus a joint boat, which was, however, taken off after three nights.

1843.[2] The Brasenose downfall continued this year; in the Eights the boat fell to eighth, in the Torpids to seventh.

There was evidently, however, considerable rowing interest in the College, for *Bell's Life* has a notice of Brasenose Four Oar Races in the Lent Term.

'March 28, 1843, the members of Brasenose this week afforded a treat to the lovers of aquatic amusements by getting up a Four Oar Race for which 4 boats were entered and manned entirely from their own College. Tuesday was the day appointed for the trial heats, and soon after 3 o'clock they commenced with the *Vivid* and *Scylla* crews, the Vivid crew, Casenove, Hullah, Greenall, Pigot (?), Jackson cox; Scylla crew, Cox, Titwell, Egerton, Taswell, Cradock cox." The Vivid won the heat by three lengths, and " was again called into requisition to race with the *Cardinal.* The Vivid crew, Royds, Horwood, Harris, Balston, steerer Cradock; Cardinal crew, Banner, Harrison, Banner Jr., Driffield, Butler steerer." The final came off on the Thursday, when Mr. Casenove's crew in the Vivid easily beat Mr. Royds' in the Cardinal.'

A similar notice appears in *Bell's Life* in November.

'Nov. 20, a match which had created considerable excitement in the aquatic community, and on which some heavy bets were pending, came off on Monday last, and caused much sport to the crowds of spectators who lined the bank. The crews were composed of the following members of Brasenose. The *Prince*, Tyndale, Gordon, Cradock cox. The *Queen*, Harris, Pulestone, Balston cox, and the Umpire's boat was manned by Tuke, captain of the Eton boat, stroke G. Meynell, formerly of the University crew, J. T. Somers Cocks, formerly stroke of the University

[1] This year a rule was made allowing Colleges with less than forty members to amalgamate to form a crew: it is curious to note that Magdalen and New College are among the Colleges enumerated (vide Sherwood).

[2] Umpires were abolished (Sherwood).

1843. boat, F. Royds Jr., Reynolds, Hole steerer. All the gentlemen were members of Brasenose College. At the starting the Prince led the way, but was immediately collared by the Queen, when a gallant race ensued, when amidst the plaudits of its supporters the Prince drew slowly ahead. The excitement now became very great, the Queen again came up, and stroke for stroke the boats shot side by side till the post being reached the Prince was declared the winner by *one foot.*'

Henley Regatta. At Henley this year Royds of Brasenose rowed 3 for the O.U.B.C. in their Seven Oared Race against Cambridge Subscription Room Boat Club, London, for the Grand Challenge Cup. In this race the stroke, Mr. F. H. Menzies of the O.U.B.C., fainted down at the starting-point, and on Cambridge refusing to allow Oxford to take a substitute from their Club, Oxford decided to row with seven oars.

'The Cantabs did not consent to any fresh hand being taken into the boat, but were determined to be guided by the rules. It is supposed they were actuated by a feeling that large sums of money depended upon them, and that they would not be justified in departing from the general rule. As things were in this stage, to the surprise of everybody the Oxford University Boat turned out with 7 working hands only in her, the bow oar being absent. Loud shouts of applause greeted this behaviour, and the Oxonians acknowledging it with a bow, came to the starting place followed by the Umpire's boat. Immediately after the departure of the Oxford boat, the Cambridge crew came facing the judge's stand, and were of opinion they ought to claim as the rival boat had not her number in her. Their claim, however, was rejected.'

On starting they remained 'oar to oar for two or three lengths', but' at the first gate on the Towing-path from the Island' Oxford drew ahead, and Cambridge never overtook them. Oxford won by more than a length. 'Nothing could exceed the surprise expressed by this result, and the triumph of the Oxford gentlemen at their well-earned victory.' The same Oxford crew, with a fresh man instead of Mr. Menzies, won in the same week the Gold Challenge Cup at the Thames Regatta.

1844. The Minute Book is defective, not mentioning the Eights. The fact is to be regretted, for B.N.C. looked up again. In the Eights they went from eighth to third; floods were out

1844. during the races, and on the fifth night the boat went aground, but apparently escaped being bumped.

In the Torpids they gained one place, after a duel with Trinity on the last three nights, which fortunately ended the night B.N.C. were top.

Mr. Sherwood notes this year from the Secretary's book: 'In consequence of the Derby Race being on Wednesday, the boat racing will be on Thursday and Friday' (Sherwood, p. 40).

This year the Oxford Subscription Rooms, London, arranged their Four Oared race in the Easter Vacation 'in order to give resident members of the University opportunity to contend for the prize. The distance was rowed as usual from Westminster Bridge to Putney'. The following members of Brasenose availed themselves of the opportunity offered:— Mr. F. E. Tuke, Mr. G. Meynell, Mr. H. Hullah, Mr. S. W. Taylor; Mr. Meynell and Mr. Tuke were in the winning boat which Mr. Tuke stroked.

1845.[1] A notable year. The boat went head both in Eights and Torpids. In the latter, on the fifth night, the boat first bumped Oriel the second boat, and then rowed past the head boat, Wadham.

Torpids.

'5th night, May 23rd. On this night Brasenose accomplished a very unusual feat. Having made a good start, Brasenose gained on Oriel every stroke and bumped them easily at this side of the Haystack; they backwatered in order to free their boat from the Oriel, which caused a delay of some few seconds and gave Wadham a considerable chance of improving their distance. Notwithstanding this, the Brasenose men were very soon after Wadham, and after a very hard pull caught them a little at this side of the Long Bridges; rowed a short distance by their side, and passed them a little before the Cherwell, and came in a considerable distance ahead of them! Although they came in first they gained but one place, and this left Wadham head of the river.

'In the sixth race Brasenose completed her triumph by bumping Wadham a little before the Haystack, thus making their college first of the racing boats and first of the Torpids.'

[1] 1845 saw the general introduction into Oxford of outrigged boats, an innovation viewed with much alarm by the University authorities (Sherwood).

1845. In the Eights the Minute Book gives a description of the Procession of Boats, which is perhaps worth preserving.

'*Procession Night*, 1845. On Tuesday, June 3rd, the Eights started from Iffley at 7.30 by the usual signal guns, rowed up and saluted the head boat (the Brasenose which was stationed at the University Barge) by tossing their oars, then passing under the left-hand arch of Folly Bridge and out again by the centre, proceeded down the river, turned round a punt, moored off the Long Bridges, and returned up during a continuous pouring rain.

'*Order of procession*:

Racing Boats.	*Torpid Boats.*
Brasenose	Brasenose
Christ Church	Wadham
Merton	Pembroke
Trinity	Queen's
St. John's	Oriel
Balliol	Worcester
Pembroke	Christ Church
Oriel	Trinity
Wadham	Exeter
Worcester	Merton
Lincoln	
Queen's	
Corpus and Magdalen	
Exeter	
Magdalen Hall	
University	

Total 26.'

The year's successes were signalized by a bump supper, which would make the hair of a modern Vice-Principal stand on end.

'THE BRASENOSE SUPPER.

'To the Editor of *Bell's Life*.

'MR. EDITOR,

'On Friday evening, the 23rd May, one of the most gratifying spectacles ever presented to the lovers of aquatic sports was exhibited by the members of Brasenose College. It is needless to say how much the University and the aquatic world at large are indebted to those gentlemen for their general patronage of the manly exercise of rowing, so we will but call to mind that the well-known names of Cocks, Walls, Meynell, Royds, names "familiar in our mouths as household words", all earned their laurels during their residence at Brasenose. It is four

1845. years since this college was last head of the river, a position which it then maintained for a period unparalleled in boating annals. This year, however, they again hold the "pride of place", and a finer crew never put foot to stretcher. On Friday evening, to celebrate this event the members of this spirited college entertained their aquatic friends in a most sumptuous manner at supper, where a goodly muster of the gallant sons of Isis enjoyed their hospitality. Covers were laid for 150, and a more convivial party never assembled. Their venerable hall was most tastefully decorated for the occasion with the college flags and flowers elegantly arranged, while the supper and wines were of the first order. The Chair was most ably filled by Mr. Tuke, the Captain of the Childe of Hale, the Brasenose boat, and it was most gratifying to all to see him supported on the right by the Rev. J. Cocks, for several years the Captain of the boat when last in its glory. Nor must we omit to mention the presence of Mr. Meynell, well-known on the London river, who has long been a cordial supporter of the aquatic fame of his college. The "Queen" was the first toast proposed, which was received with unabated Oxford loyalty. Then followed the "Principal and Fellows of Brasenose", amongst whom was honourably mentioned the name of Buckley, now a respected tutor of the College and once its stroke. "University Crew", the "Glorious Seven Oars at Henley", "Mr. Harris the present stroke of Brasenose", "Mr. Hervey the steerer" (on whose excellent arrangements on the present occasion the comfort and pleasure of the guests had so mainly depended), and many other toasts followed in rapid succession, which were all with no less warmth responded to than received. Several excellent songs also followed in the evening's entertainment. The meeting separated shortly before three, after one of the most magnificent and hospitable entertainments ever witnessed within the walls of Alma Mater.

'Yours, etc.,
CORRESPONDENT.'

Boat Race. In the 'Varsity Race this year, which was won by Cambridge, Mr. F. E. Tuke stroked the Oxford boat, and Mr. F. C. Royds rowed 6.

In the account of the race in the Minute Book, the bitter cold during the race, which was rowed on March 15, is noticed, and there is mention of an Outrigger.

'There was a strong and piercingly cold wind from the North East, and the frost was so severe that the crews before starting could with difficulty grasp their oars, and when the slightest damp touched their clothes they became frozen while rowing! The Oxford crew rowed in a boat built by King of "the Ancient City", while for the Cambridge

1845. gentlemen a boat had been prepared by Messrs. Searle, termed an Outrigger, on a new principle lately introduced by the Claspers of Newcastle, being 60 feet long and only 2 feet 10 inches wide, but the Cantabs considering it hardly safe to row in so light a boat with so little practice decided on rowing in a boat belonging to the 2nd Trinity built by Logan of Cambridge, in which they had been practising.'

1846.[1] The success of the previous year was fairly maintained; the Eight kept its place, but the Torpid fell two places. The College also entered for the O.U.B.C. Four, and sent 'the Childe of Hale' to Henley for the Ladies' Plate. The Brasenose flag this year was a yellow one with the College Arms in the centre.

Eights. Close racing seems to have been anticipated between Brasenose, the head boat, and Christ Church, who were behind them.

'The greatest interest was excited by the anticipated racing between the two first boats, the Brasenose and the Christ Church. The crew of the former, Brasenose, were in excellent training, and have all pulled together in first-rate style which, combined with the excellent new boat built by King, caused them to be the favourites, and the odds were laid pretty freely against the latter bumping them. They had, however, powerful antagonists in the Christ Church boat, whose crew consisted of old and steady oars, several of whom have competed in public matches.'

In the result Brasenose seemed to have maintained their position with some ease.

Torpids. Six crews entered, but Worcester took off after third night, and B.N.C. for the last. On the first night B.N.C. fouled their bung, and were caught by Worcester, but rebumped them the following night. However, the fourth night Exeter caught them, and the last night they took off,[2] so ending third.

'Brasenose in this race lost that position which last year it held so proudly, rivalling its model the first boat, but it would have been a thing almost too great to expect to be head of the river in both races for two years following.'

[1] This year saw the abolition of watermen as coaches (Sherwood).

[2] No reason is assigned for this in the Minutes.

1846. **Boat Race.** This year F. C. Royds of Brasenose rowed 6. Some extracts from the account of the race are worth preserving.

'Cambridge engaged R. Coombes, the Champion, to train them, while Oxford secured the services of Moulton. The Oxford boat was built expressly for this match by King of Oxford, a rigger of admirable construction sitting very light on the water and answering every stroke of the oar, she was very low in the forward, and painted as usual dark blue inside. The Oxford nose peeped in front of the other for a few yards, and then came "the tug of war". The lusty strokes of either crew threatened downright demolition to their frail "veneers", and within a minute of the start they were parallel. We have seen rowing men work evenly, we have seen them row desperately, but we think it would have been a work of great trouble to have found anything better than the exhibition of the next two miles. To the end of the race it was a spurt and a corresponding spurt, and at a speed we never remember to have witnessed. The Cambridge boat began to show slightly ahead, the Oxford crew, however, made one desperate and truly gallant effort to overhaul the leading boat. Their noble exertions brought them once more alongside their antagonists, and victory seemed to tremble in the balance. But the lasting powers of the Cantabs gained them the victory by about 2 boats length. The distance, 4 miles and about 200 yards, was rowed in the incredibly short time of 21 minutes 5 seconds.'

1847. This year should have been a worthy crown to the previous two if an unlucky accident had not lost the College the headship of the river; still this disaster was compensated for by the first victory at Henley. The Childe of Hale, which last year entered for the Ladies' Plate, this year won it, beating First Trinity Cambridge (holders).

Eights. Brasenose stayed head the first six nights, but on the seventh were bumped by Christ Church.

'Brasenose being well away from Christ Church, within a boat's length of the flag met with an unfortunate accident, one of the crew caught a crab, and in his endeavour to recover himself was thrown completely out of the boat into the water, their boat being thrown so much on one side none of the crew were able to pull, and Christ Church bumped them when their bows were already past the flag. The 8th race, Brasenose was unable to recover their place.'

On the sixth night Brasenose put on a second boat whose career, however, only lasted two nights, and Christ Church

1847. objected to their putting on at all because their entrance fee had not been paid at the proper time; the objection was overruled by the Committee of the O.U.B.C., and their decision was afterwards upheld by a captains' meeting.

Torpids. Brasenose, after several vicissitudes oscillating between 1 and 4, left off where it started, namely, 3rd.

Henley.

'This year not only did Brasenose furnish the University boat with three of its best oars,[1] but itself sent forth a boat which many a University boat would find it hard to beat, and most nobly did it acquit itself in the race for the Ladies' Challenge Cup.

'Crew:—

1. D. Jones
2. P. Earle
3. J. Oldham
4. J. A. Ogle
5. F. C. Royds
6. W. H. Smith
7. G. R. Winter
8. T. W. Nowell

W. (?) Knight, *Cox.*

'The holders were First Trinity, Cambridge. Up to the Poplar Point it was neck and neck racing, but after this Brasenose gradually drew away and won by a length; time 9 minutes.'

The victory was celebrated in the following verses, which I trust any member of First Trinity, into whose hands they fall, will forgive:—

Trinity crew came from Cambridge so bold,
And with confident hearts they were sporting their gold,
For they thought themselves certain to beat B.N.C.
Over Henley's fair reach with the wind on their lee.

Like a flourishing cabbage so jolly and green,
That crew on their oars at the starting were seen;
Like a rotten potato done perfectly brown
Came they under the bridge into Henley's good town.

There was Wolstenholme's visage so yellow and pale,
And Nicholson cussing a few I'll be bail,
And slow was their stroke and dejected each head,
And 'The infants have beat us' was all that they said!

[1] J. Oldham; F. C. Royds; G. R. Winter.

1847. For Nowell stuck on to his stroke like a trump,
And none of our crew had forgotten the bump.
Royds, Oldham and Winter rowed lustily then,
And the Child who pulls stronger than two or three men.

Now the ladies of Barnwell are loud in their wail
And untouched stands the beaker of Trinity ale,
For in spite of all omens 'Brave Royds and his crew'
Have made the *Black* Prince for the first time look *blue*.

Then up with our flag boys and soon may we see
The old Childe of Hale where she now ought to be.
At Oxford and Henley we'll keep up our fame
And Christ Church or Cambridge we'll beat them the same!

'These verses were sent to me through the kindness of the Rev. J. Egerton in 1874. P. H. Coxe, *Sec.*' (Minute Book).

1848. The chief event of this year was the founding of the Royds and Winter Challenge Oars:—

'November 29, at a Committee Meeting held in Mr. Cust's rooms it was agreed: (i) That Challenge Oars and Presentation Tankards for two-oared boats without steerers should be presented by members of the crew, and the Secretary of 1848, namely:—

Jones
Errington
Cust
Temple
Kewley
Willis
Knight, *Cox.*
Meynell, Secretary.

(ii) That these Oars be called the Royds and Winter Challenge Oars in commemoration of Brasenose having for two successive years afforded Captains to a victorious University crew. (iii)[1] That no two men who have rowed in the racing boat are to row together in the same boat. (iv)[2] That these races be rowed in the Lent Term and be bumping races from Iffley Lasher to the B.N.C. Barge. (v) The holders entitled to row the winning boat unless disqualified by the previous rule. (vi) The Committee and Captain of Brasenose Boat Club to be Umpires. (vii) The tankards to be given every year by the crew.'

[1] At a Committee Meeting held at Mr. Parkin's rooms, May 27, 1860, 'that rule iii be annulled, and in its place be substituted "that no two men who have rowed for more than 3 nights in the Eight of the year may row together".'

[2] On October 28, 1851, the date was changed to the Michaelmas Term and an Entrance Fee of 2*s*. 6*d*. instituted.

1848. **Eights.** Only two members of the 1847 crew were left and the races were disastrous, Brasenose dropping to 5th. A curious incident took place on the third day: 'In the 3rd race Pembroke bumped Brasenose, but the Ex-President[1] discovered that their post had been moved 36 feet up, so the Pembroke Captain withdrew his claim to the bump' (Sherwood). Pembroke made their bump, however, on the fifth night.

Torpids. Only five boats put on, and of these one took off during the races. Brasenose, who left off 3rd in 1847, started head this year, owing to Exeter and St. John's taking off. It 'maintained its position throughout, doing its best to compensate for ill luck in the first boat.'

1849. Brasenose fell one place in the Eights and three in the Torpids. Despite this, however, an eight was entered for the Grand Challenge Cup at Maidenhead, 'the expenses to be defrayed by a special subscription.'

1850. This is a year of success in every direction, and proved the beginning of a new era of prosperity for the College rowing, which lasted in the Eights till 1855, and in the Torpids till 1854. The Eight gained three places, the Torpid went head, and in the Lent term the Fours were won. The last victory was repeated in December.[2] The advantages of proper training are twice noticed in the minutes, and one gathers that the matter had lately been allowed to be neglected. The minutes record also two other events which deserve mention: a flag was presented to the Boat Club by Miss Balguy—probably the sister of Mr. F. St. J. Balguy, who appears as coxswain of the Torpid this year and of the Eight in the next two—and a silver cup was presented to Mr. R. H. Knight, the coxswain of the boat the last four years.

[1] Apparently F. C. Royds.

[2] The race with Cambridge was rowed in December, 1849, instead of the Spring of 1850, and consequently the O.U.B.C. Fours, which should have been rowed in the Michaelmas Term, 1849, was postponed to the Lent Term, 1850; they thus appear twice in the same Calendar year.

1850. The secretary this year is Mr. J. C. Egerton. He rowed in the Torpids of 1851–2, and in the Eights of 1853–4. He was one of the most loyal of Brasenose oars, and kept in touch with generation after generation of rowing men in College—almost to the date of his death in 1887.

Eights. Brasenose this year went up to 3rd, bumping Oriel, Christ Church, and Worcester.

'This year Brasenose did something towards recovering its long lost position on the river by gaining three places. They rowed in a new boat built by Searle. The crew trained somewhat more than they did last year, and moreover, had the valuable assistance of Mr. Hornby who rowed Bow of the University Eight at Putney; this, with the superior stroke acquired by practice in the University boat, went a long way in contributing to the successes of Brasenose. The rowing of the leading boats was very good and their places at the end of the season were a fair criterion of their prowess, except that Balliol generally gained a good deal on Wadham.'

Torpids. In 1849 Brasenose had left off 4th, but Oriel taking off they started 3rd this year and went head, bumping Lincoln,[1] and Wadham on the 2nd.

'In these races Brasenose showed itself vastly superior to all its opponents, in fact the rowing of its crew was such as to call forth the unqualified approbation of all who saw it, and gave good ground of hope for the next year's boat.'

The Fours. Lent Term.[2] Brasenose beat Exeter in the 3rd heat and Lincoln in the 4th, and in the Final heat beat Oriel, the holders, by a length.

'Brasenose won the toss, Oriel took the lead but were soon collared, and for a long distance were oar and oar with Brasenose, the side made a little difference in favour of Brasenose who won, after a glorious race, by a length.' 'The rowing this year was fully up to par and the Brasenose crew having trained a little more than it is wont just lately, combined with the advantage an excellent stroke gave them, once more placed the College in the position it held in these races 10 years ago, the first year that the cup was given. The advantages of training being now fully seen, it is hoped that the same system will be continued in the eight-oared races this year, and if it is, it may all go well for Brasenose.'

[1] First day: Lincoln took their station but did not start (Sherwood).

[2] See p. 23, n. 2.

1850. **The Fours.** December 3 and 4.

'There were but three challenges in this race, but though in previous years there has been a larger entry the superiority in style and pace in the boats far exceed the average of previous years.' The Final was between Christ Church and Brasenose the holders. 'Christ Church won the toss and took the Berkshire side. Thousands of spectators crowded the banks, and deafening were the shouts when on the word being given Brasenose took the lead. One continuous roar was kept up during the whole of this most exciting struggle, and at the conclusion Brasenose passed the post a length and a half ahead of their opponents, thereby for the second successive year and the third time retaining possession of the Cup. The winning boat was built by Noulton.'[1]

Presentation to Mr. R. H. Knight. 'On Friday, June 7th, a supper was given in Mr. Kewley's rooms for the purpose of presenting to Mr. R. H. Knight a Silver Cup purchased by subscription by members of the Brasenose Boat Club as a memorial of the kindness and assistance which that Club has received from Mr. Knight in his capacity of steerer of the Club boat during a period of 4 years. The cup was a handsome piece of workmanship from the hands of Makepiece & Walford of London, its value about £15 15*s.* 0*d.* Mr. Knight returned thanks for the Cup to Mr. Houghton who presented it in a speech characterized by that earnestness and warmth of feeling which has always been shown by him in his endeavours to benefit the Boat Club, and was received with loud applause by men who felt that in losing him they were losing a good steerer, and a better friend. Toasts were given, speeches made, and songs sung till a late hour, and the evening was in all respects a most pleasant one.'

Presentation of a flag to the Boat Club. 'At a Committee Meeting held in Mr. Egerton's rooms on Tuesday, June 12, it was resolved *inter alia* that a vote of thanks be passed to Miss Balguy for her kindness in making and presenting to the Brasenose Boat Club a most elaborately worked flag bearing the Club Arms and a Mitre.'

1851. The success of the previous year is continued, and the position of the College on the river is strengthened by the Eight forcing its way up one more place towards the Headship which the Torpid had already won and this year maintains. The Fours are lost, but as a compensation the Pairs are won for the first time. At Henley the College wins the Ladies' Plate and enters a four both for the Stewards' and the Visitors' Cup.

[1] In the races this year the Gut was staked out so as to make the two stations more equal, which custom was continued as long as level races were rowed (Sherwood).

1851. Challenge Sculls are presented by Mr. Heaven (senr.) of Trinity College to be competed for by members of Trinity and Brasenose.

Eights.

'Brasenose gained a place this year, and though not head of the river at the end of the races, proved itself able to produce the best crew on the river, gaining on Balliol every night and two nights running within a yard.

'*3rd night.* Brasenose borrowed the Queen's boat. They gained a little on Balliol up to the Gut, lost again rather to the Cherwell where they again gained and came in having decreased the distance about half a length.

'*4th night.* Brasenose gained steadily on Balliol and at the end were one to three yards from them.

'*5th night.* Brasenose gained at the start, but lost it in the Gut where they again picked up and came within half a length of Balliol at the end.

'*6th night.* In this race Brasenose was about a length behind Balliol at the winning post and a long way ahead of Worcester.

'*7th night.* Brasenose rowed in the Merton boat and were about their distance away from Balliol, considerably more from Worcester.

'*8th night.* Brasenose gained the whole race and were a yard and a half off at the end.'

Torpids. No account is given in the Minute Book; B.N.C. were bumped by Lincoln on the 5th night, but rebumped them the 7th.

The Fours. Brasenose as the holders met Christ Church in the Final.

'Brasenose as the holders were the general favourites at the start, during the race the utmost excitement prevailed. Brasenose was only supposed to have a slight advantage up to Saunders Bridge where a gallant spurt from Christ Church seemed to diminish the distance. Still the friends of either party were confident of success till the pistol proclaimed Christ Church the winners less than two seconds before Brasenose pistol was fired.'

The Pairs. Prescot and Greenall put in for Brasenose and rowed in the Final against King of Lincoln and Nixon of Worcester.

1851. 'The deciding heat was rowed on Thursday, the river being partially frozen over the preceding day. This was a time race[1], and was looked forward to with the more interest by Brasenose as it was the first time two of them had entered together[2] for these races. On a former occasion E. Royds with Polehampton won them. After a severe struggle Greenall and Prescot won by two or three seconds, Nixon running aground just short of his post as the pistol was fired.'

Henley.[3]

The Ladies' Challenge Plate.

Oxford, Brasenose Childe of Hale Club.
Oxford, Westminster and Eton Club.
Cambridge, First Trinity.

'The Brasenose gentlemen crossed the water from the Bucks shore, took the water of Christ Church (Westminster and Eton) gave them their wash and at Poplar Point were two lengths in advance, the Cantabs bringing up the rear. The Coxswain of the leading boat lost his hat, but did not, of course, stop to pick it up. Brasenose continued the lead despite the plucky exertions of Christ Church and won by the above-named distance.[4] The Cantabs were about the same distance astern of the second boat. It was a splendid race up to Remenham, and was rowed in 8 minutes, 10 seconds.'

Visitors' Cup, 1st Heat.

Cambridge, First Trinity Boat Club.
Oxford, Brasenose College.
Oxford, Lady Catherine Crew.

'The Cambridge who had the Berks side took the lead a trifle at starting, but Brasenose kept close to them and an exciting race ensued all the way, the Cantabs in the "straight run in" being ¾ length in advance, but the Brasenose crew made a gallant spurt and reduced the distance between them to half a length at the Final. Time 9 minutes.'[5]

[1] The first three Heats had been bumping races.

[2] The words 'two-together' are underlined in the minutes, but appear to be a mistake: W. W. Townsend and W. Houghton are given by Mr. Sherwood as entering in 1849. The College minute book is very defective that year, but it is curious that the fact should have been forgotten.

[3] Newspaper Report in the Minute Book (? *Bell's Life*).

[4] Brasenose took the start at once and drew steadily ahead throughout the whole distance, beating Ch. Ch. by 3 lengths and Trinity by 6 (*Spectator*).

[5] In the Final Heat Christ Church, Oxford, beat First Trinity, Cambridge; a splendid race, the Oxonians winning with the stem of the Cambridge boat nearly touching the other's rudder at the finish.

1851. *Stewards' Cup.*

'This race was denuded of a crew, the Balliol—in consequence of the "Head" not allowing them out of College in time.'

3rd Heat.

Cambridge (University qualification).[1]
Oxford, Brasenose (Childe of Hale).

'The Cambridge headed the Oxonians half way between the island and Remenham, took their water, and gallantly won by about 4 lengths, the time being 8 minutes 54 seconds.'

Brasenose and Trinity College Challenge Sculls, March 13.

'The race for these Sculls presented by Heaven senr. of Trinity College was rowed for on this day; to the Sculls was added a Presentation Cup value £5 10*s.* 0*d.* given to the winners by the two Colleges. There were 8 entries and 6 starters:—

Williams
Townsend
Heaven
Dawson
Greenall
Wood.

'The Final Heat was rowed between Heaven and Greenall; Heaven won the toss and chose the Berkshire side; a good start was effected, but Greenall after a few strokes steered into the bank which gave Heaven the lead which he kept in fine style, Greenall's plucky spurts to gain his lost ground being ineffectual and finally Heaven won by about 4 lengths.'

1852. The efforts of the last two years were crowned by the boat going head in the Eights; the Torpid kept its place for the third year, and thus for the second time[2] B.N.C. held the proud position of head both in Eights and Torpids.

Two points are worth noticing this year—New College put on for the first time and the Torpids are held for the first time in the Lent Term.

Eights.

'Brasenose again stands in that position on the river which was unfortunately lost in 1847, so desperately struggled for with Balliol in

[1] The Cambridge crew was entered at the last moment in the place of the First Trinity boat: it was composed of the stroke and three others of the University crew.

[2] The first time was in 1845.

1852. 1851, and so gallantly won on the night of Tuesday, May 18. The head place in the Torpids also gained in 1850, was kept during the race in Lent Term, and once more Brasenose has sent forth a president of the O.U.B.C., i.e. the Captain of the boat, Richard Greenall.

'The crew rowed in the boat built for the Cambridge crew by Searle and Sons for the University race at Putney last Easter. First Race Brasenose bumped Balliol at the Willows with one of the finest spurts ever witnessed . . . .

'N.B. Brasenose considerably improved their distance from Balliol the greatest gain being about two distances, the smallest rather short of one.'

An entry appears in the Minutes, with which most boating men will sympathize:—

Committee, January 24. 'That in consequence of the great inconvenience arising from the indiscriminate use of boating clothes the following rule shall be put up in the Barge "Any member using without permission coat, jersey, flannels, &c. belonging to any other member will be liable to a fine of 2/6".'

1853. Both boats maintained their position, and thus for the second year in succession B.N.C. held the headship in both Eights and Torpids.

A Challenge Cup was presented to the College by Messrs. Mills and Pott for Scratch Four Oar Races.[1]

It is curious that in neither of these successful years does the College make any appearance at Henley.

It is also to be remarked that in neither year is there mention of a bump supper.

Torpids.

'These races began on Wednesday, Feb. 23. Brasenose kept the head place again, it being now the fourth year since the place was gained and it has been gallantly held ever since. Every night they rowed in considerably beyond their distance.'

The Scratch Four Oar Races.

'The Challenge Cup presented by Messrs. Mills and Pott was rowed for on Wednesday, 25 April. There were six boats entered, the winning crew consisted of—

W. Morshead — W. H. Davy
J. G. Bingley — Edward Mather, *Stroke*
E. Stowe, *Cox.*'

(A note in pencil by the side of this last quotation:—'The account of these races not to be reported in this book. J. H. P.')

1853. **Eights.**

'The proud position of being the head boat on the river was most gallantly maintained this year by the Brasenose crew. Credit is due to them for their training, they came to the scratch in better condition than the College boat has for some years and were much superior in that point than any other crew on. There is not much to remark on the racing. The four leading boats were pretty equal, Balliol only one night at all drawing on Brasenose and even then the latter was well out of distance at the end. Every other night Brasenose rowed well away.'

1854. The downfall commenced which culminated in 1856. The Eight kept its place, but the Torpid dropped to 3rd.

Torpids.

'The Brasenose crew was composed of very light and not very strong men, and nothing but pluck kept them from going down much more than they did.

'1*st night.* Balliol was bumped by Exeter.

'2*nd night.* We kept away most pluckily from Exeter.

'3*rd night.* We did likewise.

'4*th night.* The wind being so very high was much against our men and we were bumped by Exeter.

'5*th night.* Misfortune seldom comes singly so we had another windy day and suffered another bump from Wadham.

'6*th night.* We retained our place and remained 3rd.

'The result of the racing though not so successful as it has been during the last 5 or 6 years was highly creditable to our men who did all they could and more than most would.'

Eights.

'What the Torpid failed to do the racing boat did once more, namely, kept its place at the head of the river where it has now been for three whole years or 24 consecutive nights, a fact unparalleled in the annals of Oxford aquatics. This result is mainly to be attributed to pluck, perseverance and careful training, three items which do a great deal either on the waters of the Isis or on the banks of Alma. The crew improved much up to the last night and never once flinched from hard work in spite of contemptuous critics at first, and from over sanguine friends as the racing went on. Balliol kept next to us throughout, this being the fifth year in which we have been in company. Owing to the very high wind and the feeling caused by several cases of drowning during the last few days there was no procession on Monday of Commemoration Week, June 26th.'

1854. **Committee, November 20.** 'It was resolved that three shares of £1 each should be taken in a raffle for the University Eight Oar Boat in which the O.U.B.C. crew rowed at Putney last year.'

1855. The motto for the College this year might be 'All is lost save Honour'. The Eight followed the example set by the Torpid in the previous year and lost the headship after desperate racing. The College marked their sense of the gallant efforts of the Stroke, Mr. J. E. Codrington, by the presentation to him of a Cup.

The Minutes are interesting reading, and the story of the races is best left to them.

Torpids.

'These races came off later this year than usual in consequence of the severe frost which lasted during 6 weeks of the term. They began on Wednesday, March 14 and ended on Tuesday, March 20.

'*1st night.* Our men damaged their boat in turning and had to row in a strange boat. They were bumped by University before coming to the Gut, University not having had a boat on for the College races last year had some of their old men in their Torpid.

'*4th night.* We gained at first considerably on University as we had done the two preceding nights but were bumped by Christ Church before the Gut.

'The result of these races was very creditable to our men considering that they had only 8 days for practice and rowed together only 5 times.'

Eights.

'These races began on Monday, May 14, and ended on Friday, May 25. Brasenose unfortunately lost its position as head boat on the river. The crew had many difficulties to contend against. On the Saturday before the race No. 3 shut up, which caused an alteration in the places of the crew, and the first night of the race was the first time they had spurted together. Notwithstanding this they kept away from Balliol, being about 3 yards ahead at the finish. Each night afterwards they increased their distance until the 6th night, when there was a fresh man in the boat, No. 2, who had had no training, and the Stroke had in a great measure lost the use of his forefinger which had been cut open that morning. On this night Balliol got closer again; on the 7th night Balliol gained all the way from the Gut and bumped Brasenose between Saunders Bridge and the Cherwell. On the last night Brasenose went very well, rowing well away from Christ Church. At the finish Balliol had increased their distance only by a little.'

1855. 'The subjoined statement appeared in the *Morning Post*. "University Boat Races. The 8th and concluding race for this season took place on Friday evening when no alteration was made in the position of the boats, so that Balliol is once more at the head of the river, an honour which Brasenose has enjoyed for the last 3 years, and in all probability would have retained another year had not Mr. Codrington been disabled by a gathering on his thumb which almost deprived him of the use of one hand. Up to that time Brasenose kept the lead and there appeared very little prospect of this being disturbed, but this untoward event gave Balliol great advantage, notwithstanding which the plucky Stroke and his no less plucky crew did all that was possible to retain their long worn laurels."

'We have received from a correspondent in Oxford the subjoined statement of the betting as it fluctuated during the exciting struggle for the championship.

'1*st night*. Betting 5 to 1 against Brasenose for whom appearances were certainly most unfavourable, No. 3 having been forbidden that day by medical advice to enter a boat for some weeks. Balliol were full of confidence and rowed in beautiful form. The actual race was most exciting, it was hard rowing all the way, but Brasenose's pluck pulled them through though they had a very close shave of 3 yards at the finish.

'2*nd night*. Another splendid race. Brasenose improved and made the distance 10 yards instead of 3, at the finish. Balliol went even better than before.

'3*rd night*. Betting still heavy against Brasenose, but a similar race to the above ensued.

'4*th night*. No money to be got against Brasenose; they waited beautifully for Balliol till about Saunders Bridge and then put their boat along in a style that showed the right stuff in the right place.

'5*th night*. Brasenose unfortunately caught a crab at the Willows or would have been a good distance ahead at the finish. Balliol going beautifully.

'6*th night*. No. 2 obliged to give up in the Brasenose. He had had no training owing to his being unexpectedly called into the boat, but had done his work most pluckily every night. Stroke also so injured one hand that it was almost useless; Balliol very confident, but did not manage it though they pressed them hard.

'7*th night*. The patience of Balliol at last rewarded. Brasenose struggled on with its usual pluck and died very hard. Balliol had the best of it after the Gut and gained gradually till Saunders Bridge, between which and the Cherwell they ran into Brasenose.

'So ended one of the most desperate contests that had been seen on the Isis for many a day. The rowing and style of Balliol and the gallant pluck of Brasenose divided the admiration of the spectators, and it is hard to say whether to beat such a crew or to be so beaten was the most glorious.

1855. There is another race to come; but it is impossible but that such a splendid eight as now holds the championship can give it up for many a day.'

Presentation to Mr. Codrington. 'On Tuesday, June 19, a luncheon was given in College by the crew and other members of the Brasenose Boat Club in order to present the Captain, Mr. J. E. Codrington, with a handsome silver Cup in token of their appreciation of his services as Stroke and Captain of the boat. The Cup was presented by Mr. W. L. Williams, the steerer of the College boat; it was purchased at Horton's of Birmingham and bore the following inscription:—

Presented to
JOHN EDWARD CODRINGTON
Stroke 1854 and 1855, in appreciation
of his services during
Three years
by the Crew of 1855 and other
Members of the
B.N.C. Boat Club June 1855.'

1856. The Eight had five of last year's crew, but despite that initial advantage one has to record disaster. The Torpid fell to 7th—the lowest position it had yet occupied and which it was not to reach again till 1877—and the Eight went down to 8th—a position it had once held before in 1843. Further, the Eights were marked by an incident which the Minutes rightly characterize as 'unparalleled in Brasenose aquatics': on the 7th night the boat took off.

Torpids.

'*Monday*. The crew was not so strong as former years have seen, but were not deficient in pluck, and showed the usual patriotic spirit. The start was comfortably effected, and our men rowed on until, shortly before the Gut, No. 3 had the misfortune to lose his oar entirely. Notwithstanding this insurmountable obstacle to continued progress the boat was pulled manfully through the Gut when Pembroke compelled her to give way.'

'*Saturday*. Our men sustained a bump opposite Brasenose Barge after most plucky rowing. The superior strength of Wadham must have brought this fate earlier upon them but for their own gallant exertions.'

1856. **Eights.**

'1*st night.* The crew was arranged with Mr. Bryans as Stroke, and had not yet the assistance of Mr. Coddrington nor their old and well-tried mate Mr. Langford. No misfortune befell the boat which was saved by a bump of the boat behind.

'2*nd night.* Wadham bumped our men by the first Willow.

'3*rd night.* An escape from further disaster. Another bump took place below.

'4*th night.* Exeter caught us in the Gut.

'5*th night.* Christ Church lowered our flag by effecting a bump under the Willows.

'6*th night.* University aimed a deadly blow somewhere about the Gut.

'7*th night.* An extraordinary event took place quite unparalleled in the annals of Brasenose aquatics. Our men decided upon declining the contest with a few honourable exceptions the rest it may be urged suffering from indisposition. **No boat from B.N.C.!!! .·. no bump.**

'8*th night.* Oriel added one more defeat, bumping us under the Willows.

'Thus ended these most disastrous races. One word in praise of the crew to whom must be awarded due credit for their exertions and pluck under such repeated defeats. In consequence of the indisposition of some members of the College who would otherwise have shared their efforts, it was found necessary to press into the service of the Club two gentlemen who were in no state of preparation for the contest. This circumstance combined with inroads of sickness among the men little less disastrous than those of our gallant troops abroad have contributed to the loss of honours which we cannot expect always to command.'

1857. The disasters of the previous year had evidently put the College on their metal, and both boats commence to push their way up again. The Torpid gained three places and the Eight four. B.N.C. was one of the Colleges to use in the Eights the new style of keelless boats built by Mat. Taylor of Newcastle.

Torpids.

'Thus ended these races which promised a revival of Brasenose glory on the river. The men rowed bravely throughout, notwithstanding repeated discouragements. The crew sustained three changes, to say nothing of Mr. Berkeley being compelled to row at one day's notice owing to Mr. Maclure's withdrawal from the crew through indisposition. The bumps were celebrated by a glorious supper in the evening.'



The Brasenose Eight in A.D. 1857
(from a photograph in the possession of the Dean of Canterbury)

1857. **Eights.**

'The hopeful expectations which we had formed from the careful training and constant work of our crew for some time before the races began were not doomed to be disappointed. It is no exaggeration to say that had not the chances of war been untoward, the Brasenose boat would have been found at least two places higher at the conclusion of the struggle.

'1. Brasenose within 5 feet of Oriel when the latter caught Trinity and saved themselves.

'2. We bumped our old friends Trinity at the Gut.

'3. Christ Church yielded their place to us about the same spot.

'4. Another victory achieved just below Saunders Bridge over University.

'5. After a splendid race with Wadham very pluckily contested a bump which we considered certain at the Post was denied us by the O.U.B.C. and our claims set aside.

'6. A new coxswain was tried, but his weight, upwards of 11 stone, doubtless told against us, and although close upon Wadham at Saunders Bridge, our burden pressed upon us at the end, and Wadham drew away again.

'7. Wadham at last succumbed to us below the Gut.

'8. Our victories were now over, and we rowed the course in the gallant style which distinguished our Brasenose boat during the whole of the races.'

Challenge Cup.

Committee, March 25. 'A Silver Challenge Cup for Four Oar Races was accepted from Mr. Curzon, and it was resolved that "The Cup presented in 1853 by Messrs. Mills and Pott for the above purpose become Challenge Cup for Gig Races to be rowed for as the Committee may hereafter determine".'

1858.[1] The Torpid continued its upward course and regained the position of second, in which it had started in 1855—but the Eight was a disappointment and did its best to emulate the disastrous year of 1856 by falling five places to ninth—the next year it filled that lowly position was in 1896. An extract from the Minutes having reference to the ever-present difficulty of finance seems worth preserving.

[1] This year Trial Eights were established and the Eights for the first time were rowed on consecutive nights. (Vide Sherwood.)

1858. **Torpids.**

'Some expectations were raised of the success of our crew this year, for though there were faults in the form of rowing, yet the men were strong and the pace in practising good, and Brasenose has always depended more on its pluck than its appearance, and as will be seen at the end of the races we were in the satisfactory position of second.

'Feb. 24. We pressed Christ Church rather hard and the race made it very probable that we should bump them before the races were over.

'Feb. 26. Our expectations of bumping Christ Church were disappointed by an unfortunate accident. The coxswain accidentally split the bottom of the boat under his feet, and at the Gut it was discovered that the boat was filling with water. Nevertheless our men rowed on with great pluck, and although of course such an accident put them in danger of being bumped by University, who were at least as good a boat as they were, yet they contrived to row up to the winning post in safety. The pluck with which they rowed may be supposed from the fact that they were nearly their distance from University at the finish, and no one on the bank had any idea of the accident which had befallen them. The boat had fully 4 inches of water in her.[1]

'Feb. 27. A most exciting race this day ended in our bumping Christ Church at her own raft.

'Mar. 1. We did not gain on Pembroke: In consequence of the frost and the state of the river the races were postponed until March 8. There was a change made in the Pembroke boat, but they were improved instead of as we expected being injured by it, and bumped Exeter after a good race.

'Mar. 9. We bumped Exeter near the Willows.

'The successes of the crew were celebrated by a supper in College afterwards.'

Eights.

'Our prospects for these races at the beginning of term were most encouraging. We had our whole crew of last year ready to row, and there were one or two very promising oars in the Torpid who it was thought might advantageously replace some of the old crew. Accordingly, early in practising, Messrs. Reynolds and Bell were replaced by Messrs. Baxter and Prescott, and two days before the race Mr. Leach took the place of Mr. Wace who up to that time had been rowing bow. The result of the

[1] The Dean of Canterbury writes about the above incident: 'We had got hopes of our boat in that race, and were surprised to see her (from the banks) going very heavily. When she came to the barge we found that the coxswain, who had been sitting with his feet crossed, had, in his nervousness, fidgeted his heels against the bottom of the boat, and had thus produced a crack, through which the water had been gradually leaking and weighting the boat.'

1858. races was as great a disappointment as a surprise to us. The greatest pains had been taken in selecting and arranging the crew, and it is rarely that we can expect to have so many good men to choose from. Mr. Codrington had been indefatigable in coaching the boat and the training was conscientious. We were unfortunate indeed in one particular that the University Eight had borrowed our boat in which we had rowed the year before to row in at Putney, and in coming back it was accidentally broken in half, about stroke's rowlock, at Maidenhead Bridge, and although Searle did his best to make it what it had been before, he did not succeed as well as we hoped. Still this is not enough to account for our series of disasters this year.

'On the first evening of these disastrous races, the general opinion was that our misfortune was owing to our boat being too heavy for the men to row, and the Captain of the Jesus Boat Club most handsomely wrote to make us an offer of their boat which had been made by Taylor of Newcastle that summer and had not been raced in at all. We gladly accepted the offer, but, as it will be seen, it made no difference to the pace of our crew. The result of these races was the more unexpected that the form of the rowing was excellent and the boat was for that reason rather a favourite, and few men, if any, expected it to go down.'

Captain of Torpid.

Committee, October 23. 'Mr. Baxter was requested to serve as Captain of the Torpid. In the following term Mr. Baxter was compelled to resign the office of Captain of the Torpid owing to his rowing in the University Eight, and Mr. Wace was requested to serve in his stead.'

Finance.

Committee, November 10. 'A General Meeting of Members of the Boat Club was held this day in the College Hall to consider the best means of paying King's bill for £84 which had been sent in on his resigning his business to Messrs. Salter. A statement of accounts was read by the Secretary showing that the deficiency up to the present time amounted to £86, and it was unanimously resolved that a subscription should be opened for the purpose of paying off all outstanding claims on the Boat Club.'

1859. Once again, after an interval of six years, the College rowing as a whole is stamped with success. Neither boat, it is true, attained the Headship, but the Torpid might have done so but for an unlucky accident on the second night, and the Eight went up five places to fourth. Mr. Baxter won the O.U.B.C. sculls, the first member of B.N.C. to do so. He was also the first man, after an interval of seven years, to represent the

1859. College in the University boat. The College also entered a crew both for the Pairs and the Fours.

A prominent name appears in the Torpid this year; W. B. Woodgate, of whom Mr. C. M. Pitman, in his *Record of the University Boat Race*, says 'He has probably rowed and won more races, done more coaching, seen more, said more, and written more of and about University and College rowing than any other two of his contemporaries put together'.

The financial efforts made in the previous year seem to have been successful.

Magdalen put on for the first time and signalized the event by making seven bumps.

Torpids.

'1. Brasenose regained the first place by bumping Pembroke at Saunders Bridge.

'3. A misfortune happened to Brasenose and deprived them of the well-merited honour of first place. No. 7's oar broke at starting, and though every effort was made, Brasenose had to succumb at Harvey's Barge.[1]

'4. Brasenose, though unable to bump Exeter, showed such decided superiority to that boat that the expectation was general that we should again take first place.'

'5 and 6. Brasenose just failed to bump and so remained second.'

Eights.

'The crew, as a glance at the weights will show, was composed of light men, but they were so well got in order and so well carried in a new boat by Taylor of Newcastle that they proved themselves to be one of the fastest and best crews on the river.

'June 2. Unfortunately for Brasenose, there was a heavy wind blowing, which necessarily told much against its light crew to the advantage of the heavier weight of Christ Church, and prevented any bump.

'3. Brasenose succeeded after a gallant race on the part of both crews to bump Christ Church opposite their own barge.

'4. Brasenose, though the crew rowed well, were unable to bump Trinity, owing to the superior steering of F. W. Elers, Esq., of Trinity.

[1] In the Torpids of 1908, Mr. Field, rowing 5, broke his oar in the first six strokes, but despite that fact the boat not only was never in danger from the boat behind but actually got within 2 feet of Exeter at the Boat House. Mr. Field weighed 13 st. 13 lb. and was the heaviest man rowing in the Torpids that year. Mr. Woodgate, who rowed in 1859, was a spectator of the 1908 race.

1859. '6. Trinity, by the plucky pulling of its crew, again managed to elude bump, though the distance between them and Brasenose was very small at the Cherwell.

'7. Brasenose at last bumped Trinity, soon after Saunders Bridge, after a plucky race on both sides.

'The success of Brasenose this year was mainly owing to the superior stroke of Mr. Baxter and to the efforts of Mr. Wace, who spared no time nor trouble in bringing the crew into good order and keeping it so when once together.'

O.U.B.C. Challenge Sculls. 3 entries.

F. J. Prothero, Balliol;
T. Wright, Worcester;
H. F. Baxter, Brasenose.

'Mr. Wright had to succumb to the superior sculling of Mr. Baxter before he reached Harvey's Barge. Mr. Baxter still continued rowing and gained so perceptibly on Mr. Prothero that the race was scarcely more than nominal. So Mr. Baxter won by 30 seconds, being the first member of Brasenose who ever won the University Sculls.'

O.U.B.C. Challenge Pairs. 4 entries.

1. H. F. Baxter and W. Champneys, B.N.C.
2. L. Evans, Corpus, and T. Norsworthy, Magdalen.
3. C. J. Strong and J. Atkinson, University.
4. R. de B. Russell and R. F. Clarke, St. John's.

'A bumping race in that order. On the first night an unlooked for result took place, the two favourite boats being bumped by their respective opponents, mainly owing to the inability of both bow oars to pull on account of the weeds, so that they were bumped at once without a fair trial. The Final was between Nos. 2 and 4, and was won by 4.'

O.U.B.C. Challenge Four Oar Races. 4 entries.

Brasenose, University, Wadham, Magdalen.

'The races were rowed in heats. Brasenose won their first heat against Magdalen, but were beaten by University, who the next day beat Balliol, the holders, pretty easily. The Brasenose crew, though not victorious, did as well or even better than was expected from them, and it was certainly no disgrace to be beaten by a crew which contained three men who were asked to row in the University Eight, and of whom two eventually did row.

1859. **Boat Race.**

'This year, Brasenose, after an interval of five or six years, again sent one man into the University Eight, and it is to be hoped that she will be for the future annually represented as in 1847, 1851, and 1852. The swamping of the Cambridge boat of course in no way influenced the race, as after Hammersmith Bridge the Oxonians had it all their own way. When the Oxonians arrived at Mortlake they found their boat was nearly full of water, and if they had had to row another quarter of a minute they would probably have been in the same box with the Cantabs.

Committee, March 21. 'In reference to the resolution of Committee passed March 25, 1857 "that the Cup presented in 1853 by Messrs. Mills and Pot become the Challenge Cup for Gig races to be rowed for as the Committee may hereafter determine." It was resolved that the following should be the rules for the regulation of these races:—

'(i) That these races take place only in the Easter Term after the Torpid races.

'(ii) That they be rowed in Pair Oar Gigs with coxswain, and that the crews be chosen entirely by lot, the strokes being selected beforehand, the coxswain only being drawn for separately.

'(iii) That Quart Pewter Pots be given to the winning crew with the B.N.C. arms and the names of the winning crew engraved on them, and that if so many as eight boats enter, then pint pots be given to the crew of the second boat.

'(iv) That the Entrance Fee be 3*s*.

November 7. 'Resolved that non-residence should disqualify for serving on the Committee. The general state of the Club finances were examined and found satisfactory.'

1860. A successful year, in which B.N.C. kept their place in the Torpids, and, despite difficulties during training, gained one more place in the Eights. They also won the O.U.B.C. Pairs and Fours. The success of the College was evidently largely due to the Captain, H. F. Baxter, who stroked both the Eight and the Four, and W. B. Woodgate, who rowed seven to him on both occasions; and the Boat Club marked their sense of Mr. Baxter's services by a testimonial to him presented in the Michaelmas Term.

1860. **Torpids.**—Brasenose started second, with Exeter head. On the fourth night they got within half a length of Exeter, but that was the nearest.

'On the 3rd day Brasenose changed their boat and rowed in the new Childe of Hale, built by Matthew Taylor in the summer, instead of the old one.

'4th day. Balliol had made a bump every night and were very sanguine about going head of the river, accordingly great excitement prevailed. Brasenose started beautifully and at the Gut were about a length from Exeter, having left Balliol behind, but, after the Crossing, No. 6 had his oar washed away from him for several strokes, and Balliol putting on a splendid spurt overlapped them at the Cherwell, but here the old "Brasenose pluck" showed itself, and although Balliol overlapped them again at the University Barge, they were unable to effect a bump until Brasenose were past the post and had *ceased rowing* when a bump was claimed! But on the matter being referred to the Committee of the O.U.B.C. not a single witness came to claim the bump!!!

'The 6th and last day was very stormy with a strong wind down stream, and the first four boats kept their distances as near as possible, and it was difficult to choose between them for an even race. Nothing could exceed the pluck with which all the crew rowed, encouraged as they were by Mr. Leach, the cox, who was allowed by good authorities to be one of the best coxes on the river. All the men were most heartily cheered on returning to the Barge as second on the river, and cheers were also given for the Exeter crew, who undoubtedly well deserved to retain their proud position as head of the river.'

Eights.

'Great difficulty had been experienced in getting the crew together this year owing to indisposition of several of the crew during training.

'Previous to the races the general opinion was that the first four or five boats would keep their places, and Magdalen backed themselves very heavily to make four bumps.

'2nd night. Brasenose, after a splendid race, ran into University at Brasenose Barge.

'3rd night. Rather to the surprise of all, Brasenose gained a great deal on Exeter, and they in turn gained on Balliol, so that after this time it was expected that if we bumped Exeter we should get head of the river.

'4th night. J. B. Orme rowed for the rest of the races in the place of Brown who was indisposed. Brasenose were not so close as the night before.

'8th night. The Exeter men had been betting heavily on their boat against us, and our crew were all determined to make a good try for the

1860. bump. Mr. Brown was substituted for Mr. Coldwell. The race was most exciting, Brasenose being several times within a few yards of Exeter, and nearer than on any other night, but Exeter just managed to keep their place, and thus to leave Brasenose in the creditable position of 3rd on the river, and with the satisfaction of having all done their work well and made their boat inferior to none on the river.

'Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Orme for the ready manner in which he came forward to supply the vacancy in the crew and for his pluck in rowing throughout the races, although quite out of training. The steering of Brasenose throughout the races was a great improvement on last year, but the chief cause of success was the excellent stroke of Mr. Baxter and his management of the crew, for without him we might have been "nowhere". K. Prescot (an old Brasenose man and University Eight) rowed stroke of the Merton[1] boat which had not been on for years.'

O.U.B.C. Challenge Four Oar Races. — Five crews entered—Oriel, Balliol, Brasenose, New, Wadham. On the first night there was a bumping race, which disposed of New College and Balliol.

'On the 2nd night a time race was rowed between the three remaining boats, there not being sufficient water for level races. As Brasenose drew the first position, Oriel second, and Wadham third, and Wadham was known to be much faster than Oriel, the latter gentlemen offered to change places with Wadham, but this offer was very injudiciously refused, in consequence Wadham had to row in the wash of Oriel most of the way and had some difficulty in passing them, therefore on their being beaten by Brasenose by 13 seconds they complained to the Committee of the O.U.B.C. that they were prevented from winning by Oriel. The Committee decided that the race should be rowed again the next day, but Mr. Baxter objected and called a committee of Captains, who by a majority of 2! (the numbers being 10 to 8) decided against Mr. Baxter. Consequently, on the 3rd day, a time race was rowed between Brasenose and Wadham, the latter having the first position. There was great excitement about this, the final race, as the crews were supposed to be very equal; but almost immediately after the start the real qualities of the crews became manifest, for Brasenose gained steadily on Wadham up to the Gut, where the coxswain had to tell them to row easier for fear of fouling Wadham. The latter then put on a good spurt, but Brasenose kept close to them throughout the race, and many thought that they could have passed Wadham if the rules had permitted it. However, they won easily by 20 seconds, and thus once more Brasenose holds the Challenge Cup, now for the fourth time. Mr. Baxter, of

[1] Mr. Prescot took his degree in 1852 and was elected Fellow of Merton in 1853.

1860. course, rowed as well as *he* usually does (or rather used to do as he is now about to leave Brasenose and boating with it). The College determined to show their regard and thanks to him in some substantial way, as will be seen hereafter.'

Committee: May.—'It was determined that the crew should be invited to a Nuneham Garden Party in recognition of their gallant services.'

Testimonial to H. F. Baxter, Esq.—'On his resigning the captaincy of the Brasenose Boat Club, a most gratifying tribute of respect was paid to this gentleman on Monday, Nov. 26, at a grand supper in Hall, at which all the Members of the Club were present. At 9 o'clock Mr. Leach took the Chair with Mr. Baxter on his right. After an excellent supper, furnished with all the delicacies of the season, the Chairman rose to propose the toast of the evening, he said that it was not merely a boating supper to which they had come, but one at which all the College were present to show their respect for him both as a rowing man and also for his other good qualities. He eulogized Mr. Baxter, not only for his having rowed two years in the University Eight, and having won everything that he could win by rowing, but also for his management of the Brasenose Club, which, under his *régime* had risen from the low position in which he found it to its present high standing. Mr. Leach then presented the testimonial, an immense chased silver claret jug on a silver tray with the inscription "Presented to H. F. Baxter, by the Members of B.N.C. on his resigning the Captaincy of the Boat Club". Mr. Baxter rose amidst loud and prolonged cheering, and after silence had been in some measure restored, thanked those assembled for their handsome present and for their presence that evening. He regretted that he was now about to leave Brasenose, but hoped it would always keep up its good name. After some further remarks, he concluded by thanking Mr. Leach for the trouble he had taken for him and recited some impromptu verses in praise of Brasenose. The meeting shortly afterwards dispersed with nine times nine for Mr. Baxter.'

1861. The Torpid again went head, but the Eight, which hoped at one time to rival the other boat, lost a place. The College entered a Four at Henley for the Visitors' Cup and the Wyfold, winning the latter. W. B. Woodgate and W. Champneys also won the Silver Goblets. These two also won the O.U.B.C. Pairs, and Mr. Woodgate the O.U.B.C. Sculls. In the October Term the Henley Four entered for the O.U.B.C. Fours, but were beaten by Trinity after a good race. In the Lent Term the Armitstead Oars were founded.

1861. Torpids.

'The Torpids were this year, by order of the Committee, rowed in Gig Eights, and the rowing was considered by the most competent judges to have been far superior to that of late years.

'1st night. Brasenose started at a glorious pace and regained the bump from Exeter, on the very spot where just through the Gut two years ago they so unluckily lost it.

'3rd night. Corpus, inspired with the hope of catching B.N.C., started at a tremendous pace, and gained about half a length before the Gut, being however quite unable to keep up their spurt, Brasenose easily increased their lead by a couple of lengths before the finish.

'6th night. The excitement on this day was immense, Christ Church having bumped up every day were laying long odds that their career would not be stopped, while Brasenose confident in her strength, and in her 9 points of the law looked upon the bump as an absolute impossibility. Brasenose got a good start, and kept her distance well, coming in where she ought ever to be, and where there is every chance of her remaining for some years to come.

'The floods were out this year to such a degree that they obliterated all landmarks, and great praise is due to Mr. Leach for the admirable way in which we were steered.'

Eights.

'The boat which Brasenose was to have put on this year was of such material as to give very little cause to doubt that they would again be head of the river, but about a week before the races, Mr. Woodgate, who was rowing Stroke, met with a serious accident in which his hand was so seriously injured that he was unable to row till the third night of the races, and Mr. Pocklington, who for some time rowed in his place, was eventually unable to row in the races. Mr. Leach was then asked to take the stroke oar, and for the first two nights the crew was composed of the following gentlemen:—

W. T. Burges	.	.	10 0
John Brown	.	.	10 0
S. R. Coxe	.	.	10 12
J. F. S. Vavasour	.	.	10 8
R. Shepherd	.	.	11 0
W. C. Harris	.	.	10 7
W. Champneys	.	.	11 0
R. B. Leach	.	.	9 8
C. I. Parkin (*Cox.*)	.	.	8 2

'On the third night Mr. Woodgate was able to row again, but as his hand was still very weak he rowed 6th, and Mr. Harris stroke.

1861. '2nd night. B.N.C. kept their distance from Trinity till well through the Gut; here Trinity put on a determined spurt, and . . . succeeded in bumping them between Saunders Bridge and the Cherwell.'

Henley Regatta.

'In consequence of the successes of Brasenose during the past year, it was decided to put on a boat at Henley, especially as it was probable that from the inconvenient time at which the Regatta had been fixed no other Oxford boat would be on. A Four was therefore entered for the Visitors' and Wyfold Challenge Cups, and Messrs. Woodgate and Champneys entered for the Silver Goblets. The fastest in which the Four did the course was 8.35, the Pair in 8.45, the time of the latter was the fastest on record.

The Wyfold Cup. *Final Heat.*

Brasenose College. London R.C.

'Up to Remenham it was a neck and neck race: but after that point B.N.C., who had been rowing well within themselves, drew gradually but surely ahead and came in easy winners by eight or ten lengths.

Committee, November 1st. 'Agreed that a subscription of 10*s.* be made through the College to defray the expenses incurred at Henley Regatta, and to provide for a new racing Eight Oar.'

O.U.B.C. Four Oar Race.

'Brasenose had their Henley crew, the only other entry was Trinity. During practice Brasenose certainly showed themselves superior to their antagonists, but their men were all lighter and their coxswain considerably heavier, so that it was feared if the day of the race was windy, that these disadvantages would tell heavily against Brasenose. On the morning of the race it was blowing a hurricane, and on drawing for stations Brasenose drew decidedly the worst, so that the odds were greatly against them. The boats started off evenly, the Trinity soon began to gain until Weirs Bridge, when Brasenose crept up to their distance. They increased their lead slowly to the Gut, but as they were going out of it the wind swept right across them, and almost stopped their way, and Trinity, who had the advantage in weight and strength, came well within their distance, and gradually gained on Brasenose, who were taken through the rough water under the Willows, while their opponents kept under the shelter of the bank. At Saunders Bridge, Brasenose were again away, but a spurt on the part of Trinity made both boats level, and eventually the latter went ahead. At the Cherwell Trinity were nearer to Brasenose than at any other time of the race, and though at the end the latter managed to struggle away slowly Trinity was announced winner by $3\frac{1}{2}$ seconds.'

1861. **Committee, Lent Term.** Two Challenge Oars and a Rudder having been presented by Mr. Armitstead of Brasenose, a Committee Meeting was held in Mr. Champneys' rooms, and the following rules were made:—

(i) That the race be rowed in Gig Boats at the end of the October Term from the Gut to the Barge.

(ii) That no two men who have rowed in the Eight, nor the same two who have rowed for the Royds and Winter Pairs, will be allowed to come on together.

(iii) That if three or more boats enter, the winning crew be presented with Quart Pewters; if two boats enter Pint Pewters be given; but if a boat row over, no Pewter to be given.

(iv) That the entrance Fee be 3*s.* 6*d.* each man.

The first race was rowed on March 7; only two crews started: W. C. Harris, J. Brown, C. I. Parkin, *Cox.*; S. R. Coxe, D. Pocklington, R. B. Leach, *Cox.* Won by No. 1.

1862. This deserves to be called Woodgate's year: stroked by him the College went up a place in the Eights, won the O.U.B.C. Pairs, and at Henley the Stewards' Cup, the Visitors' Cup, and the Silver Goblets. Mr. Woodgate also won the O.U.B.C. Sculls for the second year in succession, rowed a dead heat in the Diamonds at Henley, and, though beaten on rowing off the tie, had his revenge on his victor a fortnight later in the Wingfield Sculls; the latter he was the first Oxford man to win. The Torpid remained head, and the one disappointment of the year was the O.U.B.C. Fours. An account is given of a procession of boats, which seems worth rescuing from obscurity.

Torpids.—Brasenose stayed head, but on two or three nights were slightly pressed by Corpus, who had bumped Christ Church on the first night.

'Brasenose were of course received at the Barge with loud cheers as having maintained the position which Brasenose has so often held and always ought to hold. The crew was undoubtedly a good one, better so far as swing and form than Brasenose is wont to send forth. But we cannot omit to mention *that some members* of the crew, by their neglect

1862. of good training, decidedly endangered the position of the boat. If strict training is not kept up by young oarsmen, it is not to be expected that they will train well in their after career, and to let a lax system of training become prevalent in a college must be injurious to its success on the river. We should, therefore, strongly recommend for the future the Torpid wine together and that the Captain or his deputy be, if possible, present.

'The steering of Mr. Leach materially added to the success of the boat, as also did the stroke of Mr. Garnett.'

Boat Race.

'Brasenose was represented by Mr. Woodgate, the bow oar, and we may here remark that on every occasion on which a Brasenose man has rowed bow of the University Eight, Oxford has been successful—'61 Mr. Champneys, '59 Mr. Baxter, '52 Mr. Prescott.'

Eights.

'Considering that all the crew of last year were left, and that there were several promising oars to choose from in the Torpid, Brasenose had good ground for expecting success. It is to be regretted that Mr. Garnett, who rowed stroke of the Torpid, went down before the races came off, as he would otherwise in all probability have rowed stroke, and thus enabled us to put more weight in the middle of the boat. There can be no doubt that, taken individually, the crew was as good as any on the river, but the time was not good, and there was a lack of that "dash which has hitherto been the distinguishing mark of the Brasenose crew". A new boat had been ordered from Salter, and great things were expected of it. Unfortunately, however, it did not suit the crew, and though built very light, it was not stiff enough, and seemed to bend between each stroke.

'*1st night.* Brasenose was close upon Exeter under the Willows, and were thought by some to have bumped them there; however, the bump was not finally acknowledged till Saunders Bridge.

'*2nd night.* Brasenose gained about a length on Balliol, but could not succeed in effecting a bump.

'*3rd night.* Magdalen, having bumped Exeter the previous night, gained considerably on Brasenose. Up to this time, Mr. Leach steered the boat, but as his weight told on the pace, Mr. Parkin was sent for, and steered for the rest of the races.

'*4th, 5th, 6th, 7th nights.* During these four nights there was splendid racing between Magdalen and Christ Church. Magdalen, thus driven on, pressed hard on Brasenose. The latter gained at times on Balliol, but there was a great want of determination in the rowing.

1862. '*8th night.* Brasenose went off hard and gained rapidly on Balliol, being not more than a quarter of a length away at the Crossing, and still less on passing the Post. They kept their full distance from Magdalen, thus proving that they were, when they liked, quite as fast a boat.'

O.U.B.C. Sculls.

'This is the second time that Woodgate has won the O.U.B.C. Sculls. His style this year was much the same as last, somewhat slow in the recovery, but in strength he had gained considerably, his steering was excellent.'

O.U.B.C. Pair Oar Races.

'This is the third time that Brasenose has won the races in the last three years. In 1860 Baxter and Woodgate, in 1861 Woodgate and Champneys, in 1862 Woodgate and Shepherd.'

Procession of Boats.

'There was a procession this year, in which all the racing boats and all the Torpids with the exception of Balliol took part. The Perambulators had an Eight on. The boats started from Iffley by the usual guns. Trinity moored off the University Barge, and were saluted by the boats in turn. The boats then rowed under Folly Bridge, turned, rowed to the Gut and back to their respective barges. Balliol for some reason or other did not think fit to take part in the latter proceedings.'

Henley.

'Brasenose having the same crew with which in a half-trained state they won the Wyfold Cup at Henley in 1861, determined to try their strength again. After consideration it was decided to resign the Wyfold, and enter for the Stewards' and Visitors' Fours, while Messrs. Woodgate and Champneys entered for the Silver Goblets, which they carried off in '61, and Woodgate entered for the Diamond Sculls. The style and pace of the Four was a decided improvement on that of the preceding year; bow and two changed places, and for the Visitors' Cup Mr. Parr steered, and won his maiden race. Mr. Parkin (now a Reverend) has usually steered the crew to victory in the Stewards', but was debarred from the Visitors' by not being a resident member. Mr. Woodgate, in the final heat for the Diamond Sculls, rowed a dead heat with Mr. Brickwood of London, but on rowing off the tie he lost his cap and was overpowered by the sun, which was at the time very powerful. The Four were considered by competent judges to be one of the fastest and most uniform College crews that ever showed at Henley. The final heats for the Stewards' and Visitors' were won, if not by any great distance, yet with great ease, as Brasenose took the Cambridge water in each case before Remenham, and then rowed steadily in, the two after-oars reserving themselves for the Pair Oar Races. Mr. Champneys has now retired

1862. from the rowing world, and may congratulate himself for having wound up with three consecutive victories on the same afternoon, a most satisfactory termination to a decidedly prosperous career.

Silver Goblets. *Bell's Life.* 'Entries, Oxford, Champneys and Woodgate; Cambridge, Hawkshaw and Chambers. The everlasting Woodgate was again to the fore, and concluded this brilliant regatta with another brilliant victory, but praise must not be withheld where it is due, and the Cambridge Pair deserve it for their very spirited efforts to wrest the laurel from two of the best men that have lately crossed the Reach with their rowing. Although they were considerably beaten in the middle of the race they manfully came again and bustled their opponents, Oxford only winning by about a length.'

The Field. 'Mr. W. B. Woodgate who rowed the Stroke oar (of the Brasenose Four), winning every race for which he started on Monday, and all on Tuesday with the exception of the Diamond Sculls, for which he nevertheless made a dead heat, a thing scarcely ever dreamed of in rowing, though he was defeated when the dead heat was rowed off. That this gentleman is one of our best amateurs there can be no question, as he lacks neither strength, lasting powers, nor pluck.'

. . . . . .

'The Regatta wound up with a magnificent finish between the Oxford Pair and the Cambridge; the latter, though they were some distance astern for the greater part of the course, coming with a tremendous rush on the post, though they failed to reach the Oxonians, who won by half a length.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.—B.N.C. were beaten in the second heat, and University the ultimate winners.

'Brasenose, having three of the men who rowed in their Four at Henley available, were confident of winning the Fours for '62, and certainly their early practice gave them good reason to be so, but on getting into their light boat and commencing a quick stroke a change was found necessary, and Mr. Pocklington was substituted for Mr. Illingworth. This change, however, had not the effect of increasing the pace materially, and at a late hour it was discovered that the boat which had carried the crew well at Henley in summer condition, was too small for the extra $2\frac{1}{2}$ stone which had accumulated during the Long.

'University had one great leading feature in their crew which contributed greatly to their success, i.e. "a catch at the beginning". In this point it would be well if Brasenose were to imitate them, for since the performance of the Torpid of '62 there has been a decided lack of "pick up" in the rowing of the younger hands.'

Newspaper Quotation. 'The rowing was not up to the average in quality, though there was quantity to satisfy all parties; the crews,

1862 of whom more might have been expected as far as their material was concerned, going to the Post but half-trained and under-boated . . . . . Of the winners it must be observed that their form was decidedly inferior to that of previous years. Their style was short and scratchy, and though perhaps built to command a certain amount of pace over a short course, yet neither was their reach or finish such as it would be desirable to introduce into 'Varsity rowing.'

Committee, February 15. The rules of the Boat Club were examined and several alterations were decided upon.[1]

December 2. 'Carried—(i) That Quart Pewters should always be given for the Royds and Winter Pairs, but that no second prize should be given unless at least four boats be entered. (ii) That Rule 3 of the Armitstead Pairs be altered to the same as the above rule for the Royds and Winter Pairs.'

Armitstead Pairs.

'This race would be of great service in improving the prospects of the Torpid if all old hands of the Eight would select a person for themselves from the new hands and devote their spare time to coaching him.'

1863. The Eight gained one place, but the year was not generally successful. The Torpid, a very light crew, went down to Exeter, who came up from fourth; and, though the College made a very ambitious entry at Henley, they do not seem to have taken sufficient trouble about training. The great feature of the year was the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Commemoration, and in their honour the O.U.B.C. arranged a special programme on the river.

Oxford won the Boat-race for the third year in succession, and in accordance with tradition B.N.C. again furnished the bow oar, R. Shepherd, as well as W. B. Woodgate at 4.

Torpids.

'The Brasenose crew, at the beginning of Term, did not by any means come up to the mark. Two or three valuable men who had been confidently counted upon from the previous term were unable to row, and in the early part of training the crew might safely have been pronounced one of the worst on the river. Pocklington, moreover, probably from being so ill-backed up, was not rowing in the same style that had distinguished him in the Trial Eights. It was therefore found

[1] The alterations are not recorded.

1863. necessary to put Richards stroke and Pocklington 6, the former, though by no means equal to Pocklington in experience as a stroke, somehow imparted to the crew a dash which saved them from going down further than they did. Notwithstanding repeated discouragements, and the fact that from illness of two of the crew they were never in their places for a whole day during the last ten days of training (in fact the first night of the races was the first time they all rowed together to Rogers' stroke), still they persevered in their training, and though they could not command sufficient pace they fully maintained their reputation for Brasenose pluck. They improved in style and pace every night of the races, so much so that towards the end it was doubtful whether they would not be able to maintain their place. Though unable to do this, they gave Exeter the toughest work of any crew, and were not bumped till their bows were past the post.'[1]

Eights.

'First night Balliol kept their distance from B.N.C. to the crossing, when the latter came up with a tremendous rush, and bumped them at Saunders' Bridge.'

Commemoration, 1863. 'As all Oxford was engaged in doing its best to entertain the Prince and Princess of Wales, the University Boat Club determined not to be behindhand. To suit the convenience of the royal visitors, the procession was altered from Monday to Wednesday night, when the river presented a scene never to be forgotten by any of the spectators. In addition to the usual procession of boats, a race took place between two Eights chosen from the different Colleges. Brasenose was well represented by Mr. W. C. Harris, who rowed stroke of the winning boat. The Prince and Princess were rowed from Folly Bridge to the University Barge by Messrs. Hoare, Carr, Poole, Jacobsen and Woodgate, the Committee of the O.U.B.C., in a boat built expressly for the purpose by Salter. An enormous stand had been erected on the Berkshire shore, and it being fortunately a fine evening, the banks and all available parts of the river were densely thronged. The Balliol crew afforded considerable sport by upsetting in front of the University Barge.'

Henley. This year was largely a duel between University College and B.N.C., in which the former were consistently victorious; the only race they left to B.N.C. was the Visitors'

[1] Extract from newspaper account: 'Brasenose kept their full distance from Exeter to the crossing, but from that point to the finish the latter gained rapidly, and effected a bump within ten yards from the post; Brasenose disputed the bump, but, as no sufficient evidence could be brought, the Committee of the O.U.B.C. decided in favour of Exeter. . . . Brasenose rowed pluckily to the last, but the weight and strength of their opponents were too much for them. . . Exeter was undoubtedly the best crew on the river.'

1863. Cup, in which they withdrew from the final, their stroke being, as he well might be, done up with his other races. In the Grand, the College won their first heat; they did the same in the Ladies' Plate; but they were nowhere in the final, in which University beat Eton by three-quarters of a length after a magnificent finish.

Besides the Visitors', the only other Brasenose success was the Silver Goblets, in which W. B. Woodgate and R. Shepherd rowed over.

'Owing to the Brasenose theatricals and other amusements of the Commemoration the crew went to Henley altogether untrained. A week's practice then got them pretty fit for the first day, when their time, as will be seen by the accounts, was wonderfully fast, but on the second day they were by no means equal to the hard work before them. The result made it quite evident that it is useless to go to Henley without a month's careful training.'

Grand Challenge Cup. '1st heat. Brasenose Boat Club, Trinity Hall Boat Club, Kingston Rowing Club. One of the most magnificent starts ever seen was effected by the three boats getting hold of the water at the same instant, and they all rowed perfectly level for nearly a quarter of a mile. Opposite Remenham, the nose of the Kingston boat showed in front by a few feet, but from want of training and practice they were unable to hold it. At this point the Brasenose crew, who had remained level with Trinity Hall and who were rowing with great power, commenced to show a slight lead on the latter, who on the other hand drew up alongside the Kingston boat, the positions at Remenham being Brasenose a few feet in front of the Cambridge crew, the latter and Kingston nearly level. Brasenose now began gradually to draw ahead... Half way up the course Brasenose were clear of Trinity Hall, and increasing their lead they won by a length and a quarter, having eased from Poplar Point. Time 7.26.'

1864. An uneventful year—both Eight and Torpid kept their place, though the latter made a great effort to go head. Mr. Woodgate again asserted himself, winning both the Diamonds at Henley and the Wingfield Sculls.

It is curious to notice that this year New College put on in the Eights, and bumped Jesus and St. Edmund Hall.

Torpids.

('*Monday.* Brasenose had three distinct shots at Exeter, but failed to effect their bump, owing to the cunning of the Exeter coxswain.

1864. '*Thursday.* Brasenose again got very close to Exeter at Saunders Bridge, there was not half a boat length between the two boats, but Exeter struggled manfully on, and so kept the place which they won from Brasenose last year.

'The rowing of the crews this year was on the whole very good. Brasenose College were decidedly the best crew on, both as regards pace and form. It will be seen from the above account that they pressed Exeter hard nearly every day, and the latter owe their place to their pluck and luck. Exeter rowed with determination throughout, and well deserved to keep the place their fine crew of '63 won. ? *Field.*)

'The Brasenose crew were more careful in their training than they have been for the last two years, consequently there was not a single case of illness.'

Eights.[1]

'From the rowing during the whole of the races it appears that the first four boats were as equal as could be, none pressing the other hard after they had once settled their places.'

Boat Race.

'For the last three years Oxford has won with a Brasenose Bow; this year the rule was broken by the Brasenose representative being put in the more important position of Stroke. Mr. Pocklington has long been known as a first-rate oar, but it was doubted whether his health would stand the training necessary for so long a course. As it turns out, he has not felt it as much as on previous occasions, while all agree in saying that the victory is in a great degree due to his stroke.

'After the wonderful way in which Oxford cut down the watermen in their trial, no doubt was felt as to the result of the race, and, although the odds were quoted as six to four on Oxford, it was really almost impossible to get on at any price.'

Trial Eights.

'This year not a single Brasenose man rowed in the Trial Eights, an almost unprecedented occurrence.'

1865. The Eight, after some desperate races with Trinity, regained the headship which it had lost ten years before. The Torpid on the first night of racing appeared to have won the same position by bumping Exeter, but it turned out that the B.N.C. cox. had not the bung in his hand when

[1] The distance between the boats this year was fixed at 130 feet (Sherwood).

1865 the last gun was fired, and naturally the bump was disallowed; and on the next four nights[1] we never got within half a length of Exeter.

J. Rickaby won the O.U.B.C. Sculls.

Torpids.

('*Saturday*. Brasenose gained very considerably from the start, and were overlapping Exeter on coming out of the Gut, and made their bump at the Crossing. . . . Exeter lodged an appeal against Brasenose on the score of the latter's coxswain not having the bung in his hand at the time of the gun firing, and as this was unquestionably the case it was at once allowed. . . . The apparently remarkable fact of Brasenose going ahead the first night, and being unable to do so again, is easily explained, the wind on Saturday blowing from the south or up-stream, and on every other day north, that is to say right down. This was, of course, a great disadvantage to a light crew; but there is no doubt that, had the weather of Saturday continued, Brasenose would have regained the place which they lost by such an unlucky mishap on Saturday.' ? *Field*.)

'This is the second year in which our bump has been lost through the inexperience of our coxswain. This year it was especially provoking, for no advantage was gained by Mr. Johnson having lost his hold of the bung. After the first night the Exeter crew steadily improved.'

Boat Race.

'No Brasenose man this year in the Oxford crew!!!!'

Eights.

('Speculation was very rife as to what would take place among the first five boats, according to the timing of the past week Brasenose being a trifle the fastest, with University only a second or two behind them.

'(Wednesday and Thursday Brasenose pressed Trinity.)

'*Friday*. A splendid race between the first two boats.

'On coming out of the Gut, Brasenose began to gain on Trinity, drew up to them at the Crossing, and were within a quarter of a length at Saunders Bridge. Here Trinity drew away again a little, but B.N.C. came with a rush past the barges, and were about a foot behind at the Post.

'*Saturday*. Another capital race for first place, Brasenose going up every stroke past the barges, aud finishing about a yard from the Trinity rudder.

[1] After the first night it was discovered that the starting distances had been shortened as in Eights. A Captains' Meeting cancelled the bumps and agreed that there should be only five days' racing (Sherwood).

1865. 'Tuesday. The fate that has been pursuing Trinity for the last week befel them to-night at Saunders Bridge. They got away badly, and Brasenose were within half a length of them at the Gut; this position they kept up to the Willows, but at the Crossing Brasenose put on a determined spurt, and then came up hand over hand, making their bump a little above Saunders Bridge.' ? *Field.*)

'Contrary to general experience a change in the crew during the races was this year found beneficial. Mr. Woodgate came up expressly to take the place of Mr. Law, who was far from well. The Brasenose crew improved every night until they made their bump. A little more indulgence in training was allowed, the weather during practice being very hot, and this proved on the whole beneficial. A dispute arose after the races about allowing old members to come up and row when their assistance would enable the crew to make their bump, Brasenose being particularly blamed for allowing Mr. Woodgate to take an oar, but it is only fair to state that other colleges did the same.[1]

1866. The Torpid at last managed to wrest the headship from Exeter. The Eights were sensational. On the third night B.N.C. were bumped by Corpus, but on the fourth re-bumped them. The story is told below. In memory of the bump Mr. S. R. Coxe presented a Challenge Cup to the College for Fours. B.N.C. thus again was head both in Eights and Torpids; the last time was in 1853, the next was to be in 1889. It ought to be added that in the Torpid were five B.A.'s, among whom was D. Pocklington, an old 'Varsity stroke.

Outside the Eights and Torpids there is nothing to record; a crew entered for the O.U.B.C. Pairs, but was unsuccessful, and the College did not appear at all at Henley.

Torpids.

('On Thursday the Torpid races commenced. Five bumps were made; but the chief interest of the day was the change of the head place,

[1] The practice of getting up old men to row during the races was this year carried to excess; all the bumps on the sixth night and the headship of the river had been gained by these means, after the regular eightsmen in residence had been unable to gain a bump. The men got up were Woodgate (Brasenose), Risley (Exeter), and Middleton (Magdalen), who were all in training as they were rowing in the Kingston Eight; Christ Church in a similar way put in Burton, but unsuccessfully. In consequence of the strong feeling produced by this, the rule requiring ten days' residence before the first race was made next year (Sherwood).

1866. Brasenose, as we expected, making their bump, and regaining their position, which Exeter have now held for three years. The Exeter crew improved up to the last, and in the race kept away from their rivals until well reaching Saunders Bridge. The Brasenose men were, however, very well together, and have been much admired for their good form and swing. University, with Hall for their stroke, were very highly spoken of beforehand, but were unable to keep within distance of Brasenose. . . . The rowing was not on the whole up to the mark this year, but this is quite accounted for by the floods over the towing-path having prevented all coaching from the banks. We may perhaps except Brasenose, whose style was certainly superior to the other boats. . . . The honour of the first place has lain between Exeter and Brasenose for the last seventeen years, with the exception of 1858, in which Pembroke was head of the Torpids. In 1859 Brasenose bumped them early in the races, but on a subsequent day had the misfortune to break an oar, and were bumped by Exeter. The latter boat was just able to keep away till the end of the races, and maintained the same position in 1860. In 1861 Brasenose again went head, and on the last day had hard work to keep away from Christ Church, who had, with a very superior crew, made a bump every day before. In 1862 Brasenose still ahead. In 1863 Exeter turned out a very powerful and good crew, and came up from fourth, bumping Brasenose at the Post. For the last two years Brasenose have had the better crew, but lost the bump in 1864 by steering, and last year, although they actually succeeded, were disqualified from taking the place as the bung had been dropped before the firing of the starting gun, which is contrary to rule. Thus the bump made this year is what that College has been looking forward to some time.' ? *Field.*)

Minute Book. 'Brasenose this year turned out a very good and powerful crew, and succeeded at last in taking its proper position on the river, from which it has been kept back by an unprecedented run of ill-luck, as will be seen by the account of the races since '61. . . . On the first day we bumped Exeter a little above Saunders Bridge; on Friday, the 23rd, owing to the illness of Mr. Gardiner, Exeter gained slightly on us. On the next day Mr. Gardiner was unable to row, and Mr. Miller was put into the boat as bow; Mr. L. Garnett being transferred to 3 and Mr. Pughe to 7. Fears were entertained that the change would injure the crew, but the superiority of Brasenose was manifested by our being well away at the finish. We had no difficulty in maintaining our position on the succeeding days, and on the last day, at the finish we were more than double our distance from Exeter.

'Our success was celebrated by a Bump Supper on the 6th March.'

Eights.

'*Saturday, 4th night.* The racing this evening was more than usually exciting, Brasenose, who had been booked as certain to succumb to

1866. University, turning the tables on Corpus at the Willows. The success of Brasenose, who had on the previous evening resigned the headship of the river to Corpus, was so unlooked for that it created quite a panic. It was not until some time after the bump that the public could account for the strange reversal of the positions of the two leading boats. It then transpired that a change had been made in the crew, and in the boat Mr. A. Shepherd had been transferred from No. 6 to stroke, and Mr. Pocklington had taken No. 6, and one of Salter's boats was substituted for Matt. Taylor's.

'*Monday.* The rowing of the first three boats was looked for with much anxiety this evening, as there were many who thought the success of Brasenose a fluke, and others who were sanguine about University. The three crews rowed very hard, and although the starting distances were perceptibly diminished, nothing occurred to shake the confidence of the Brasenose crew, and no change took place.'

Minute Book. 'During practice the Brasenose crew did not seem to the "experienced" as if it would maintain its position this year as head of the river, since they did not "sit" their new boat, Matt. Taylor's, as well as might have been expected. The third night proved that the boat did not suit the crew, for they resigned their proud position. The crew, still determined to do their best, took a paddle on Saturday morning in their old boat, Salter's, the change of boats proved to be so beneficial that they entertained hopes of regaining their position. The same night they ran down Corpus in such a plucky manner that every man in the boat evidently did his work nobly. Brasenose, each succeeding night,[1] easily kept its place, and showed its rights to it by rowing well away the last night. It is needless to mention the enthusiasm with which they were received by the College on their return to the Barge.

'The event was celebrated by a magnificent supper in Brasenose Hall.'

Committee, June 30th. 'Mr. Rumsey proposed that a treasurer be appointed distinct from the secretary, and be if possible a man residing in College. On this proposal Mr. Shepherd was elected secretary, and Mr. Law elected treasurer. Mr. Rickaby also drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that in-College races had of late been rowed at irregular periods.

'Agreed that these races be rowed as follows:—

'Scratch Fours before the Torpids.

'Scratch Pairs before Eights.

'Royds and Winter Pairs, Phoenix Sculls, Trinity and B.N.C. Sculls, after the Eights.

[1] On the sixth night there was close racing between B.N.C. and Corpus.

1866. 'Trinity and Brasenose Scratch Fours, Armitstead Challenge Pairs after the University Fours.

'Also that the winners of the Royds and Winter Pairs be disqualified for the Armitstead Pairs.'

Michaelmas Term, 1866. 'Agreed that no Captain of Brasenose College Boat Club can hold the captaincy of the O.U.B.C.'

'*November*, '66. A letter from S. R. Coxe concerning a new race for Challenge Fours was read. Mr. Coxe has founded this race in memory of the bump made by the Eight in May '66, and has most kindly presented an enormous Challenge Cup for the winner, bearing the following inscription:—

PRESENTED TO
B.N.C. Boating Club
in memory of the bump
of May 12
1866
by
S. R. COXE

'The following rules were then read, which had been framed by Mr. Coxe, subject to the approval of the Committee:—

'1. That the races be rowed in Michaelmas term.

'2. That no more than *one* member of the Eight, and *one* of the last Torpid row in any boat, and that each crew contain at least one freshman (*freshman of course meaning any man in his first year*).

'3. That each boat practise bona fide for at least *one week*; that practice to be approved at the discretion of the Committee.

'4. That the race be a "time race" in heavy boats from Weirs Bridge to the Barge.

'A vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Coxe by Mr. Crowder and seconded by Mr. E. P. Garnett, and was unanimously carried.'

'Agreed that a new table of the rules of the Brasenose Boat Club be printed and circulated by the Treasurer in College.'[1]

'This term a frame containing photographs of the B.N.C. crews that have been head of the river was placed in the Barge.'

1867. In the Torpids B.N.C. paid the natural penalty of rowing B.A.'s the previous year, and the boat went down to third. The Eight easily kept their position, but went through one nerve-racking experience: an oar broke going to the start, and a new one had to be sent for. If 'needle' was then known, the crew must have experienced it to the full as they

[1] Unfortunately no copy has been preserved.

1867. sat at the start waiting for the oar, which arrived four seconds before the gun! The College showed up again in the O.U.B.C. Challenge races. F. Crowder and W. C. Crofts won the Pairs, and W. C. Crofts the Sculls. The latter also won the Diamonds at Henley. Mr. Woodgate, who had been defeated the two previous years, rowed over for the Wingfield Sculls.

Torpids.

'The crew this year was not so good as the generality Brasenose turns out. This fact was almost to have been expected, considering there were so many senior men in the crew of '66.'

Eights.

'Brasenose expected to have a good crew, as six of last year's crew were still up. They were not disappointed in their hopes, for they easily maintained the place of head of the river, which they had gained in 1865. At the beginning of term practice was commenced, and the light boat, a new one, was taken too soon this year. Woodgate took the greatest trouble with the crew, and to him the best thanks are due. Nash rowed the first three nights of the races, as Crowder had hurt himself the day before the races. However, on Saturday he was able to get into his place and added most materially to the success of the boat. The men were well all the time of training and did their work well. We started with our friend Corpus behind us; however, we still show them the way to the Post . . . . On Friday, as the boat was rowing down to the start, 7 suddenly broke his oar. Mr. Bullock, of Lincoln College, very kindly ran to the Brasenose Barge and obtained a fresh one, which was carried down by relays of Brasenose men placed on purpose at intervals along the bank, and which arrived at the boat four seconds before the starting gun. Thus we were saved from what would have been a most unlucky catastrophe.'

Henley.

'It was a great pity Brasenose could not show at least a four. One was tried a few days, but the gaities of Commemoration seemed to outweigh the importance of Henley, especially as Brasenose gave a ball.'

1868. A disastrous year: the success of the past ten years seems to have bred either carelessness or slackness, and there appears also to have been mismanagement of the crews. The Torpid fell two more places to fifth, and the Eight fell for six successive nights and ended seventh, where they had last been in 1858.

1868. The only bright spot was afforded by W. C. Crofts, who won the O.U.B.C. Sculls for the second year in succession: he also won with A. V. Jones of Exeter the O.U.B.C. Pairs, and with Mr. Woodgate the Silver Goblets at Henley. Mr. Woodgate had last won the Goblets with R. Shepherd of B.N.C. in 1863.

Despite the failure of the Eight, the College with the assistance of Mr. Woodgate entered a Four at Henley for the Stewards' Cup. The race provided a controversy, which is best told in the contemporary account below.

Torpids.

'It was not generally supposed that Brasenose would be able to regain any of the places they had lost last year, but all expected that the crew would at least be good enough to hold its own. Owing, however, to the continual and useless changes of the men who were to compose the crew, the boat was not anything like as good as it might have been, and fresh disasters were the result. In the first three nights Brasenose managed to keep away from Balliol. On Monday, however, they were compelled to give place, the rough weather not suiting a light crew. On the following night the boat behind them was bumped, so they rowed up easily. The last night, for some unaccountable reason, the crew fell all to pieces, and fell an easy prey to Christ Church.'

Eights.

'The crew was frequently changed just before the races, and indeed the men hardly rowed two consecutive nights of the races in the same places. On Thursday, the fourth night, Brasenose were on the point of re-bumping Exeter at the Gut when Stroke broke his oar, the result of which was that they were bumped instead of making a bump. It is to be hoped that the calamities of this year will teach the College the danger of changing the places of the men just before the race, and will dispel the want of caution which continued successes have perhaps occasioned.'

Henley Regatta.

'Mr. Woodgate sought to introduce rowing without a coxswain, *à la mode* St. John's, New Brunswick, steering himself with a simple contrivance of wire and lever attached to the third stretcher. This produced the following protest from Mr. Wood, of University College, Oxford:—

"To the Stewards of Henley Regatta.

Gentlemen,

I beg to protest against any four-oared boat being allowed to compete at the ensuing Regatta without a coxswain, on the following grounds:—

1868. 1st. Because it is against the rules of the Regatta. It is not actually stated in the rule that eight- and four-oared boats are to carry coxswains, but Rule xiii (coxswains to be amateurs, &c.) is conclusive 'evidence of the intention' of the framing of the rules.

2nd. Because it is against the rules of the University Boat Clubs, which have been adopted as the rules of this course.

3rd. Because it is contrary to the general law of boat-racing, which, though it may be unwritten, is none the less binding.

If none of the above reasons are held to be good—

4th. Because it is contrary to long established custom, which crews had bona fide reason to believe would be observed on the present occasion, and which it would be most unfair to upset without reasonable notice having been given before the day of entry.

W. WIGHTMAN WOOD."

'This gave rise to no end of opinions as to the propriety of Woodgate's individual act, and it was frequently asked why coxswains should not be abandoned; but while offering no opinions ourselves as to the point in question, it is sufficient to say that the Stewards, after giving both gentlemen a fair hearing, decided against Mr. Woodgate, as, although this was a subject which might be entertained at future Regattas and legislated for, it was clear that the intention of the Regatta laws was that all competitors must meet on an equality, and that coxswains must be carried. Mr. Woodgate then wrote to Lord Camoys, the Chairman of the Stewards, that he should comply with their decision as regarded starting with a coxswain, but that the latter would jump overboard directly afterwards, which he did, amid the mingled applause and derision of the great crowd collected "to see the fun".' (Press account.)

'The trial heats for "The Stewards' Fours" caused a sensation race, which had been anticipated by many. The Brasenose four, in literal interpretation of the Regatta rules, and in imitation of the American four at the late International Regatta, had practised as a crew of four oarsmen without a coxswain. Their boat, built by Messenger, had no fifth seat, and was provided with steering apparatus of wires and leaders, by means of which one of the oarsmen was pilot also. The Stewards, however, passed and published, a few days before the Regatta, a law compelling the use of coxswains in all eights and fours. To this, after some demur Brasenose nominally assented to this extent, that they should commence the race with a coxswain, but claimed the precedent of the "Seven oars" and general custom of University boat-racing to justify their right to dispense with any part of the "complement" of their crew after the race had commenced. The animus of the Stewards was known to be so strong upon the subject that no one doubted for a moment that ultimate disqualification of the novel four; but the latter, unable to change boat and style, or to procure a practised steerer at the eleventh hour, had to

1868. choose between scratching altogether or taking their chance of at least establishing their reputation for speed, if not for gaining the cup. A Brasenose College man, Mr. F. Wratherley, was found devoted enough to play his Marcus Curtius part, and almost as soon as the umpire bade the boats "go" he plunged into the river, and, after a narrow escape from strangulation by siren water lilies, swam to shore. Meantime his crew, who had lost some start while waiting to get clear of him (for the boat was too small to allow of rowing while burdened with the extra weight), rapidly overhauled the Kingston and Oscillators Fours, and, heading them by a long way at Fawley Court, won by a hundred yards.

'The winning number was soon displaced for that of the Oscillators, who claimed the race.' (Press account.)

Committee, October Term.—'Resolved that no dogs be admitted and no smoking allowed inside the Barge.

'Resolved that the Captain inquire from the Bursar, in the name of the College, about advancing money, and that he report to the Committee.'[1]

1869. B.N.C. confined their attention this year to retrieving some of their disasters in the Torpids and Eights. The Torpid went up two places and the Eight three.

At Henley, W. C. Crofts won the Diamonds.

Torpids.

'Brasenose had a very strong and heavy crew, and proved itself the best on the river, though it did not succeed in going head. On March 3 Exeter changed their stroke, which produced a marked improvement in their pace. Brasenose, however, were within a yard of them just above the Gut when a crab prevented the bump at that place, and seemed so to disorganize them that they let Exeter get away. On March 4, however, they caught them, but not till Saunders Bridge.

'On March 5th, which was a very rough day, Brasenose gained all along on Christ Church, and near the Christ Church Barge overlapped them; but did not succeed in mustering speed enough to bump them. They overlapped them again on the Post. University were three-quarters of a length from Christ Church. On March 6th, which was a calm day, Brasenose did not get anywhere near Christ Church, having lost their chance of a bump on the 5th, when they would certainly have gone head, Christ Church being that night near University.

Eights.

('7th night. Brasenose kept their distance fairly from Christ Church

[1] The answer of the Bursar is not recorded.

1869. till the beginning of the Crossing, when the latter came up with a tremendous rush, and by Saunders Bridge were within two yards of the Brasenose stern. Here, however, Brasenose made a good spurt, and came away from their pursuers, who were too exhausted to make another effort.

'Brasenose, who, wonderful to relate, have this year a crew almost without a bachelor in it, did something to make up for their losses last year, but they have found out how much easier it is to lose than to gain a place.' *Oxford Magazine.*)

Phoenix Sculls.

'June 1 and 3, three entries. Mr. Wetherall, the holder, did not compete, and Mr. Post having resigned his claim and gone down, Mr. Burgess attended and, encouraged by a fashionable assembly whom he took on board with him, embarked in one of Mr. West's Commemoration boats, and performed the journey amid loud applause in twenty-four minutes. Mr. Burgess therefore holds the Sculls.'

1870. [1] The upward progress of the last year was not maintained. The Torpid fell away to sixth, and the Eight to fifth.

Torpids.

Original Crew :—

W. C. Furneaux
F. Carter
W. B. Brown
S. E. Butler
W. H. Hadow
G. E. Monk
V. K. Cooper
F. W. Dunn.

'Practice was unfortunately greatly hindered by the severe and continued frost, huge pieces of ice floating down the river and making rowing in an Eight unsafe.

'The ill-luck which followed the crew throughout began by Mr. Hadow straining himself so badly as to be obliged to give up his place in the boat. Mr. Brown was therefore moved to No. 5, and Mr. Furneaux to No. 3, Mr. Longridge taking the bow oar. This occurred about the middle of training. Three days before the racing, No. 2 was incapacitated by illness, and a perfectly untrained man, Mr. Hartley, had to be substituted. The result was that Brasenose turned out a weak crew

[1] The rule as to watermen not coaching boats was rescinded on account of the difficulty the smaller colleges had in finding coaches, but was re-enacted three years later (Sherwood).

1870. without even the redeeming quality of form. The whole crew was very slow in getting their hands off their chests, with the exception of Stroke and No. 7. Neither was a quick enough stroke used in rowing the crews to enable them to get the pace required in the races. For the two last nights Mr. Hadow was able to resume his place in the boat, Mr. Longridge going out, and Messrs. Brown and Furneaux moving one place forward, respectively, on the bow side. Brasenose was bumped by Exeter at Saunders Bridge, by Balliol at Cherwell gate, Wadham at the Longbridges. This last bump was due to bow's oar breaking at the start.'

Eights.

'Brasenose at the beginning of the Term gave promise of a good Eight, having all her last year's crew except Crofts and Shephard. The men, however, improved too little in practice, owing in a great measure to want of coaching from the bank, a want which was felt the more as the crew, though strong, were as a lot very unfinished oarsmen. On getting into the light boat, the want of swing and time in the recovery told with lamentable effect, the boat being hardly ever kept on an even keel.

'Of late years it has been the custom of the Brasenose crew only to row on the short course from Iffley to the Barges, it being asserted that the long course destroys in a great measure the "catch" and the "devil" of the boat. It should, on the other hand, be remembered that time and swing can seldom be obtained except by long rows without an "easy", and if these rows had been taken and the swing gained in the early part of practice, any amount of "catch" which may have been sacrificed thereby can in all probability be subsequently recovered. Though the fortune of the struggle was against us, seldom if ever have such interesting or such closely contested races been seen as the endeavours for seven consecutive nights of Balliol and Christ Church to bump Brasenose.'

1871. An uneventful year: both boats had a chequered career, with the result that the Eight finished where it started, and the Torpids gained one place.

J. W. McC. Bunbury won the O.U.B.C. Sculls, and with A. D. C. Lewis of University the O.U.B.C. Pairs.

Torpids. Brasenose bumped Wadham on the first night, Balliol on the second, but were bumped by Trinity on the fifth night.

1871. **Eights.**

'The prospects of the Eight this year were to all appearances as bright as its best wishers could have desired. The whole of last year's crew was still in residence with the solitary exception of Mr. James. However, the fates decreed otherwise than that things should run as smoothly as they promised. Messrs. Champneys and Rickards were both indisposed at the beginning of term, and consequently had to vacate their seats in the boat, and Mr. Coxhead's weight, 13 st. 7 lbs., precluded the possibility of his resuming his place among the crew. Still, with the valuable addition of Mr. Bunbury, it was hoped that the Eight would succeed in making some bumps. . . . . On Monday night, Mr. Stock was completely exhausted at the end of the races, and had to retire from the boat at the doctor's advice. Mr. Champneys was fortunately able to take his place, and, though not in training, he filled it with quite his usual energy the last four nights of the races. The crew, though unfortunate, rowed very well, as is seen by the fact of their bumping St. John's and Exeter, in spite of their having to lower their colours to Christ Church and Pembroke. We cannot close this account without awarding the thanks of the Brasenose Boat Club to No. 4 for resuming his place this year, in spite of the rival attractions of the cricket field, in which he is a man of no mean reputation.'

Committee, October Term. 'Mr. Cooper, Treasurer, then made a statement of the accounts, from which it appeared that subscriptions to the amount of £60 were owing. It was then decided that in future the Treasurer should collect subscriptions during the first two terms of the year, and that Mr. G. West[1] should then collect those subscriptions still owing.'

1872[2]. At last the College made a real recovery from the disaster of 1868, the Eight going to third and the Torpid to fourth.

Torpids.[3]

The first night Brasenose bumped Exeter; on the third, fourth, and fifth nights Brasenose pressed Trinity very hard; on the sixth night the boat was changed. Mr. Rawnsley rowed four instead of Mr. Hornby, and Mr. Wallroth five instead of Mr. Cunningham, but the change produced no result.

[1] The College boatman.

[2] Sliding seats were first used this year at Henley Regatta and in the Fours.

[3] A rule was passed this year, 'That no Torpid shall be allowed to use a sliding seat; for it is now a golden rule that if a man cannot row on a fixed seat he cannot slide' (Sherwood).

1872. 'Owing to the constant coaching of Mr. Farrer a very fair Torpid was turned out, though unfortunately losing the services of Mr. Wallroth as No. 3, owing to his having been bitten by a dog a week previous to the races.

'The Brasenose boat hardly fulfilled the anticipations which had been formed of it. With a good turn of speed they lost any advantage from the total lack of time through the boat, thus always dying away at the moment when a few more strokes would have given them a bump. This was also owing to the want of condition of some in the boat, owing to a laxity in training which told with fatal effect in the hard races.'

Eights.

'Though rough and unpolished, the crew at times showed a good deal of speed and improved considerably towards the end of training, after Mr. Crowder, who kindly came up to coach them, had given them the benefit of his advice.

'*Second night.* Brasenose ran into Christ Church at Saunders Bridge, much to everybody's surprise, Christ Church having been thought before the races to be the best boat on.

'*Third night.* Brasenose pressed Balliol hard, and got within a couple of yards of them.

'*Fourth night.* Though well away at the Crossing, Balliol were rapidly overhauled from that point, Brasenose steadily creeping up, and were within a few yards of them at the Barges, and not more than a foot from them at the Winning Post.

'*Fifth night.* Brasenose boat did not go nearly so well to-night, being Monday, and at one time Christ Church got within a half-length of them.

'*Sixth night.* It was hoped that Brasenose would secure University, a hope which was realized, though very nearly frustrated by No. 3 looking out of the boat, thereby causing it to reel so much that Stroke caught a tremendous crab, and the boat was almost completely stopped. Notwithstanding this, they picked themselves together, and ran into University just beside the Barge.

'*Seventh night.* Brasenose were again behind Balliol, gaining a good deal at the start, owing to Balliol getting off badly; they lost their advantage along the Willows; at Saunders Bridge they began to creep up, and, putting on a splendid spurt, rapidly overhauled them, failing, however, quite to overtake them, about 4 feet separating the boats at the finish.

'*Eighth night.* Brasenose did not gain at all on Balliol, and were rather pressed by Christ Church,' who at one time got within half a length of them, though never really dangerous.

1872. 'Pembroke were undoubtedly the fastest boat on the river (they went head the third night). Brasenose was perhaps the next fastest, though Christ Church was very near them in pace, and in point of time and swing decidedly their superiors. Brasenose were decidedly rough, and until the races had no swing whatever; but when the races came they improved wonderfully, surprising every one by their performance. The time, however, was at no time good, especially at the end of the course, the probability being that, if it had been better, they would have been second instead of third. Way as Stroke rowed extremely well during the whole time.'

College Regatta.

'It was determined this year to have a College Regatta, following the example of most other Colleges, and the result was a great success. The races consisted of Scratch Eights, Fours, Senior and Junior Pairs, together with Canoe and Dinghy Races.'

Committee, January 29. 'Resolved that it is highly advisable that the Captain of the B.N.C. Boat Club be in College, and that, unless under particular circumstances, the Captain resign on his going into lodgings.'

1873. The Torpid gained one more place, but the recovery of the Eight the previous year proved only temporary, and the boat dropped back to seventh, losing the places it had hardly won the last four years.

This was the first year of Coxswainless Fours: B.N.C. put on a four which started prime favourites in the final, but lost through bad steering.

M. G. Farrer with W. Farrer (Balliol) won the O.U.B.C. Pairs.

Torpids.

B.N.C. caught Trinity the first night, but on the last four were hard pressed by Balliol, especially on the third and the sixth nights.

'*2nd day*. Keble caught New, this being Keble's maiden bump.

'*3rd day*. A most exciting race between Balliol and B.N.C., Balliol making two shots opposite the Barges, and not more than 2 inches separating the boats as they passed the posts.

'*6th day*. A splendid race between Brasenose, Balliol, and Oriel, Balliol being bumped by Oriel when about two or three yards from Brasenose.'

1873. Eights.[1]

'The Brasenose boat at first promised to be a good one, but instead of improving they rather fell off, several of the crew experiencing difficulties with the sliding seats, which were adopted by nearly all the crews this year, and the advantage gained by them was conclusively proved.

'The Brasenose boat was a signal failure. Having almost the same crew as the preceding year, great things were expected of them, but though at one time they went fairly, when the races came they went to pieces and appeared totally unable to sit a light boat at all, for this reason being obliged to desert their new Clasper Eight, and take to an old one which, though steadier, was much heavier and was not built for sliding seats. Sliding seats were adopted this year by nearly every boat, those who had not already got them having them put on during the race week. Their advantage was clearly proved by Keble catching St. Mary Hall the first time of using them, after having pursued them in vain for several nights on fixed seats.

'Queen's and Worcester each achieved the feat of making a double bump, i. e. passing two boats which had stopped because of a bump and catching the one beyond.'

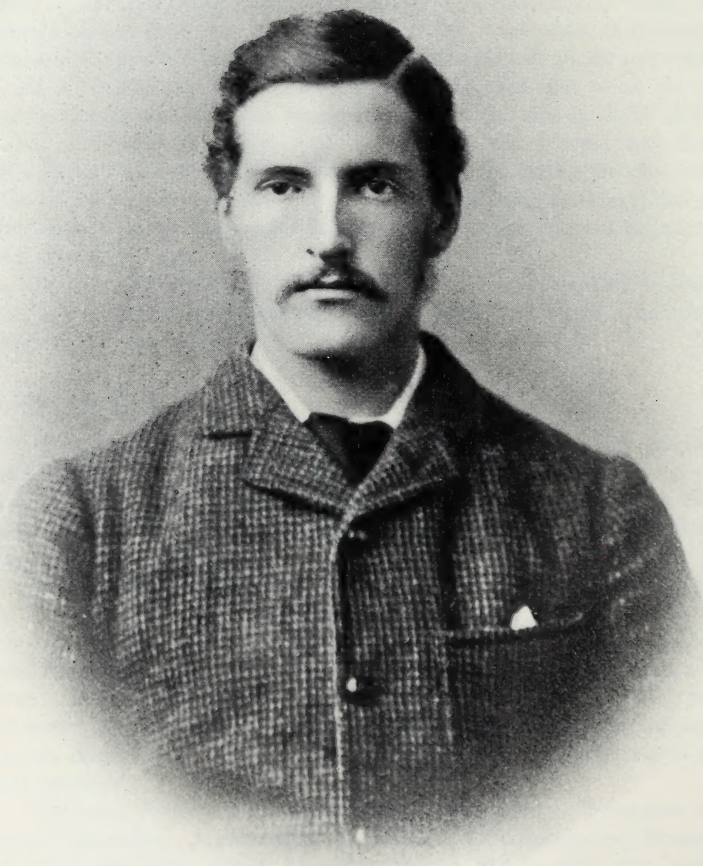
O.U.B.C. Fours.

'*November* 6, 7, 8. At a meeting of the O.U.B.C. it was proposed and carried that this should be rowed at Abingdon and without coxswain, and that they should be level races, but inevitable foulings being foreseen the latter scheme was abandoned and it was determined that they should be time races.

'**Brasenose v. Oriel.** It was generally supposed that the winner of this heat would be the winner of the Final. B.N.C. had the first station, and from the very beginning appeared to increase their distance, and rowing well within themselves with good swing and reaching forward, won without being pressed by about 10 seconds. The Oriel crew, however, did all they knew; but stroke, a slight accident happening to his dress, rowed from the Railway Bridge with his trousers well over his ankles.

'*Saturday, November* 8. **Brasenose v. University.** Brasenose were prime favourites. A good start was effected, but unfortunately Brasenose ran into the bank almost immediately and lost a good two lengths, However, they set to work in the most determined manner to make up lost ground, but on account of the steerage being put on nearly all the way, they did not gain very much till they came to the Railway Bridge. when putting on a good spurt they gained rapidly and only lost the

[1] Sliding seats were first used in the Eights (Sherwood).



H. P. Marriott
(matr. 1873)

1873. race by a very short length. Had the course been 50 yards longer the result would have been different.

'**Barge.** A new flag was presented to the Club by Mr. Longridge, for so many years coxswain of Brasenose Eight.'

1874 Success at last came back to B.N.C. in full measure. The Torpid went head, and the Eight only just failed to do the same, making five bumps and overlapping University on the last night.

In the O.U.B.C. Challenge races, M. G. Farrer and H. W. Benson won the Pairs, and in the October term the College won the Fours—in the last race T. C. Edwards-Moss made his first appearance in a B.N.C. boat.

At Henley the College entered for the Grand Challenge Cup, the Ladies' Plate, and the Visitors' Cup.

Torpids.[1]

'*Thursday, 1st day.* The Brasenose cox. steered his boat into the bank before they had gone 10 yards; Oriel rowed by. Balliol ran into Oriel who were quite stationary, being drawn into the bank. Luckily nobody was hurt except the cox. of the Oriel boat, who had his leg spiked. Queen's rowed by Balliol.

'*Friday.* Brasenose bumped Oriel easily at the Gut.

'*Saturday.* Brasenose ran into Christ Church at the second willow without any difficulty.

'*Monday.* Brasenose caught University at Saunders Bridge.

'*Wednesday.* Brasenose rowed well away from Queen's, being a good two lengths out of their distance at the Barges. Balliol nearly caught University and claimed a bump on the grounds that University let go their bung before the gun fired. The bump was allowed.

'The Brasenose Torpid was exceptionally good, quite equal in pace, form, and swing to most of the Eights of last year. They were the best boat on, and Queen's were the next best. Both the head boats rowed a long steady stroke varying between 34 and 38. All the papers were most complimentary to the Brasenose rowing, collectively and individually.

'*March 3rd.* It was determined to ask for donations for the removal of the Gut. It was also determined to have a Bump Supper in Hall if "The Chief" would give his permission, but he refused to do so.

'On Monday, March 9, a Bump Supper was held in the Volunteer Orderly Room, beneath Mr. Farrer's lodgings, when the crew were entertained by a certain number of members of the College (limited on

[1] Rowed for the first time in two divisions (Sherwood).

1874. account of space). Mr. Farrer proposed the health of the crew, which was drunk with enthusiasm. The toast was replied to, in the absence of Mr. Benson, the Stroke, and Mr. Way, the Coach, who were in training for the 'Varsity, by Mr. Cunningham, a senior member of the Torpid. The Torpid is to be congratulated on being the first to revive the ancient fame of Brasenose as a rowing college.'

Eights.

'*Wednesday*, *May* 13. At a Captains' Meeting, held early in the term, Mr. Farrer proposed that the races should be rowed in two divisions, which motion was carried. The sandwich boat was Wadham. It was arranged that the second division should start at 5.30, and the first at 7, the head boat of the second division being allowed, if not bumped, to start bottom of the first. The course for the head boats was thus lengthened considerably, and the change gave general satisfaction.

On the fourth night University saved themselves by catching Balliol, and on the sixth night did the same by catching Pembroke at the Barges.

The last night 'a most exciting race between Brasenose and University. At the Gut, Brasenose were just out of their distance, but drew gradually up to them under the Willows, and were within a quarter of a length just after the Crossing. Here Brasenose put on a good spurt and overlapped them by about a foot, but were unable to effect their bump, and fell off rather past the Post a little less than half a length astern. The steering was not good, and some went so far as to say that we must have bumped them if that department had been better managed.

'Brasenose came up this term four days earlier than any other crew, and had the advantage of being coached for a short time by Mr. Hoskyns, of Cambridge renown, who was staying with one of the crew at the time. They rowed in a new boat built by Salter, fitted with glass sides and bone runners. About ten days before the races, Mr. Way had the misfortune to be run into whilst sculling and hurt his back badly, which prevented him from rowing for a week. Mr. Benson took his place as Stroke during his absence.'

O.U.B.C. Pairs.

'Won by M. G. Farrer and H. Benson of B.N.C.

'In the first heat between Brasenose and Oriel "the weeds were very bad and the Oriel Pair stuck at the Gut".'

1874. Henley.

Grand Challenge.

2nd Heat.

Eton College B.C.
Brasenose College, Oxford.
First Trinity, Cambridge.

'Brasenose were quickest off, but Eton, as usual, rowed at a tremendous pace along the towpath shore, and, drawing themselves clear at Remenham, edged out in front of First Trinity in mid-stream, and washed them for a considerable distance. Brasenose, under the lee of the bushes on the Bucks shore, also led First Trinity to the same place; but at Fawley Court the latter headed them by two or three feet. Eton being in their turn a length and a quarter in advance of the Cambridge "head of the river". A slashing race ensued between First Trinity and Brasenose from Fawley Court to the bend of the river, the latter slowly rowing First Trinity down, and heading them up to Poplar Point, where Brasenose fetched across the river too sharply, and came into collision with the Cambridge men, after which the Oxford boat stopped. Eton held their own to the end, and despite all the efforts of First Trinity, who overlapped them at Poplar Point by at least half a length, won a well-rowed race by a length and a quarter.

Ladies' Challenge Plate.

Dublin. Trinity College B.C.
Cambridge. Jesus College B.C.
Oxford. Brasenose College B.C.

'Immediately after the start the Dublin crew, who had wisely scratched for the G. C. C., commenced to lead, and pulling a very long businesslike stroke, drew themselves clear off Fawley Court, keeping close in under the bushes, Brasenose rowing a tremendous race with Jesus and leading them half way over the course. At the half distance Dublin were fully two lengths ahead of the other crews, Brasenose being fully half a length in front of Jesus. Above the horse barrier Dublin gradually commenced to come over, leaving the Bucks shore with a lead of three lengths; when they rounded Poplar Point they were exactly one and three-quarter lengths ahead of their opponents. Entering the straight Rhodes rushed his men up alongside Brasenose, and in the slack water thence to the Bridge passed them, and winding up with a terrific spurt endeavoured to bump Dublin, who were in his water, but the latter held their own to the end and won cleverly by a length and a third, Jesus beating Brasenose for second place by nearly two lengths.

1874. **Visitors' Challenge Cup.** *Second Day.*
Dublin. Trinity College B.C.
Oxford. Brasenose College B.C.

'The Brasenose crew, who were quite fresh, while their opponents had rowed a race before during the day, came off at a nice lively stroke, and led by half a length at Remenham, when they began to fetch over close to the Dublin crew, who were under the Bucks shore. The latter, settling down to good long rowing, got on terms with their opponents off the Fawley Court boathouse, and slowly drew away from them until reaching the upper end of the wood, where they led by a length. Brasenose made an effort, and once more overlapped the Dublin boat, but fell away again at the horse barrier. The Dublin crew now crossed gradually over, but sheered out again when Brasenose made a further effort just below Poplar Point, though without overlapping. From this point the latter crew steered very wide, fetching out into mid-stream, and Dublin, finishing up well together, won a gallant race by two lengths. Time, 8 min. 50 sec.'

Committee. 'At a meeting held in Mr. Coxe's room on Monday, January 26, Mr. Cunningham made a statement of the accounts, and it was decided to attempt to put on a second Torpid with a view to the encouragement of rowing.'

O.U.B.C. Challenge Fours.

'*November* 12, 13, 14. Final: Brasenose beat University. B.N.C. were perhaps slightly the favourites, but University supporters were by no means wanting. Brasenose had the first station, and started about 40 to their opponents 38. Going out of the Gut, there was not much difference between the boats, but Mr. Edwards-Moss steered splendidly, and under the Willows, both crews quickening a little, Brasenose was slightly ahead. Mr. Moss continued to keep an almost perfect course, and after a magnificent struggle, in which Mr. Benson spurted in the gamest way, Brasenose were judged the winners by a second. Brasenose were beautifully together and could row a very fast stroke. In honour of this event a supper was given in Hall on Friday evening, November 27, at 9 o'clock. A good many of the members of the College attended, and there was a fair contingent of strangers. Altogether there were about ninety present. After the usual toasts, and an excellent supper provided by Mr. Wells, the meeting broke up close upon 12 o'clock.'

1875. An unexciting year; both boats kept their places—the Torpid head—and the Eight second. In the O.U.B.C. Fours B.N.C. were beaten by University in the final: Mr. T. C. Edwards-Moss, with H. J. Preston of University, won the O.U.B.C. Pairs.



T. C. Edwards-Moss
(matr. 1874)

1875. **Eights.**

'No change took place in the first three boats.

'Brasenose gained on University every night, but were not quite good enough to catch them, though they were evidently the better boat of the two. In consequence of the early date of the races, there was less time than usual for practice; it would have been well therefore if Brasenose had made up a crew early and stuck to it all through. Continual changes, however, had to be made till just before the races. The result was that, though a fairly good crew in many respects, the men never got well together, the time being bad throughout.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.

'The *Final Heat* was rowed on Wednesday between University and Brasenose.

'It was generally thought that University, after their good performance against Corpus, would win pretty easily; Brasenose, however, astonished every one by making an exceedingly close race of it. University had the first station. Both boats made a bad start; Brasenose at once began to gain, and at Weirs Bridge were a length to the good. University were rowing thirty-seven or thirty-eight strokes to the minute, and Brasenose forty-two. Up to the Gut no change occurred, but University began to improve their position slightly under the Willows. After the Crossing they were still half a length to the bad, but they began to gain gradually, and, quickening up a bit at the end, they eventually won by barely a second.'

1876. The Torpid fell three places, but the Eight compensated by at last winning the headship from University; after rowing behind them for nine nights.

The College won the O.U.B.C. Fours, and T. C. Edwards-Moss and H. P. Marriott the O.U.B.C. Pairs.

At Henley a Four was entered for the Visitors', and a combined University and B.N.C. Eight for the Grand Challenge Cup.

Torpids.

'They were rowed in two divisions for the first time.

'Brasenose were a neat crew, and were very well together, but were too light.'

Eights. Brasenose went head, bumping University the first night.

'Brasenose gained but little on University up to the Gut, but from that point they gained on them very rapidly, eventually making their bump a little above Saunders Bridge.

1876. 'Brasenose, having made themselves head of the river by bumping University on the first night, maintained that proud position with ease during the remainder of the races. The boat was a new one, built by Clasper.'

Henley Regatta. In the Grand the combined Brasenose and University crew won their first heat, but were beaten in the final. In the Visitors' Challenge Cup Brasenose were beaten by University.

Visitors' Challenge Cup.

Centre station	.	Oxford University B.C.
Bucks „	.	Brasenose College, Oxford, B.C.
Berks „	.	Trinity College, Dublin, B.C.

'The two Oxford Fours led out, Dublin falling astern at once. Brasenose led University to Fawley Court, where the latter got level, and a neck-and-neck race was rowed to the horse barrier; here University, served by the station, went in front, but were fouled by Brasenose at the Point. The leaders then drew away, and won by a length and five feet. Time 7 min. 28 secs.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.—Won by Brasenose.

'The second heat was between Brasenose and St. John's. This was a splendid race; both boats passed their respective posts simultaneously. The Brasenose pistol did not go off, but the Umpire gave it a dead heat. The race was rowed again on the following day; Brasenose gained gradually from the commencement, and won eventually by about two seconds. The final, between Christ Church and B.N.C., resulted in an easy victory for B.N.C. Brasenose was splendidly steered in their three races by Mr. Edwards-Moss.'

Bump Supper. 'At a Committee Meeting held in Mr. Edwards-Moss's rooms on Friday, November 25, it was decided to have a Bump Supper in Hall on Monday, December 4, to commemorate the victories in Eights and Fours. The Bump Supper took place in Hall on Monday evening, December 4, and went off very successfully. The Hall was well filled, about 150 being present. An excellent supper was provided by Mr. Wells and Mr. Green.'

1877. Both boats descended—the Eight to third and the Torpid to eighth, the lowest place it had yet occupied. T. C. Edwards-Moss won the O.U.B.C. Sculls, and in the October Term the College won the O.U.B.C. Fours. A Four was entered for



The College Barge in 1876
(removed to Medley, where it now is, in 1882)

1877. the Visitors' Challenge Cup at Henley, where T. C. Edwards-Moss won the Diamonds easily: he also entered for the Wingfield Sculls, but after winning the trial heat was beaten in the final.

Torpids.

'Our Torpid was a failure and went down four places.'

Eights.[1]

'Brasenose fell from head of the River to third. Their fall was due partly to weakness and partly to bad luck.

'*2nd night.* University did not gain on Brasenose till after the Gut. At Saunders' Bridge, Marriott unfortunately broke his stretcher, which, though it did not break quite off, rendered him incapable of quickening; consequently University rapidly gained and bumped Brasenose a little after Cherwell Gate. Had it not been for the misfortune to their stroke, Brasenose would probably never have been caught.

'*3rd night.* Pembroke very nearly caught Brasenose at the finish; they were overlapping them by Salter's raft, and just missed making a bump.

'*4th night.* Pembroke gained a little on Brasenose before the Gut, but after that point they gradually came up and eventually made their bump opposite the Brasenose Barge.

'*6th night.* Balliol nearly bumped Brasenose, getting within a yard of them between the Gut and Saunders Bridge. Brasenose, however, gained again towards the finish.'

O.U.B.C. Sculls.

'*First heat.* T. C. Edwards-Moss (1st station) beat J. Lowndes, Unattached (2nd station). The start was at half-past six. There was a strong wind across stream which threw all the work on one arm. Both got off well and neither gained much up to the Gut; after that point, however, Lowndes began to fall back rapidly. The two steered a widely different course. Moss, keeping under the Willows, and going well through the rough water, gained several lengths on Lowndes, who crossed over at once to the Berkshire side to avoid the wind. The straight course taken by Moss was obviously the wise one; towards the end Lowndes tired rapidly, and Moss, rowing away as he liked, won easily by about fifty yards. The time was 8.25.

'In the Final Heat, T. C. Edwards-Moss beat D. J Cowles.'

[1] Magdalen and New College are coming up the river now, Magdalen making four bumps and ending fifth, New College seven and ending twelfth.

1877. **Henley.**

Visitors' Challenge Cup.

First Heat.

Jesus College B.C. (Cambridge).
Brasenose College B.C. (Oxford).
1st Trinity B.C. (Cambridge).

'For the first quarter of a mile this was an oar and oar race, but at Remenham, Jesus and Brasenose drew away from 1st Trinity, who fell last: a most exciting contest ensued between the two leading boats past Fawley Court, where they were level up to the little bridge on the towpath shore. Here Jesus, under the towpath bank, began to draw away, and cleared themselves off the horse barrier, finally winning by three or four lengths. Time, 8 min. 4 sec.

Committee, April 19.—'It was decided that the Boat Club would pay for last year's oars if any of the Eight wished to keep them in memory of being Head of the River.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.

'The Final Heat was rowed on Saturday, Nov. 17, and resulted in a victory for Brasenose. The race was well contested throughout, but owing to the splendid steering of Mr. Moss, Brasenose passed the post about two seconds to the good.'

1878.[1] In accordance with its usual practice after a fall, B.N.C. set themselves to recover some of their lost places. The Torpid went up two places, and the Eight, rather unexpectedly, one. A second Torpid was put on for the first time, and made three bumps.

The College entered for the O.U.B.C. Fours, but was unsuccessful. T. C. Edwards-Moss, with W. A. Ellison of University, won the O.U.B.C. Pairs, and the Silver Goblets at Henley, where Edwards-Moss won the Diamonds for the second year in succession.

Eights.

'These races lasted six nights instead of eight, in accordance with a resolution passed at a Captains' meeting.

'Several changes were made in our crew at a very late date, Edwards-Moss being unable to take his place in the boat till within

[1] A printed notice signed by all the leading Boat Clubs is given in the minute book, containing the definition of an amateur oarsman.

1878. three or four days of the races, and Marriott until the day before the races began, consequently it was expected by every one that we should come down several places. However, instead of being bumped we bumped Pembroke on the first night by Saunders Bridge, and pressed University nearly every remaining night.'

O.U.B.C. Pairs.

Won easily by T. C. Edwards-Moss (B.N.C.) and W. A. Ellison (University).

('The winning crew were far better than any Pair which has won this race for many years. Both men are very energetic workers, and both good watermen. Ellison is a most successful stroke, and Moss's powers of steering are beyond praise.'—*Field.*)

Henley.

(**Diamond Challenge Sculls.** *First Heat.*

T. C. Edwards-Moss, Brasenose College, Oxford.
G. W. Lee, Triton B.C., New Jersey.

'After sculling a couple of hundred yards Moss showed a trifling lead, and halfway to Remenham was half a length in front under the bushes shore, to which he directed himself. At Remenham he had increased his advantage to two-thirds of a length, and it looked as if he was going right away from the American, whose finish was very laboured. At Fawley Court Boat House Moss still led by a length, but seemed unable to quicken up, as warned to do; consequently he plodded on without dash, at the same steady rate of stroke at which he had come away. At the little bridge at the towpath shore the American began to feel the benefit of the slack water under the Berkshire bank, and he drew up nearly level, but in another hundred yards or so Moss left him again slightly, both scullers rowing utterly without dash or life; so they passed the horse barrier, but Lee got upon even terms with Moss, the station serving him. As they breasted Poplar Point a scull-and-scull race ensued, amidst a scene of the wildest excitement, the sculls of the two competitors coming into very close proximity as Lee steered out; but Moss in the most gentlemanlike manner eased and gave way, which was, of course, to his disadvantage. Setting to work again with a will up the last straight reach, Moss rowed Lee, who had by this obtained a trifling lead, down gradually, and, heading him halfway between the Point and the finish, won a magnificent race by half a length, the American being so fearfully distressed that he stopped before passing the post, Moss meanwhile jogging past the judge easily. Time, 9 min. 8 sec.'—*Field.*)

Barge. 'The Brasenose barge was taken to Henley this year, and got a good position near the corner.'

1878. O.U.B.C. Fours.

4th Heat. University beat B.N.C.

'Most people had expected that University would win very easily; they were mistaken, however. Brasenose, who had the second station, steering better than their opponents up the first reach, were within their distance just before the Gut. Here, however, they lost a little, as they took the second corner rather too wide. By Saunders Bridge they were again within their distance. From here to the finish a magnificent race ensued, Brasenose appearing to have slightly the advantage. When close to their post, however, they ran into the wall, and thus spoilt their chance, University winning by a few seconds.'

Boat Race.

'It is worth noticing that the post of Stroke of the University Eight has been for the last five years filled by a B.N.C. man, and both Stroke and 7 for the last four years.'

Committee, March 17. 'Mr. Edwards-Moss proposed, and Mr. Marriott seconded, that no officer of the O.U.B.C. be for the future Captain of the Brasenose College Boat Club at the same time. Carried unanimously.

'Also passed that all College Challenge Cups, Silver Oars, &c. be kept always in College, and that O.U.B.C. Challenge Cups be kept in the Buttery, so that any member of the College may have the use of them for meals, &c., when he requires.

October 19. 'The following rule proposed by Mr. Marriott, and seconded by Mr. Edwards-Moss, was carried unanimously:— "That for the future at the commencement of term the Committee be elected before the Captain, in order that there may be a full meeting for the election of a Captain, and that until the Captain be elected the senior member of the Committee of the previous term act as Captain."'

SONG[1].

DEDICATED WITH GREAT RESPECT TO THE BRASENOSE CREW BY AN OLD MEMBER WHO 'ROWED HEAD' IN 1853 AND 1854.

YOUR healths good friends and gentlemen all
And thanks for your friendly feeling;
With pleasure I obey your call
To critics kind appealing;
For long may it be ere a Brasenose crew
Forsaking old traditions,
Makes light of friendship warm and true,
And its kindly recognitions.

[1] These verses were sent to us by the author, the Rev. J. Egerton, May, 1878.

1878.

We row no doubt ourselves to please,
And pleasure has its merits,
But something more than loving ease
The Brasenose crew inherits;
Our Sires have left us pride of place
Which we intend maintaining,
And 'Easy Alls' shall ne'er disgrace
Their old hard work and training.

So here's the secret of our luck,
Plain to each man who lives, Sirs,
'Tis simple honest Brasenose pluck
And the turn good rowing gives, Sirs.
For by one rule we mean to go,
As by it we have long gone, Sirs,
To the 'Gut' to row all that we know
And then to 'put it on', Sirs.

Important members of a boat,
Are Stroke and Seven and Bow, Sirs,
And Putney records if you know,
I think you will allow, Sirs,
That Brasenose oarsmen when they fill
These honourable places,
Bring Fortune with their Brasenose skill
And mostly win their races.

But should we ever know the cost
Of sad defeat and fall, Sirs,
''Tis better to have rowed and lost
Than not to have rowed at all,' Sirs.
So win or lose we'll be content
And always do our best, Sirs,
And then your kind encouragement
Will always do the rest, Sirs.

J. C. E.

Burwash Rectory,
May 8, 1878.

1879. The Torpid gained two more places, but the Eight fell to fifth.

Torpids.[1]

'*4th day.* Brasenose I 'fairly rowed Exeter down opposite the Hertford Barge, the bump was disputed but allowed by a Committee Meeting.

'*5th day.* Brasenose I was within a quarter of a length of Keble.

'*6th day.* Brasenose I overlapped Keble at the Willows but failed to make a bump, Keble drawing away in the latter part of the course.

'The greatest thanks of the Boat Club are due to Mr. Gardiner for the pains he took with the first Torpid. Mr. King was equally energetic with the second.'

Eights. Brasenose fell three places.

'The crew had many disadvantages to contend against. First there was the loss of Marriott and Moss, besides such good men as Daunt and Pike. Then Warner was not able to take his position at stroke for some time, which prevented the crew getting properly together. To add to these misfortunes, the tub boat in which the early part of the training was done was a very bad one, and threw the crew back a great deal. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, on the two first nights of the races Brasenose made a good show, and indeed if they had taken a good Gut on the second night, would probably have bumped University. The Balliol crew were neat and well together and deserve their position of head, though Magdalen were perhaps a faster crew.'[2]

Royds and Winter Pairs.

'It is much to be regretted that the entries for these races are so small. As long as Pair Oar rowing and sculling is neglected, as it is at present, there will continue to be a want of watermanship in the College crews.'

1880. The Torpid crept up one more place, and the Eight regained the three that it had lost the previous year. The second Torpid distinguished itself by making four bumps. The Boat Club finances were evidently not prosperous, and negotiations were opened with Salter about his bill, and the rent of the barge.

[1] Skating, which lasted far into the term, interfered greatly with coaching. This was followed by floods, so that the coaching had to be done largely from the stern; while several boats migrated to the upper river.

[2] Magdalen are now second and New College sixth.

1880. **Torpids.**

'Brasenose I, who were admirably steered, bumped Pembroke at Saunders Bridge after a fine race.

'The weather throughout the races was unpropitious, with a strong cross wind blowing on the last three days. Coaching was very much impeded at first on account of the frost, the river being frozen over as far as Sandford, and after the thaw the towing-path was flooded for some time.

'Worcester made seven bumps, Oriel six, New I and II five each.'

Eights.

'Brasenose bumped Pembroke, Balliol, University, but failed to catch Magdalen. The crew had the advantage of being coached by Messrs. M. G. Farrer and T. C. Edwards-Moss.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.

'Brasenose were beaten by Magdalen in the Final by three lengths. Magdalen were well stroked, and rowed a long well-marked stroke. They were very neat and well together. Brasenose were never well together in their light boat and did not improve, as the floods stopped coaching.'

Committee, October 18. 'The Secretary was instructed to look through the Boat Club's books with a view to remodelling the rules.'[1]

October 24.—'The Treasurer's accounts were not quite made up; but a discussion arose about Salter's bill, as it was thought desirable (now that the new boat-house was available for housing boats, doing repairs, &c.) that steps should be taken to pay it off; and a Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. Poole, Baillie, and Mackenzie, was appointed to go into the matter.

'The Treasurer was instructed to try and reduce George West's bill, which has been steadily increasing year by year.'

'The Sub-Committee, vide Committee Meeting, Oct. 24, met before the end of Term, and made Salter an alternative offer:

'(i) To pay him £300 as settlement of his bill, provided that the rent for Barge be for the future £12 per annum.

'(ii) To pay him £300 and £150 as full purchase of the Barge.

'Counsel's opinion was taken as to Salter's right as to the site of the Barge, which opinion was in our favour, but no result was arrived at for the present, pending investigations. An answer was received from Salter offering to accept £300 for his bill, but refusing to lower the rent; or £300 for the bill, £175 for the purchase of the "Barge and all its contents", and the rent for the present year of £25. Nothing further was decided on.'

[1] The rules printed as Appendix viii are probably the result of this remodelling.

1881. The upward progress of the Torpid, which had been going on since their disastrous fall in 1877, culminated this year, and the boat regained the headship which it lost on the first night of 1876: the Eight, however, dropped a place. The second Torpid did not put on. The question of finance still occupied the Boat Club, and an important step was taken in asking Mr. R. Lodge, Fellow of Brasenose, to become permanent treasurer. Hitherto the College had rented a barge from Salter, but they now decided to raise a subscription and build one for themselves.

Torpids.

'3rd day. Brasenose caught Trinity half way up the Willows.

'4th day. Brasenose pressed Keble closely at the Gut, and at one time looked like making a bump.

'5th day. Brasenose did not gain so much as usual on Keble up to the Gut, but finished nearer them than before. The steering was much impeded by the cross wind.

'Wednesday, March 9. Brasenose gained fast on Keble, who crossed on coming out of the Gut, the two boats rowing nearly level up to the Crossing, where Brasenose just failed to bump. However, getting the inside at Saunders Bridge, they came up fast, the boats being alongside when the oars collided. The coxswain steered a capital course.

'The weather was stormy, especially on the last three nights, when the towpath was also under water. Much of the coaching this year was done on the upper river, owing to the persistent floods. The Brasenose Torpid, which has been rising slowly but surely since 1877, has at length reached the head of the river. The crew was strong and well together, and although apparently somewhat stale at the beginning of the races, improved every night, making the necessary bump in fine style on the last night. Their victory was very popular. This is the first time Brasenose has been head in the Torpids since Mr. Edwards-Moss presented the Challenge Cup in 1878.'

Eights.

'Brasenose failed to catch Magdalen, and were themselves bumped by Hertford on the third night, after a splendid race. The latter crew was an exceptionally fast one, so much so, that they have entered for the Grand Challenge Cup at Henley. The result of the races was rather disappointing, since the Brasenose crew, though really a good one, failed to do themselves justice.'

1881. **O.U.B.C. Fours.** Brasenose were beaten by Magdalen in the first round by a second. Magdalen were beaten by Hertford in the final.

'In the last heat, Brasenose got off to a capital start, and, being well steered, gained considerably to the Gut. Under the Willows, however, Magdalen drew away, and after a splendid race past the barges won, thanks to the fine spurt from Higgins, by a second.'

Committee, January 24. 'It was resolved to ask Mr. Lodge to accept the office of permanent treasurer of the Boat Club.

'The Committee decided to adopt a new cap for the Eight, and Mr. Baillie submitted a black flannel cap with monogram, which was accepted. It was resolved, too, that the Second Torpid coat should be trimmed with flannel instead of silk. It was decided to put on a second Torpid[1] and to raise a subscription in the College towards the expense of it, the boat which had been hired from Timms having been burnt in the new Boat-House.'

February 2.—'A discussion arose as to the advisability of raising funds to defray the loss sustained by the O.U.B.C. through the destruction by fire of the new Boat-House. It was decided that no steps should be taken in the matter until some definite arrangement was arrived at with Salter concerning his bill, and that the Sub-Committee, reinforced by Mr. Lodge, should interview Salter on the subject as soon as possible.'

'A meeting of the Boat Club was held in Hall on Wednesday, February 16, to consider the advisability of raising a fund for the purpose of paying Salter's bill and building a new barge. It was resolved unanimously that the Committee should be empowered to issue circulars calling upon past and present members of the College for subscriptions towards both these objects.'

April 27.—'It was resolved that since the subscriptions towards the new barge did not come in with sufficient rapidity, a fresh circular shall be drawn up comprising a list of subscriptions already received.'

1882. The Torpid fell to third, and the Eight to fourth. The College, however, sent a crew to Henley which won the Visitors' Cup, and in the October term entered for the O.U.B.C. Fours.

Salter's bill was settled, and his tender accepted for a new barge.

[1] This was not done.

1882. **Torpids.**

'Brasenose fell from head to 3rd. This, however, is mainly due to the fact that, owing to illness, three of the crew rowed half-trained, and consequently the time was erratic in the severe finish which occurred on each of the six nights past the barges.

'On the first night, Brasenose just managed to keep away from Keble, Stroke spurting with great pluck and judgement.

'On the second night, Keble bumped us opposite our own barge.

'The third night was disastrous, for though Keble broke their stroke oar at the start, they got away by a few inches.

'On the Monday, New caught us at the Boat-House, and on the next night completed their successes by bumping Keble. On the last night, Brasenose gained steadily on Keble all the way and, spurting magnificently at the Boat-House, got within a few inches, but the want of training told and Keble just kept away. . . . Too much praise cannot be given to our Stroke for his plucky rowing, especially on the last night, when the crew effectually wiped out the disgrace of Saturday.

Eights.

'Brasenose started third and were bumped by Exeter on the first night, after that easily maintaining their position and were never pressed. Exeter finished first, and eventually won the Grand Challenge at Henley Regatta.'

Henley.

Visitors' Challenge Cup.

Brasenose College, Oxford.
First Trinity B.C., Cambridge.
Trinity Hall B.C., Cambridge.

('All three crews came away very fast. . . . So fast did Trinity Hall go under the lee of the big wood, that when half the course had been completed they led by about five or six lengths from Brasenose, who were just clear of Trinity . . . . Not content with the best position, Trinity Hall suddenly came over to the lee side of the river off the little bridge on the towpath, and at once began to lose ground, getting the Brasenose men's water. At the gate below the horse-barrier, Brasenose began to gain. . . . Brasenose now made their effort, and just below Poplar Point were rowing so fast that Trinity Hall had to sheer out to let them get clear. . . . At the upper end of Phyllis Court ground the two boats were level. . . . Brasenose, as soon as they got their boat straight, drew away fast and won a good race by a length and three-quarters. Time, 9 minutes, 23 seconds.—? *Field*.)

1882. **Boat Race.**

'It is worthy of notice that this is the first race for six years in which Brasenose have not been represented.'

Committee.—'Meeting of the Sub-Committee, Feb. 17, to consider the tenders for the new barge.

'It was decided that Salter's tender should be accepted. It was announced that Salter had consented to take £300 in full payment of his account.'

1883. The Torpid went up to second, and the Eight, except for a piece of bad luck (if a crab may be termed bad luck), should have done the same; as it was, after making a bump on the first night they ended in the same position, fourth; both Torpid and Eight had to give way to Corpus, by whom the College was also beaten in the final for the O.U.B.C. Fours.

Torpids.

'Brasenose were head on the third night. They maintained their position on the fourth, but by bad luck, joined to bad steering, were caught by Corpus, a particularly fast crew, on the fifth evening.'

Eights.

'They are perhaps the most exciting in which Brasenose have ever been engaged, though not so satisfactorily ended as had been expected.

'1st night. Brasenose caught Hertford with some pomp at the Green Barge corner.

'2nd night. Brasenose rowed hard after Magdalen, getting within half a length at the Red Post.

'3rd night. Brasenose overlapped Magdalen at the Boat-House, but missed the touch. Corpus came within half a length of us at the Gut, but finished five lengths away at the Post.

'4th night. Brasenose bumped Magdalen to their satisfaction at the Post, but unfortunately there being no umpire the bump was disputed, and as usual the boats were again started in the same places.

'5th night. Corpus came up again fast to the Gut, and at the second willow were beginning again to fall away fast. Brasenose were overlapping Magdalen by two yards, and the cox was putting on his rudder to bump when No. 5 effectively stopped the boat by catching a crab. Brasenose had to easy, and Corpus in four or five strokes were into them.

'6th night. Corpus started with the full intention of keeping away from Brasenose, and by rowing more slowly at the start managed to last out the course. To a spectator it would be unnecessary to remark that

1883. we were certainly the second best boat on the river, Exeter being certainly one of the finest crews which has ever appeared on the Isis. There was little to choose between the paces of Magdalen and Corpus. Magdalen rowed well over the whole course, and Corpus were, when they liked, the fastest crew up to the Gut.'

Committee, May 20.—'At a College meeting held on May 20 it was decided not to send the Four to Henley owing to Mr. Arkle being prohibited from rowing.

'(Later.) The funds on the new subscription list for sending the barge seem altogether inadequate, so Brasenose is not this year represented at Henley by boat or barge.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.

'*The Final.*—Corpus (second station) beat B.N.C. A very good and exciting race. Corpus gained slowly as the two boats neared the Gut, but as they passed out Brasenose drew level again. By the Willow Corpus drew up gradually, and at the Boat-House were two lengths to the good. Brasenose spurted, and rowing most pluckily gained up the wall, but Corpus refused to be shaken off, and eventually won by one length.'

('Both started well, and rowed very evenly to the Gut, Brasenose counteracting any superior speed Corpus may have had by their splendid steering. . . . Brasenose steered so well along the wall that they recovered a length, being finally beaten by a length and a half. The winners owed their victory to sheer hard work and length of stroke.'—*The Field.*)

('Brasenose were the favourites, doubtless on account of the good steering they had shown since practice commenced. But many fancied Corpus owing to the excessive stream, which was greatly in their favour, they being 9 lbs. per man heavier. . . . Corpus, when the pistol fired, were winners by about half a length.'—Press account.)

'Time 7 min. 56 sec. Good, considering the stream, which was just about one inch below the wall, and in some places over the path.'

1884. An uneventful year—as the Secretary of the time seems to have thought, for the Minute Book is nearly blank. Both Torpid and Eight rowed over without change all six nights. Two Brasenose men figured in the final of the O.U.B.C. Pairs, but unfortunately one in each boat.

1885. The Minutes are again defective. The Torpid again rowed over behind Corpus for six nights, but the Eight fell one place to New College. Corpus were head this year, both in Torpids and Eights.

1885. **Torpids.**

'We started second, and maintained our place with ease, pressing Corpus every night, and overlapping them four nights out of the five, but through weak steering failed to make our bump.'

1886. This year was unconsciously the commencement of what is perhaps the most remarkable achievement of the College in rowing: on the second night the Torpid went head, and there it remained for nine years, up to the end of 1894—rowing over head without once losing its place for fifty-two consecutive nights. The Eight went up two places, and a crew was entered for the O.U.B.C. Fours.

Torpids.

'Brasenose had the satisfaction of bumping Corpus on the second night at the Winning Post. The bump was disputed, and an O.U.B.C. Committee meeting was held on the Saturday morning to decide the question. Great excitement prevailed during the meeting, and it was still greater when the President, D. H. McLean, gave his decision in favour of B.N.C.

'There can be no doubt as regards the bump, and the four bow oars distinctly felt it, and ceased rowing a few yards in front of the winning post.

'The crew, although a light one, rowed well in the rough water and wind with which they had to contend the last three nights. Exeter got uncomfortably close the last night by the Boat-House, but Brasenose just managed to shake them off, amidst tremendous cheering.

'Mr. J. H. Ware took great pains in coaching the crew, and deserves their best thanks.'

1887. Both boats kept their places. In the O.U.B.C. Pairs W. F. C. Holland and L. Frere were beaten in the final, and in the Fours B.N.C. beat Christ Church in the final by thirty yards.

After an interval of two years a second Torpid was put on again, and has remained on ever since.

Torpids.

'The Torpids were remarkable for the splendid weather which attended them.

'On not one single day was there a ripple on the water.

'The Brasenose Torpid remained undefeated at the head of the river.'

1887. **Eights.**

'Brasenose at one time promised to turn out a good crew, but when the races came off, the smartness disappeared and the crew fell to pieces.'

'Varsity Pairs.

'*First Heat.* This was a splendid race, the Corpus pair winning by a second. The Brasenose pair was slack at starting, or might have won.'

1888. The College was to the fore this year, both at Oxford and Henley. The Torpid was head, and the Eight after a narrow escape on the fifth night went up to second. In the O.U.B.C. Challenge Races, W. F. C. Holland won the Sculls, and entered with L. Frere for the Pairs. In the Fours B.N.C. were beaten by New College in the final, after a good race.

A Four was sent to Henley for the Visitors' Cup, and the Stewards'; the former they won, but in the Stewards', after winning their first heat against Thames R.C., they had an accident to their boat in the final and did not finish.

The system of the Amalgamated Clubs was started this year, and the finance of the various Clubs was at last put on a more satisfactory footing.

Torpids.

'These races were rowed under most trying circumstances, the banks being thickly covered with snow, and the floating ice causing much inconvenience, being sometimes almost too bad to row through.

'The first Torpid kept its place at the head of the river with the greatest ease. They were a strong but rough crew, all working hard; and though not very taking to look at, got plenty of pace on their boat.

'The second crew were unfortunate. On the first night they caught St. Catherine's well below the Gut. The third night they bumped Jesus very easily. Monday night there was a nasty cross-wind, and Brasenose ran into the bank and were re-bumped by Jesus, whom they re-bumped on Tuesday.

'Wednesday they caught Pembroke. As a crew they were very peculiar to look at, but all were very keen and by good honest work got their boat along.

'The first Torpid rowed a record course in 7 min. 23 sec., beating the previous record by 17 seconds.'

Eights.

'As a whole the crews were not good. Brasenose were disappointing; at first they could not get together at all, and almost looked as if they

1888. would go down. Owing to Holland hurting his hand they lost four days' practice. Just before the races they began to improve and continued to do so all through.

'Woodgate, who was up on the Saturday and Monday, did not like our boat and made us try the 'Varsity boat of this year; she was found to be much the faster of the two. As on Tuesday there was a cross wind, and the cox could not keep the boat straight, Frere suggested that a fin should be used; no one knowing that it was impossible to get through the Gut with one, we unfortunately used it, with the result that the boat nearly went on shore at the Green bank, bow oars rowing five strokes on shore. Christ Church nearly caught us, but when once straight we went right away, finishing only a quarter of a length off New College. On examining the boat we found that the rudder was hardly in the water, she having been built for a heavier cox. When this was put right and the fin taken off, Brasenose caught New College opposite the Cher. Had Brasenose used the Varsity boat all through practice they would probably have been head of the River.

'*5th day.* Brasenose would probably have bumped New College, only, owing to the fin being on and the rudder hardly in the water, they ran on shore at the Green bank. Christ Church were overlapping when they got off, but in a very few strokes Brasenose were well away, and finished quite their distance off Christ Church and only a quarter of a length off New.

'*6th day.* Brasenose determined to have New; the rudder had been put right, and the fin taken off. There was a strong wind blowing down and across stream off the towpath bank. New College gained quite a length off Brasenose by crossing over after the Gut and rowing under shelter of the bank; but Brasenose soon followed them and, rowing very quick, went up to them every stroke, eventually running into them opposite the Cher, the nose of the Brasenose boat being up by 7's rowlock. This was quite the most popular bump of the races, and great was the cheering. At the Boat-house Magdalen were only a quarter of a length off New, they having kept their course up the Willows.

'All the boats this year rowed with india-rubber balls on the point of the cut-water, and all racing-boats of any kind are required to carry them, after the accident in the May races at Cambridge.

'The President, Mr. W. F. C. Holland, Brasenose, was most energetic, taking three crews in hand during practice, and giving a look to as many other crews as he could. He also made the Blues and Trials men take a crew apiece throughout practice. The best thanks of the Brasenose crew and the College are due to Mr. R. C. Lehmann, of the O.U.B.C., who came up to coach us, staying up for a week before the races; to his coaching the improvement shown during the last few days of practice is mainly due.

1888. Henley.

Stewards' Challenge Cup: *Final Heat.*—Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Brasenose College, Oxford.

'This was hardly satisfactory as a race. It had been looked forward to with interest, as, with exception of the Hall bow man, both Fours had won the 'Varsity Fours at their respective 'Varsities.[1] At the start, No. 2 in Brasenose Four found that the rigger bolt and stay had gone wrong.... At starting, Hall came away fast and held a slight lead at top of Island, where Brasenose ran into the posts and Cantabs were clear just before the Rectory. Brasenose, on clearing the piles, pegged after the leaders, and gaining rapidly overlapped them at Remenham Farm, but could not wrest the lead away. All this time the Brasenose boat, owing to the stays giving way, had been flattening out, and making it hard for No. 2 to clear the water. At Fawley Court, finding themselves a length to the bad and their boat getting worse, Brasenose gave up—in addition looking to the Visitors' Cup for which they were in later on. Hall therefore paddled home. Time, 8 min. 25 sec.'

Visitors' Challenge Cup: *Third Heat.*—(Bucks) Brasenose College, Oxford; (Berks) Pembroke College, Cambridge.

'This was one of the best races of the Regatta, the boats at no time in the race being separated. Brasenose led by nearly half a length at the quarter-mile, when Pembroke began to come up and at Remenham were level. An exciting race continued past Fawley Court, and at the three-quarter-mile Brasenose again led by half a length. Here Pembroke spurted and at Red Cottages were only a quarter of a length behind. Brasenose then came away, led by half a length at second gate and a length at Phyllis Court. Pembroke there spurted, and an exciting race ended in favour of Brasenose by half a length. Time, 8 mins. 21 sec.

'This was the second win of Brasenose on this day, and the third for Stroke, 3, and 2, who rowed in Leander Eight.'

Final Heat.—Brasenose College, Oxford; Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

'Brasenose, who since the Stewards' had got their boat repaired, came away with the lead. At Remenham they led by half a length, and at Fawley Court were leading by a length and a half when the Hall went into the posts. Brasenose then spurted away, and finished about seven lengths to the good. Time, 7 min. 59 sec.

'Brasenose were represented by a Barge on the winning-post this year.'

[1] This refers, of course, to the October term of 1887.

1888. **O.U.B.C. Fours.**

Final.—(First station) New College; (Second station) B.N.C.

'A close race was anticipated and so it proved. On starting, New College rowing the quicker stroke gained steadily up to the Gut, where they held an advantage of over a length. Along the Willows Brasenose held them, but at the crossing fell off a bit and New College entered on the wall leading by over two lengths. Up the wall Brasenose spurted hard and came up hand over fist but could never quite get up, and were finally beaten by three quarters of a length.'

Committee, May 1st. 'Since the last notice of a Committee Meeting, an alteration has taken place in the way of collecting subscriptions.

'The Boat Club, Cricket, Football, and Athletic Clubs, have been amalgamated as far as concerns money, and the subscriptions are charged in battels every term, each man paying all the time he is in residence. The treasurer of each club draws his share from the Bursar. In this way the money is paid at the proper time and it does away with the great inconvenience of collecting it.'

May 16th. 'It was decided that an estimate of the cost of sending a four and barge to Henley should be put up in College, and that a subscription list to cover the said expenses should also be put up. And further, that the expense of lunch and teas should be paid for by ticket, and that no one should be allowed on the barge without ticket. The subscriptions being merely to cover the hire of the barge, the cost of moving it to Henley, and the housing of the four.

Phoenix Sculls. 'There were only two entries, H. B. Ellis, L. Frere. Ellis stopped after the Gut, and Frere paddled in. Altogether it was a most feeble performance, and shows great want of keenness in the College. Last year and the year before entries were very good; it is a great pity that there should be this falling off.'

1889. This is a memorable year: after an interval of twenty-three years B.N.C. again held the headship, both of Eights and Torpids—a position which they maintained for three years. It is memorable too for the desperate racing which took place between New College and B.N.C. on the last four nights of the Eights. Nobody who saw that racing will ever forget it: the excitement was intense, as night after night New College chased B.N.C. up the wall, and the latter, thanks to Kent's marvellous strokings and their own pluck, landed their boat home safe by a few feet or inches.

A crew was entered for the O.U.B.C. Fours, but was beaten by Magdalen in the final.

The College did not appear at Henley.

1889. Torpids.

'Brasenose stayed head for the fourth year in succession. The crew were strong and plucky but not very polished. On the first four nights they had an easy time, but on the last two they only just kept away from New College, who were a very good, neat, and very fast and strong crew. They began to press our crew at the crossing and came with a rush at their own Barge, and were only about five feet astern at the Cherwell. Our crew, however, spurted pluckily and drew away, clearing the post by nine or ten feet. On the last night they attempted to cut the crew down below the Gut, and failing, our men had a rather easier time further up, and were a quarter of a length to the good at the finish.

'A sad accident happened on the Saturday, St. John's made their third bump by catching Merton, and the men crowding the punt it sank, and Mr. Johnson, a scholar, was drowned. The races were postponed on Monday in consequence, and flags were kept at half-mast for the rest of the races.

'A Captains' meeting was held, and made the rule that no punt was to carry more than twelve, and also that all future members of the O.U.B.C. must pass a swimming test before joining.

'The second Torpid continued its upward course by making three bumps.'

Eights.

'This year will be remembered for the very hard races the crew had to maintain the headship, which was won on the first night by bumping Magdalen just below the Red Post.

'The Torpid had had very hard races with New College, and these were repeated in the Eights.

'Six of the '88 crew were up ; at least five men were up, and Barbour arrived on a visit, just in time to row, and was immediately put into the crew at 6. Kent was made stroke and Holland rowed 7. We used the same boat as on the two last nights of '88, which had been purchased by the College.

'In practice, New College appeared 20 secs. faster than Brasenose, but as usual our crew improved during the races.

'On the first night we bumped Magdalen just below the Red Post. We were pressing them in the Gut, New College quite their distance behind, and thus obtained the headship.

'On the second night New College bumped Magdalen at the Crossing. On Saturday, New College were rather out of their distance at the Red Post, but came with a great rush at the Crossing, and were within half a length at their own Barge, from which point they continued to gain till at the 'Varsity Barge they were within a few feet. Kent made a series of spurts and succeeded in getting the crew home.

'On Monday the Rev. J. H. Ware came up to see the races, and



The Eight in 1889

[*Ford, Wilkinson, Barbour, Rhodes* : 2nd row—*Tristram, Holland, Kent, Puxley* : 3rd row—*Williams*]

1889. advised us to quicken the stroke one per minute at the Boat House, so as to come up the wall hard.

'Kent and Holland were both very unwell, and we went to the start rather apprehensive. Holland, pluckily, had made very light of his illness. We kept well away until the Crossing, where New College made their effort, but quickening up the wall, and Kent putting in some more wonderful spurts, we landed home by just a few feet again.

'On Tuesday New College made the effort on the Willows, and were close on us at the Crossing, but we finished about a quarter of a length off.

'Wednesday was the last night, and we were firmly determined not to get caught the last night.

'New College again tried to row us down. We managed to get away a little up the Willows, but, as usual, New College began to spurt at the Red Post, and drew slowly up until at Christ Church Barge they were within a few feet. Kent again spurted brilliantly the whole way up the wall, and we passed the post nearly a quarter of a length away.

'The headship was very popular indeed, and the crew received an ovation on their return to the Barge.

'This was the third year that Mr. R. C. Lehmann coached the Eight, and it was his kind interest and assistance which enabled the crew to gain and retain the headship.

'A supper was held in Hall, and the event further celebrated by a very successful bonfire. Several of the Fellows came to supper, at which Mr. Lodge took the chair.'

'The two first boats finished very far in advance of the rest of the division. A patent countervail was used in the Brasenose boat.'

O.U.B.C. Fours.

Final Heat.—(First station) Magdalen; (Second station) Brasenose.

'The boats kept about their distance the whole way, but we went rather badly at the Crossing, and were about a length out of our distance up the wall. Kent put on a magnificent spurt at Magdalen Barge, but Magdalen passed their flag less than a quarter of a length ahead in 5 *mins.* 22 *secs.*, the best time on record.

'It was not expected that our crew would be very good, for Holland was unable to row. Hodgson was tried as the only available man for bow, and though he had previously rowed only in the 2nd Torpid turned out very good though rough. Kent steered very well indeed.

'Magdalen had three blues in their crew, and were very fast indeed. New College had hard luck in losing a man.

'The weather was very fine, the river was very low with scarcely any perceptible stream, and there was no wind.

1890. This is perhaps the most successful year in Brasenose rowing. At Oxford the College kept the headship both in Eights and Torpids, though in the latter they were lucky to do so; and at Henley they entered for the Grand Challenge Cup, and won the Visitors' Cup and the Stewards'. In these races W. C. Kent again showed his wonderful powers as stroke. In the October term B.N.C. in the O.U.B.C. Fours were beaten by half a length by Magdalen, who in the final lost to New College by the same distance.

Torpids.

'For the fifth year in succession the Torpid stayed head. On the last three nights the racing was most exciting. On the first night, New College gave way to Balliol at the Boat House without any very great struggle; Brasenose was well away at the time. On the second night we also kept away, though Balliol were within their distance. On the third night Balliol had a man very unwell, and it was fortunate for us that it was so, for our No. 5, Spurrier, was sickening with influenza, and was very ill that night. On Monday, B. P. Browning, No. 5 of the Torpid, took his place, and it was a veritable "Black Monday", for Balliol had got back their No. 6, and came up very strong along the wall, and opposite Christ Church Barge were pressing our crew. At our Barge they were almost overlapping and our crew lost their heads. Stroke spurted pluckily but was not backed up, and at the 'Varsity Barge Balliol made their shot but just missed our rudder, and the crew got home. On the last two nights we had the boat polished, and finished a quarter of a length away.

'The year is memorable for the Influenza which raged through Oxford. We lost our original No. 5, W. H. Spurrier, but our 1st Torpid fortunately escaped further losses through it. The 2nd suffered more severely and rowed with a different crew almost every night.

'A new boat was subscribed for by the College, and the amount volunteered enabled the Club to buy a new stop-watch.'

Eights.

'It was thought at the beginning of term that the Eight could not possibly stay head. Ford and Wilkinson were the only members of the last year's crew still up. Holland was prevented from coming up by reading; Barbour was appealed to, but he was unable to get away from business. Kent came up and rowed stroke. Hodgson had rowed in the Four and in the Trials of 1889.

'Still the Torpid had been good though rough. No. 7 and bow were the difficult places to fill. Eventually H. E. L. Puxley, who rowed bow of the 2nd Torpid, was tried, and improved very much, though sadly

1890. troubled with raws and obliged to row sitting on a sponge secured to his seat. For 7 Hodgson was tried, but was not steady enough; then Leith, who had rowed 7 in the 1st Torpid, but he was not equal to it. Eventually, in spite of his weight, Wilkinson went there, and the boat was finally settled, Hodgson going 3 and Leith 5. Mr. A. McNeil Campbell and Mr. Poole came up during the first week of practice, and Mr. Campbell approved the placing of the boat. Again Mr. Lehmann took us in hand, and the crew improved immensely under his coaching.

'The new boat arrived, but we still preferred the old Rough, so we sent her into dock and had her stiffened.

'The crew were all thoroughly keen, and improved rapidly, until one day shortly before the race Mr. Woodgate was up, and we rowed a full practice course in 6 min. 23 sec., the fastest time of which we have a record.

'The river was unusually low the whole summer, and the weather was fine.

'The races began on Thursday, May 22nd. They were not very interesting, for the first five boats rowed over every night, and on the last three nights the whole 1st division rowed over.

'We were out of our distance on the first night, more so on the second, but they came up to us on the Saturday, though not near enough to be dangerous. On Monday we went out in the morning, and were well away, and on the last night finished more than double our distance ahead. New College came on too early in training, and at the end were stale and very short.'

Henley Regatta.

'After the success of the Eight, and in view of the fact that it was an undoubtedly fast crew, it was proposed that the boat should go to Henley. A committee meeting was held, and it was decided to call a general College meeting in Hall. The Principal promised £5 towards the expense, and Mr. G. R. Askwith, who was up at the time, gave £10 more. The meeting was held in Hall under the presidency of Mr. Lodge, and enthusiastically and unanimously carried the motion "that the Eight be sent to Henley to compete for the Grand Challenge". It was thought that it would be unsportsmanlike for the crew to enter for the Ladies' Challenge Plate, as several other boats—Christ Church, Balliol, and University—lower down the river were going to compete, while New College, who were next below us, had competed the year before for the G.C.C., and were again going to enter this year.

'Consequently the Eight was entered for the first time in the College record for the Grand Challenge. A list was put up on the gate, and filled up rapidly with subscriptions.

1890. 'Besides the Eight, a Four was entered for the Stewards', and another for the Visitors'. The Eight beat Trinity Hall, Cambridge, very easily, and the Stewards' Four rowed a splendid race with Leander, winning by two feet, and in the final another good race with Thames, winning by ¾ length in record time, 7 min. 37 secs., and won the Visitors' by 1½ lengths from Pembroke, Cambridge, in 7 min. 42 sec., the third race which some of the men had rowed that day. Though beaten in the Grand by London, the crew made a good fight for it. In the Stewards' we owed a good deal to the steering and encouragement of Holland, and in all races to the splendid stroking of Kent.

'Until the next Torpids at any rate four Challenge Cups will adorn the Junior Common Room. It was a triumphant Regatta for Brasenose.'

('*Stewards' Challenge Cup.* Brasenose were quickest away, but Leander soon caught them, and, taking the lead, were the length of their forward canvas in advance at the quarter-mile post. Brasenose now spurted and led by a foot or two at the Rectory, although the boats were dead level at Fawley Court boat-house. Along the Big Wood the Oxford men held a slight lead, but again Leander quickened, and at the Bell the two boats were running level. From this point to the finish a ding-dong race ensued, and opposite Phyllis Court it looked a good thing for Leander, but Brasenose spurted in grand style, and, catching their opponents on the post, won by two feet. Time, 7 min. 57 sec.

'*Final.* Brasenose were quickest away, but Thames soon passed them, and at the top of the Island led by several feet. At the quarter-mile mark Thames had increased their advantage to a length, were a length and a half in front at Remenham Gate, and perhaps two lengths at Fawley Court boat-house. Along the meadow opposite the Big Wood Brasenose gained, and the difference was a length and a quarter at the first little bridge on the towpath shore, and just a length at the mile mark. Passing the Isthmian Club inclosure, the College crew improved their position, and spurting hard past Phyllis Court rushed up level at the end of the Grand Stand. Continuing to spurt in wonderful style, Brasenose eventually won by three parts of a length. Time, 7 min. 37 sec.'—Press account.)

('*Grand Challenge Cup.* Of the other crews, Brasenose, who were left in the Final Heat with London, were a real good College Eight, reflecting great credit on Mr. Lehmann, who not only coached them for Henley, but for their College Eights, and helped in a great measure to make them what they are. Among the crew were several most capable individual oarsmen, such as Wilkinson and Kent. Of the latter we formed a very high opinion a year or two ago, when he stroked a Moulsey Eight at Walton-on-Thames Regatta, for he never seemed to be done with having a reserve of spurting always left, and the same thing was patent at Henley, but we question if his form has altogether improved since he has been at Oxford.'

1890. 'The Stewards' Challenge Cup, for first fours, was by general consent assigned to the Thames Club crew, but although they got into the final heat with Brasenose, and were considered a "good thing", especially when they were not only clear of the College crew but nearly two lengths ahead at Fawley Court, yet they came back hand over fist towards the finish, and Kent, spurting as is his wont, caught them close home, and beat them by less than a length—a great and unlooked-for surprise. This shows what a young and active crew can do against one of mature years and perhaps a little stale into the bargain. Brasenose beat all previous records in time by 2 seconds.

'The Visitors' Cup, for College Fours, was a gift to Brasenose, although, when tired and stale after rowing the final heat for the G.C.C. and Stewards' Cup, they met a fresh crew in Pembroke College, Cambridge.' *Field.*)

1891. For the third year in succession B.N.C. remained head of the river, both in Eights and Torpids, and by maintaining the headship of the latter wrested the record from University, who had previously held it—having been head for five years, from 1869–73.

In the O.U.B.C. Fours, B.N.C. were beaten by Christ Church.

Two Fours were sent to Henley, and entered for the Stewards' Cup, the Visitors', and the Wyfold.

Mr. R. C. Lehmann presented a silver bowl to the Boat Club in memory of his five years' association with them. The bowl is still in the J.C.R.

Torpids.

'The end of 1890 and beginning of 1891 were bound in the longest and most severe frost experienced since the year 1708. The river was frozen completely over for the first fortnight of term. A four-in-hand was driven up and down on the ice opposite the Barges, which measured 16 inches in thickness. Practice for the Torpids was impossible, and the President called a Captains' meeting, which altered the date until just before Honour Mods. Then some men found it impossible to row so soon before the Schools, and the Captain of New College requisitioned for a second meeting to alter the date. It was then decided to hold the races on February 18 to 24, beginning on a Wednesday and ending on Tuesday, to avoid clashing with the 'Varsity sports; consequently there were four days' racing in one week.

'The racing was most uninteresting; only four bumps were made in

1891. the first division. As usual there were splendid races between New College and Brasenose, and it was due almost entirely to our Coxswain that we got home safe on the third night.

'All the crews showed signs of the interrupted practice.

'Our crew was stroked by C. E. Tristram, who rowed head in the Torpid of '88 and in the Eight of '89, and had been at Sandhurst in the interval and came up again to complete his terms and take his degree.

'Thus Brasenose has been head for six successive years, the longest continuous headship recorded, beating University by one year.'

Eights.

'It was an easy matter to pick and place the crew this year. Six men and the coxswain of last year's crew remained, and five of them had had the experience of Henley and the benefit of Lehmann's coaching there. F. W. Owen and A. B. Nutter were finally chosen as the best men in the Torpid to fill the vacant places, and entered the boat at 3 and 4 respectively.

'Mr. G. E. Rhodes had returned from New Zealand and coached the crew. Mr. Lehmann also came up, and for the fifth year we owe a great debt to his coaching. Kent had gone down and we had decided at Henley that it would be better for him not to come up to row. He came up and coached us. Hodgson proved an efficient stroke.

'Mr. Woodgate came up one day to see the crew, and we rowed to Weirs Bridge to let him see us rowing hard, accomplishing the distance in 1 min. 21½ sec., ½ sec. below Magdalen's record of last year.

'The racing was not exciting, and the seven top boats rowed over every night, and the whole first division on the last night. Brasenose was never pressed.'

Henley Regatta.

'At a College meeting it was decided to send two fours to Henley to defend the two Cups won the previous year. The Senior Four—

Bow W. F. C. Holland (*steers*)
2. J. A. Ford
3. F. Wilkinson
Str. C. W. Kent

(the same crew as last year) was beaten by Magdalen by *one foot.*

The Junior Four—

Bow H. E. L. Puxley (*steers*)
2. A. B. Nutter
3. J. Hallward
Str. C. H. Hodgson

was beaten in the Visitors' Cup by Trinity Hall and in the Wyfold Cup by Third Trinity, the steering being most erratic.



The College Barge and Eight, A.D. 1891
(from a water-colour painting in J. C. R.)

1891. 'F. Wilkinson had during practice been rowing at No. 5 in the Leander crew, who came off the successful winners of the Grand Challenge Cup. But owing to ill-health he had to retire, and his place was taken by Guy Nickalls, Magdalen. The following Brasenose men rowed in the Leander Crew:—

Bow W. F. C. Holland (Capt. of Leander)
2. J. A. Ford
Str. C. W. Kent
Cox. L. S. Williams.

'In the final race for the Silver Goblets there was a terrific race between Lord Ampthill and Guy Nickalls against F. Wilkinson, B.N.C., and W. A. L. Fletcher, Ch.Ch., the former just shooting past the post one foot to the good.'

Stewards' Challenge Cup.

(*Berks Station*) Magdalen College; (*Bucks Station*) Brasenose College.

('Magdalen led by a quarter of a length at the top of the Island, and by a full length at Fawley Court boat-house. Brasenose now spurted and overlapped at the Bell, which is just below the mile mark. They continued to gain, being a short half-length only astern off the Isthmian Club enclosure, whence to the finish a terrific race was rowed past the grounds of the Phyllis Court, Brasenose gaining all the way and suffering defeat only by 2 feet.—*Field.*)

Committee, Michaelmas Term. 'The Treasurer announced that Mr. R. C. Lehmann, Trinity College, Cambridge, who had coached the College with such success in the past five years, had presented a very handsome silver bowl to the Boat Club as a memento "of my five years' association with them at Oxford and Henley."

'It was, therefore, resolved that—

'(1) The Committee express their thanks to Mr. R. C. Lehmann for the very handsome bowl which he has presented to the Boat Club, and at the same time record their grateful sense of the invaluable services which he has rendered to the Club as coach during the last five years.

'(2) That the above resolution be recorded together with Mr. Lehmann's letter in the Club minutes.'

The Bowl was placed on a bracket in the J.C.R., between the Torpid and Eights Cup.

Copy of Letter—

'60 Jesus Lane, Cambridge, *Oct.* 28, 1891.

'My dear Lodge,

'I have instructed Munsey, the silversmith here, to forward to you, as soon as it is ready, a bowl which I wish to offer to the B.N.C. Boat Club as a memento of my five years' association with them at Oxford and at Henley. The kindness, the hospitality, and the innumerable

1891. tokens of goodwill showered upon me during that time by B.N.C. men will always remain fresh and green in my memory.

'Pray be good enough to express to the Club on my behalf these sentiments, and believe me,

'Yours always sincerely, R. C. LEHMANN.'

1892. The Brasenose glory has begun to wane. The Torpid kept its, by now traditional place, but the Eight fell to third, and has never regained the headship since. J. A. Ford and A. B. Nutter entered for the O.U.B.C. Pairs, but were beaten in the final.

At Henley a Four was entered for the Stewards' Cup, but were beaten by the Royal Chester R.C., who eventually won the Cup.

Torpids.

'Rumours have been afloat of late that there is a strong desire in high places—natural enough perhaps, since high places are monopolized by Colleges that cannot catch Brasenose—to lessen the distance between the boats at starting. But though the facts, that the first four boats kept their places unchanged this year, and that Brasenose have kept their place unchanged for seven years, may seem to support this proposal, still the number of bumps, thirty-three, cannot be said to have been below the average. At any rate it is hardly a question that can be decided off-hand by the committee of any one year.

'But a still greater surprise, perhaps, was the performance of the second boat, who showed on the first night that they could row away from a crew that almost bumped them before the Gut, for owing to a bad start, Wadham were on to them very soon, and after being within a foot of them, were left behind in grand form half-way up the Willows; and on the last three nights they showed that they could bump too.

Though New College more than once got within a length of us during the race, they never finished up within their distance except on the first night, when our men took things far too coolly, and New College got within three-quarters of a length.

'Owing to the extraordinary prevalence of "Influenza" throughout the country for the third year in succession, the term was postponed a fortnight, and consequently the races took place on March 3-9.'

Eights.

'Ichabod! At least *pro tem.* Of this no more need be said than that we were bumped by a very much faster boat, Magdalen, who went head,

1892. and again by a boat certainly not considerably better than ourselves. We doubtless could never have kept away from Magdalen; it was better we should not, they were a much better boat and people were getting tired of seeing B.N.C. row over, but if we had changed our Stroke sooner it is at least very doubtful if New College would have caught us.

'Irish had stroked very well in the Torpids; with an admirable long steady body swing, and plenty of leg work, he was very well suited for a crew that were never really pressed. Accordingly, Irish stroked the Eight all through practice and during the first three nights of the races. On Wednesday, the day before the races, Nutter, who had been rowing 7, was entirely knocked up by severe lumbago; accordingly, F. Wilkinson, who had been coaching us all through, and was therefore in fair condition, took his place. It had been a question at first whether Wilkinson should take his place in the boat from the beginning of practice, but it was thought better not to establish a precedent of rowing old men, a short-sighted policy which must result badly for the Club sooner or later.

'On the first night New College gained on us at once, and were close up to us in the Gut; we got away slightly up the Willows, but at the Crossing, Magdalen pushed New so hard upon us that it was a mere question of who bumped first. Magdalen had already missed New coming out of the Gut; eventually they got them at Saunders' Bridge, and we escaped.

'On the second night we kept well away from Magdalen till round the Gut, when we were met by a tremendous wind and were caught 200 yards later. Lonsdale saved New College from Christ Church by taking them right over to the Berkshire shore, and so escaping the wind.

'On the third night the wind had gone down, but still it was thought wise to try the plan of going over to the Berks. shore; but by the time we rowed the wind had still further lulled, so that we lengthened our course to no purpose, and got more wash into the bargain. New accordingly ran over 7's oar at the Crossing.

'Having now for two nights tamely submitted to a bump without any attempt to quicken, a casual suggestion was no sooner made that we should try a change of Stroke than it was acted upon; stretchers were altered, and Ford at 6 changed places with Irish, and we tumbled in for a paddle.

'On Monday we went out at 10 a.m., and rowed several starts and two longer pieces of two minutes each. Consequently on the fourth night we got off well at about 43, and having got slightly within our distance of New College in the Gut, finished up our distance from them and Christ Church.

'Nothing of interest or importance happened on the last two nights as far as we were concerned; we finished each time our distance or more

1892. behind New College, and more than our distance away from Christ Church.'

'The Eights of '92 will be remembered as some of the most successful Oxford has ever seen, the rowing was good, the racing was good . . . and the weather was bright and fine. . . . The result, too, of the racing was generally satisfactory. Much as we all admire the proverbial "Brasenose pluck", there was a strong feeling outside Brasenose that it was time some one else went head, and there was a general feeling of satisfaction that their defeat should be accomplished by distinctly the best boat on. . . . New College improved during the races, though we think they were lucky in catching Brasenose when they did. The latter, after a shuffle of their crew, showed that even disaster could not break their spirit, and in spite of defeat they end the races a far better crew than they began them.'—*Oxford Magazine.*

Committee.—'Proposed that an Amalgamated Committee should be appointed of representatives of the various branches of athletics to administer the Amalgamated Athletic Fund, which is at present in the hands of the Treasurer of the Boat Club, as the existing arrangement was felt to be unsatisfactory.'

(Postponed during Mr. Lodge's absence.)

(**October Term.**—Mr. G. Rhodes presented an oil painting of the Eight and the Barge, now hung in the Junior Common Room.)

Coxe Fours.—'It is probably wiser to keep enough men on for at least eight crews for the Coxe Fours in order to have as large a selection as possible for the two Torpid crews, and to give freshmen and others every chance of learning; the extra men will be useful in future years, if not immediately.'

1893.[1] Undeterred by the disaster to the Eight last year, the Torpid stuck to the headship, and the Eight regained a place.

A B.N.C. Four of senior men again entered for the Stewards' Cup at Henley, but were beaten by Thames R.C. in the first heat.

In the O.U.B.C. Fours B.N.C. were beaten by Magdalen in the final after a fine race. The second Torpid this year made six bumps, and finished eighth on the river.

[1] The last Procession of Boats was held this year. Till the Procession was discontinued B. N. C. had retained the custom of wearing in it a broad scarf passing from shoulder to hip.—(Sherwood)

1893. **Torpids.**

'The first boat were a rather disappointing one; all through training the second were close to them in their time over the course, and during the first three nights of racing they did not keep away from New College so far as they should have done.

'It was most satisfactory that we were able to put six freshmen into the second boat, which should, of course, always be used as a nursery of freshmen as far as possible. It is little use keeping on third and fourth year men when freshmen may be trained for the Eight.

'On the third night stream and wind were stronger, and our boat got a bad start. New College I were half a length behind at the Boat-house, and six feet off at the finish.'

(On the last three nights the boat finished well away from New College.)

Eights.

'We began the term with good paper prospects; no less than ten old Eightsmen were in residence, and beside them we had a promising lot of material coming on.

'On the first night we went as badly as we well could; the crew's motto seemed to be each for himself and let the boat look after herself. Still, we got within half a length of New College before the Gut, but they kept pluckily away till Magdalen Barge.

'For the rest of the race we got, each night in the Gut, within measurable distance of Magdalen, but we never were dangerous to them. Still we had retrieved half of the misfortune of last year.'

O.U.B.C. Fours (rowed in a northerly gale).

Magdalen *v.* Brasenose.

'They won the toss and wisely chose the front station. One of the best races ever seen. Both got off well. We had nearly gained a length at the Gut. Both steered badly along Willows, but we steered worse than they did, nearly colliding with Fred's punt. At Magdalen Barge we were dead level, but as we crossed the mouth of the Cherwell we got a tremendous gust, and bow side almost missed a stroke. Magdalen rowing 43 for last 200 yards and Brasenose 42. Both spurting splendidly, Magdalen won the race by half a length.'

1894. For one more year the Torpid maintained its 'pride of place'. On May 23, the last night of the races, the boat rowed over head for the fifty-second successive night; a great record which will not be easily broken.

The Eight fell one place.

1894. The year was saddened by a terrible accident in College: at the beginning of the Michaelmas term W. H. Rhodes fell from some scaffolding which was then round the Chapel, and died in a few hours from his injuries.

Torpids.

'We shaped well at first, having a better swing and firmer beginning than any other boat on. But as we got near the races we began to find that we were a shade clumsier than the boats we had to race with, but owing to Pearson, who was a tower of strength, we scraped home the last night. The racing was of a most peculiar kind, as will be seen from the account.

'Our second Torpid was not up to last year's form. The boats with which it had to race were very good for their position on the river. Consequently we went down four places.

'Rowed in three divisions for the first time these races . . . were full of excitement from both the rowing and spectatorial point of view, especially the last night, when there were six or seven sensational races which terminated between the Cherwell and the winning-post.

'1*st night.* Brasenose got away well and led at the Gut, but from there New College gained steadily and finished a quarter of a length behind.'

(Next four nights Brasenose finishes easily).

'6*th night. Most extraordinary!* Brasenose three lengths ahead at Red Post and overlapped at the Post. New made a beautiful spurt, and if the course had been 50 yards further would have had us. Croke, their stroke, rowed very well. But there must have been something funny the other nights.'

Eights.

'In the heavy boat we got together fairly well, but in getting into our last year's light ship nearly sank. We struggled to keep afloat for three days of misery and rolling *ad nauseam*; then we had to take to the '91 'Varsity, supposed to be the slowest boat afloat. However, it carried us, and we began to improve a little under J. A. Ford's coaching, and when he left us we had made strides on the way to steadiness. After he left we had three bad days; then, on Monday, May 7, we got into our new "Clasper", which is very fast, and on Tuesday, 8th, R. C. Lehmann came up, and distinct improvement was visible.

'1*st night.* Brasenose kept the distance from New College till the Gut; then, owing to inability to pick up the stroke, which had dropped, were bumped at New College Barge, the exact spot where we lowered them last year.

'6*th night.* Some thought that Trinity, who had risen four places, would give us a race for it. But we kept away easily, and finished the length out



The Torpid in 1894

[*Sargent, Rushton, Astbury, Shepherd-Cross* : 2nd row—*Ellwood, Leslie Jones, Pearson, Sidgwick* : 3rd row—*Rhodes*]

1894. of our distance ; thus proving that we were, though bumped, easily worth our position of third boat.

'On the whole, I have never seen crews all through find their level more than this year.'

'IN MEMORIAM. W. H. RHODES.

'On the evening of Friday, Oct. 26, about 9.30, whilst descending some scaffolding erected for repairs of the College Chapel, W. H. Rhodes fell from a height of 15 feet, and received such injuries to his head that within four hours he died. This sudden and awful catastrophe has cast a deep gloom over the whole College and University. He was a man deservedly and thoroughly popular, esteemed and respected by all who knew him. Captain of the Rugby Football team, President of the Vampires, Secretary of the P.C.R., the oldest member of Vincent's in residence, he perhaps took especial pride and pleasure in steering the first Torpid of last year. Being ordinarily rather heavy, he most conscientiously trained down very hard, almost to ill-health ; he was always the same, bright and cheerful, encouraging the crew. His good steering undoubtedly kept us head for another year. We deeply mourn over the loss of one who was the life and soul of the College : to one and all he was endeared ; loved and esteemed by a large circle of friends, no one heard any but a good word spoken of him. All saw and admired his modesty and unselfishness, his cheerfulness and sincerity : those of us who knew him intimately saw his sterling qualities. Kindhearted and generous, faithful and true, he was a most lovable friend in every way. His death is inexpressibly sad : our loss inestimable. R. B. PEARSON.'

1895. The Torpids were not rowed owing to the severe frost. The Eight fell four places to seventh, where it had last been in 1873.

Torpids.

'The difficulties in the way of the Torpids have this year been quite without exception. In the early part of the term the floods made coaching from the bank impossible. After about a week of coaching from the stern, the floods subsided, and we were thus enabled to use the towpath, which was still in an almost impassable condition, and had it not been for the frost, we should not have been able to use it at all. We were not destined, however, to have the use of the Isis for long : for after the crews had trained for about ten days, the river became completely frozen.

'At a Captains' Meeting, held in the 'Varsity Barge, the races were postponed a week.

'Some colleges now began to do their rowing at Sandford, where the water was clear ; other colleges quickly following the example. We were one of the last to go down there.

1895. 'After a week of this, all mutually agreed not to go down and practise below locks. The reason for this being, that when several boats were down there, their wash loosened large ice floes, which was a source of great danger to the light ships. A few, indeed, were swamped by the ice making holes in their sides.

'At a Captains' meeting, held on Saturday, Feb. 23rd, after great discussion, the races were entirely put off for the year. The Captains agreeing that the entrance fees and subsciptions of new members should be paid in as usual to the O.U.B.C. The O.U.B.C. on their part agreeing to pay back the subscription of any new member in the event of his never rowing in a 'Varsity race.

'This entire abandonment of the races is quite unparalleled in the history of 'Varsity rowing.'

Eights.

'The Eights this year have been most disastrous to Brasenose.

'The crew as a whole were bad, there was none of that leg work and plug which has always been so characteristic of a Brasenose crew.

'All our misfortunes are to be put down to want of leg work, and consequently the inability to go more than half a course.'

1896. The Torpid at last yielded its proud position, and descended to third. The Eight went down to ninth; the last year it had been so low was 1858.

Torpids.

'On the first night Payne (bow) broke his strap on the first stroke and sent his foot against the side of the boat, causing a serious leakage: as the boat soon took in some inches depth of water, we were prevented from making a good race of it, and were caught on the Willows.

'On the second night Balliol made a much better start than we did, and overlapped us just through the Gut; but by repeated spurts, and aided by the really magnificent coxing of F. H. Taylor, Preston managed to hold them off from the Gut to the House barge where they at last rowed us down.

'On the next four evenings, Magdalen succeeded in getting near to us through the Gut, but could not maintain the advantage thus gained, and we finished out of danger each night.... There was an observable tendency, especially noticeable in the first two races for the whole crew not to row their level hardest over the first part of the race: they appeared, however unconscious they may have been of it, to save themselves up to the Gut; that there was no need of this was most apparent from the splendid way they held Magdalen off over the last half of the course in the last four races.'

1897. Over these years Ichabod must be written, as far as the
1898. Eights are concerned. The B.N.C. boat occupied the in-
1899. glorious position of eighth, seventh, and eighth—in 1898 having a curious duel with Hertford. The Torpid boat kept a place more in consonance with the College tradition: it was fifth in 1897 and 1898, and third in 1899.

1900. A revival took place, and the Eight went up to fourth, and the Torpid to second—fairly satisfactory places in which to end a century in which both had won so much glory. In honesty it should, however, be added that the early years of this twentieth century have seen further disaster to the College, and neither Eight nor Torpid are where they ought to be. Still, the last two years have seen better things: in 1908 the Torpid made four bumps, and 1909, the Quatercentenary year of the College, was appropriately signalized by the Eight going up three places. In both the last two years also the Eight has appeared at Henley.

One ventures to hope that the lowest line of depression has been touched, and that Brasenose may shortly regain a position on the river in keeping with its great heritage of the past.

NOTE

Both in this Diary and in the Appendices which follow I ought to express my indebtedness to Mr. Sherwood's Book on Oxford Rowing, *which I have used constantly, I also wish to acknowledge the services of Mr. W. T. Coxhill, who has been indefatigable in seeing the work through the press and in correcting the appendices: to him is due any accuracy they may have attained.*

APPENDIX I

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE OF B.N.C. BOAT CLUB

	Captain.	*Sec. & Treas.*	*Committee.*
1837	R. Hale	M. H. S. Champneys	
1838 Mar.	W. E. Buckley	M. H. S. Champneys	R. Hale W. B. Garnett M. Holme A. Coote J. Penrice
1839 Feb.	G. Sandbach	M. H. S. Champneys	W. E. Buckley W. B. Garnett A. Coote J. Penrice R. Walls W. Lea
1840 Feb.	J. J. T. Somers-Cocks	H. Tindal	M. H. S. Champneys W. E. Buckley R. Walls H. Lea G. Meynell W. B. Garnett
1841 Feb.	J. J. T. Somers-Cocks	H. Tindal	H. S. Champneys W. E. Buckley G. Meynell W. Lea G. Worley C. A. Johnson
1842	H. Dumbleton		
1843	F. E. Tuke		H. E. Butler C. B. Jackson J. G. Cazenove E. Royds T. Hullah R. S. W. Sitwell
1844	F. E. Tuke	W. Harvey	
1845	F. E. Tuke	W. Harvey	J. P. Harris J. G. Cazenove T. W. Nowell — Edwards F. C. Royds

	Captain.	*Sec. & Treas.*	*Committee.*
1846	F. Royds	W. K. Bedford	J. G. Cazenove T. W. Nowell J. Oldham — Edwards
1847	G. R. Winter	H. Meynell	W. A. Knight R. Smith P. Earle T. W. Nowell
1848 Nov.	P. Earle	H. Meynell	R. A. Knight A. P. Cust G. R. Winter J. L. Errington
1849 June	J. L. Errington	H. Meynell	A. P. Cust W. Houghton G. Irlam
1850 Dec.	J. L. Errington	J. C. Egerton	J. J. Hornby R. H. Knight G. Irlam R. Greenall F. S. J. Balguy R. Dawson P. H. Moore K. Prescot W. Houghton
1851 Mar. July Oct.	J. L. Errington R. Greenall	R. Dawson	J. J. Hornby W. Houghton W. J. Williams F. S. J. Balguy K. Prescot P. H. Moore
1852	No change		
1853 Jan. May Oct.	K. Prescot J. E. Codrington	R. Dawson ,,	W. J. Williams P. Moore J. C. Egerton C. Knipe J. E. Codrington
1854 Jan. Nov.	J. E. Codrington	J. C. Egerton	C. Knipe A. H. Langford G. S. Elliott W. K. Macrorie C. W. Sergison

	Captain.	*Sec. & Treas.*	*Committee.*
1855			
Jan.	J. E. Codrington	W. K. Macrorie	J. Rogers
Feb.	,,	F. H. Pain	C. Knipe
Apr.	,,		— Wyndham
			W. L. Williams
Oct.	J. Rogers		F. B. Dickinson
			F. R. Bryans
1856	J. Rogers	E. C. Maclure	J. E. Codrington
			F. R. Bryans
			S. Wimbush
1857			
Oct.	F. R. Bryans	G. M. Bell	J. E. Codrington
			S. Wimbush
			A. L. Willett
			F. R. Bryans
1858			
Mar.	F. R. Bryans	G. M. Bell	J. E. Codrington
			A. L. Willett
			T. B. Shaw-Hellier
			H. Wace
			R. B. Leach
Oct.	,,	H. Wace	J. G. P. Hughes
			H. F. Baxter
1859			
Mar.	H. F. Baxter	R. B. Leach	W. Berkeley
Nov.			R. W. Cullen
			J. G. P. Hughes
			F. G. Blackburne
			W. Champneys
			C. I. Parkin
1860			
Feb.	H. F. Baxter	F. G. Blackburne	R. B. Leach
			R. W. Cullen
			W. Champneys
			C. I. Parkin
			C. Coldwell
May			W. B. Woodgate
Oct.	W. Champneys	F. G. Blackburne	J. F. S. Vavasour
			E. J. Townley
1861	W. Champneys	C. I. Parkin	F. G. Blackburne
			C. Coldwell
			J. Vavasour
			E. J. Townley
			J. Brown
		W. C. Harris	W. B. Woodgate
			W. T. Burges
1862	W. Champneys	W. C. Harris	W. B. Woodgate
			J. Brown
			W. T. Burges
			R. Shepherd

	Captain.	*Sec. & Treas.*	*Committee.*
1862			
June	W. B. Woodgate		S. R. Coxe D. Pocklington W. Champneys
1863	W. B. Woodgate	W. C. Harris	W. T. Burges R. Shepherd S. R. Coxe D. Pocklington
Oct.	W. C. Harris	W. T. Burges	S. E. Illingworth R. T. Whittington
1864	S. R. Coxe	S. E. Illingworth	R. T. Whittington F. J. Huyshe G. E. Gardiner R. F. Rumsey A. J. Richards
1865			
Oct.	A. J. Richards		S. R. Coxe
Nov.		R. F. Rumsey	F. J. Huyshe G. E. Gardiner A. Shepherd J. P. Law

	Captain.	*Secretary.*	*Treasurer.*	*Committee.*
1866				
Jan.	R. F. Rumsey	A. Shepherd	J. P. Law	S. R. Coxe D. Pocklington F. J. Huyshe G. E. Gardiner
Oct.	F. Crowder	E. P. Garnett	,,	J. Rickaby W. C. Crofts
1867				
Oct.	E. P. Garnett	J. P. Law	W. C. Crofts	R. F. Rumsey F. Crowder R. S. Lea J. Rickaby
1868				
Oct.	W. C. Crofts	F. Champneys	R. S. Lea	E. P. Garnett J. A. Budgett
1869				
Oct.	F. Champneys	H. E. Burgess	R. S. Lea	A. G. Rickards F. W. Goodwyn J. A. Budgett
1870				
Jan.	F. Champneys	H. E. Burgess	F. W. Goodwyn	J. A. Budgett C. S. Shepherd F. C. Coxhead
Oct.	H. E. Burgess	A. G. Rickards	V. K. Cooper	J. Longridge M. G. Farrer

	Captain.	*Secretary.*	*Treasurer.*	*Committee.*
1871	H. E. Burgess	M. G. Farrer	V. K. Cooper	T. W. McC. Bunbury
1872				
Jan.	M. G. Farrer	E. P. Rawnsley	H. A. Anderson	T. Stock
Oct.	,,	,,		J. P. Way
				F. D. Hunt
1873	M. G. Farrer	E. P. Rawnsley	J. P. Hunt	H. A. Anderson
				J. P. Way
				T. Stock
				G. G. Monck
Oct.	—	P. H. Coxe	H. N. Cunningham	E. P. Rawnsley
				F. D. Hunt
Nov.				W. L. White
				H. de V. Vane
1874				
Jan.	M. G. Farrer	P. H. Coxe	H. N. Cunningham	J. P. Way
				F. H. Hunt
				W. L. White
				H. de V. Vane
Oct.	H. W. Benson	,,	H. de V. Vane	H. N. Cunningham
				H. P. Marriott
1875				
May	J. P. Way	P. H. Coxe	H. de V. Vane	H. N. Cunningham
				W. L. White
				H. P. Marriott
				T. C. Edwards-Moss
Oct.	T. C. Edwards-Moss	H. P. Marriott	H. B. Roberts	A. A. Knollys
1876	T. C. Edwards-Moss	H. B. Roberts	H. M. Baily	A. A. Knollys
				H. B. Roberts
				A. J. Kayll
				H. D. Daunt
				A. Symonds
1877				
Feb.	T. C. Edwards-Moss	H. B. Marriott	H. M. Baily	H. D. Daunt
				A. A. Knollys
				A. J. Kayll
Apr.				A. Symonds
Oct.	H. D. Daunt	A. Symonds	J. K. Brooke	W. L. White
			J. G. Bruce	J. G. Bruce
				T. C. T. Warner
				L. S. Tristram
1878	H. D. Daunt	H. B. Marriott	J. G. Bruce	T. C. Edwards-Moss
				T. C. T. Warner
Oct.	R. H. J. Poole	,,	M. C. Pike	J. K. Brooke
				R. H. J. Poole
				A. McN. Campbell
				T. G. Gardiner

	Captain.	*Secretary.*	*Treasurer.*	*Committee.*
1879				
Jan.	R. H. J. Poole	T. C. T. Warner	T. G. Gardiner	A. McN. Campbell N. ff. Eckersley E. R. Turton G. H. E. Smith
Oct.	„			P. A. Newton
1880	R. H. J. Poole	A. McN. Campbell	T. G. Gardiner	P. A. Newton F. N. Thicknesse A. O. M. Mackenzie R. A. Baillie
Oct.	R. A. Baillie	„	A. O. M. Mackenzie	
1881				
Jan.	R. A. Baillie	A. W. Arkle	A. O. M. Mackenzie	R. H. J. Poole A. McN. Campbell S. Dugdale R. Lodge
Oct.	„	„	R. Lodge	A. O. M. Mackenzie E. L. Puxley
1882				
Jan.	R. A. Baillie	A. W. Arkle	R. Lodge	H. S. Barton A. O. M. Mackenzie S. Dugdale E. L. Puxley
Mar.	A. W. Arkle	E. L. Puxley	„	A. E. Du Buisson
Oct.	„	„	„	G. R. Askwith P. Gowlland
1883				
Oct.	P. Gowlland	E. L. Puxley	R. Lodge	G. R. Askwith E. J. Humphreys J. H. Ware R. H. Rhodes
1884	P. Y. Gowlland			
1885	J. H. Ware			
1886	J. H. Ware			
1887	G. E. Rhodes			
1888				
May	G. E. Rhodes	L. Frere	R. Lodge	W. F. C. Holland E. F. Macpherson H. R. Parker
Oct.	„	C. W. Kent	„	F. Wilkinson C. S. Currie
1889	C. W. Kent	F. Wilkinson	R. Lodge	

	Captain.	*Secretary.*	*Treasurer.*	*Committee.*
1890				
May	F. Wilkinson	J. A. Ford	R. Lodge	P. M. Watkins W. H. Spurrier C. H. R. Horwood
1891				
Oct.	J. A. Ford	C. H. R. Horwood	R. Lodge	J. Hallward A. B. Nutter H. E. L. Puxley
1892				
Jan.	J. A. Ford	J. Hallward	F. J. Wylie	A. B. Nutter H. E. L. Puxley
Oct.	,,	,,		A. B. Nutter H. E. L. Puxley
1893				
May	J. A. Ford	J. Hallward	,,	
Oct.	A. B. Nutter	W. B. Stewart		
1894[1]				
Oct.	W. B. Stewart	R. B. Pearson	,,	
1895				
1896	J. H. Preston J. Taylor	L. H. Fripp	,,	
1897	J. Taylor	H. C. du Vallon	,,	
1898	H. C. de J. du Vallon	W. M. Bouch	,,	
1899	W. M. Bouch	H. C. Brocklehurst	,,	
1900	H. C. de J. du Vallon	W. A. Fiddian	,,	

[1] In May, 1894, 'it was decided not to elect a Committee owing to the uncertainty of the Exams.'

No Boat Club Committee appears again, its functions probably being taken over by the Amalgamated Club Committee, which was established somewhere about this time.

APPENDIX II

CREWS OF THE BRASENOSE EIGHT

[Black type indicates Head of the River.]

1827[1]

E. T. Leigh (*Bow*)
2. J. S. Birley
3. W. A. Price
4. J. Swainson
5. G. Mason
6. J. North
7. R. Entwistle
R. Congreve (*Str.*)
H. C. Partridge (*Cox.*)

1838

1. M. Holme[2]
2. J. C. Paxton
3. T. R. Smyth[3] (E. Rawnsley)
4. G. Sandbach
5. R. G. Walls
6. R. W. Lowry
7. R. Hale[4] (T. R. Smyth)
W. E. Buckley (*Str.*)
W. B. Garnett (*Steerer*)

1839

1. **J. W. Empson**
2. **R. W. Lowry**
3. **G. Meynell**
4. **W. E. Buckley**[5]
5. **R. G. Walls**
6. **W. Lea**
7. **J. C. Paxton**
G. Sandbach (*Str.*)
W. B. Garnett (*Steerer*)

1840

1. **H. Tindal (J. W. Empson)**
2. **R. W. Lowry (G. Sandbach, S. Clowes)**
3. **J. C. Paxton (S. Clowes)**
4. **E. Royds**
5. **R. G. Walls**
6. **W. Lea**
7. **G. Meynell (H. Tindal)**
8. **J. J. T. Somers-Cocks**
W. B. Garnett[6] (*Steerer*)
(M. H. S. Champneys)

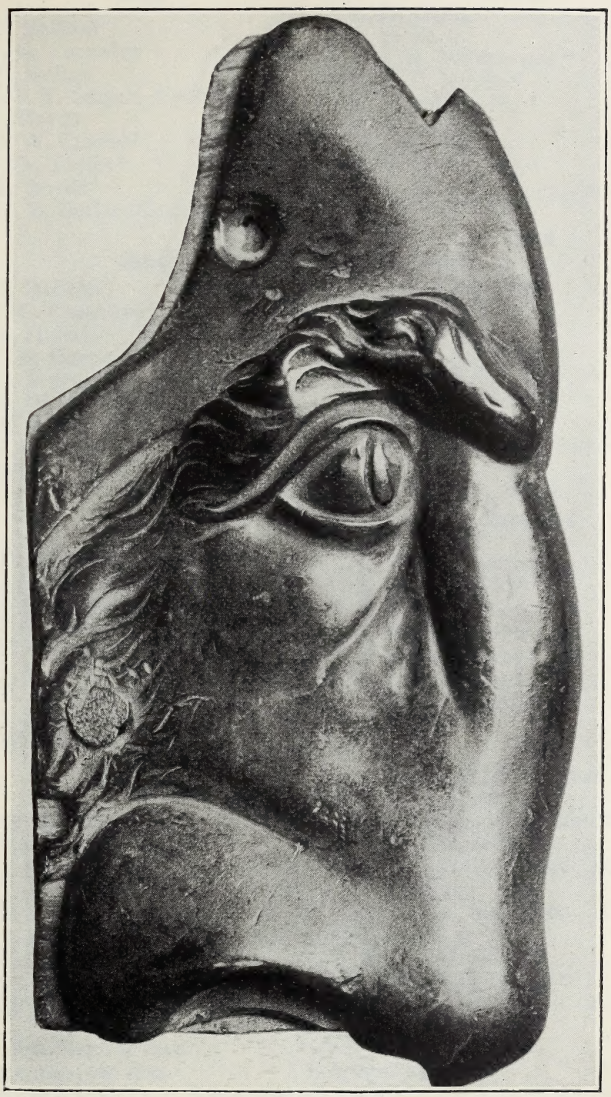
1841

1. H. Tindal
2. W. H. Harrison (J. Royds)
3. R. G. Walls[7] (J. Randolph)
4. E. Royds
5. W. E. Buckley[8] (R. G. Walls)
6. W. Lea
7. G. Meynell
J. J. T. Somers-Cocks (*Str.*)
M. H. S. Champneys[9] (*Steerer*)

1842

1. T. Hullah
2. J. G. Cazenove
3.
4. W. G. Bradley[10]
5. J. C. W. Edwardes
6. C. B. Jackson
7. E. Royds
8. H. Dumbleton

[1] Sherwood. [2] B.A. 1836. [3] B.A. May 25, 1838. [4] B.A. June 2, 1838. [5] B.A. May 10, 1839. [6] B.A. June 6, 1840. [7] B.A. 1841. [8] Fellow, 1840; see 1839 note. [9] M.A. 1841. [10] B.A. May 18, 1842.



The Old Nose which used to be affixed to the bow of the Eight

1843

1. T. Balston
2. J. G. Cazenove
3. T. Hullah
4. J. J. T. Somers-Cocks [1]
5. J. Royds
6. S. W. Clowes [2]
7. J. O. Taylor [3]
8. E. Royds [4]
   H. E. Butler (*Cox.*)

1844

1. T. Balston
2. J. G. Cazenove [5]
3. T. Hullah
4. J. P. Harris
5. G. Meynell [6]
6. T. W. Nowell
7. E. Royds [7]
8. F. E. Tuke
   W. Harvey (*Cox.*)

1845

1. **T. Balston** [8]
2. **J. G. Cazenove** [9]
3. **J. H. Wodehouse**
4. **F. E. Tuke**
5. **F. C. Royds**
6. **J. E. Severne**
7. **T. W. Nowell**
8. **J. P. Harris** [10]
   W. Harvey (*Cox.*)

1846

1. **W. H. Midgeley**
2. **W. H. Merriman** [11]
3. **J. Oldham**
4. **J. A. Ogle** [12]
5. **F. C. Royds**
6. **J. E. Severne**
7. **G. R. Winter**
8. **T. W. Nowell**
   W. Harvey [13] (*Cox.*)

1847

1. D. Jones
2. P. Earle
3. J. H. Wodehouse [14]
4. F. C. Royds [15]
5. J. Oldham [16]
6. R. Smith
7. G. R. Winter
8. T. W. Nowell [17]
   R. H. Knight (*Cox.*)

1848

1. D. Jones
2. J. L. Errington
3. A. P. P. Cust
4. H. Temple
5. R. R. Kewley
6. R. B. Willis
7. I. G. Smith
8. G. R. Winter
   R. H. Knight [18] (*Cox.*)

1849

1. W. P. S. Stanhope
2. P. Earle [19]
3. W. W. Townsend
4. R. B. Willis [20]
5. G. W. Latham
6. W. Houghton
7. R. R. Kewley
8. J. L. Errington
   R. H. Knight [21] (*Cox.*)

1850

1. G. Irlam (did not row last night)
2. P. H. Moore
3. R. Greenall (K. Prescot 3 nights)
4. J. C. Egerton
5. W. W. Townsend (Barton Sen. 3 nights)
6. J. L. Errington (Townsend rowed 3)
7. J. J. Hornby [22]
   W. Houghton (*Str.*)
   R. H. Knight [23] (*Cox.*)

[1] B.A. May 18, 1843. [2] B.A. June 3, 1843. [3] B.A. 1840.
[4] B.A. Nov. 10, 1842. [5] B.A. Nov. 23, 1843. [6] B.A. 1842.
[7] See 1843 note. [8] B.A. Oct. 28, 1844. [9] B.A. 1843. [10] B.A. April 24, 1845. [11] B.A. May 14, 1846. [12] B.A. May 14, 1846.
[13] B.A. Oct. 10, 1845. [14] B.A. 1846. [15] B.A. April 22, 1847.
[16] B.A. April 29, 1847. [17] B.A. May 30, 1846. [18] B.A. Oct. 21, 1847.
[19] B.A. May 10, 1849. [20] B.A. May 10, 1849. [21] See 1848 note.
[22] B.A. and Fellow, 1849. [23] See 1848 note.

1851

1. O. K. Prescot[1]
2. S. G. Payne (P. H. Moore last
3. J. Y. Barton [night)
4. W. Houghton[2] [3 nights)
5. J. J. Hornby[3] (C. J. Wood first
6. J. L. Errington[4] (*Capt.*)
7. K. Prescot
   R. Greenall (*Str.*)
   F. St. J. Balguy (*Cox.*)

1852

1. **O. K. Prescot**[5]
2. **W. L. Williams**
3. **P. H. Moore**
4. **J. Worthington**
5. **J. J. Hornby**[6]
6. **W. Houghton**[7]
7. **K. Prescot**
   R. Greenall[8] (*Str.*)
   F. St. J. Balguy[9] (*Cox.*)

1853

1. **R. Dawson**
2. **W. L. Williams**
3. **G. S. Elliott**
4. **A. W. H. Langford**
5. **J. C. Egerton**[10]
6. **J. E. Codrington**
7. **P. H. Moore**[11]
   K. Prescot[12] (*Str.*)
   G. Mallory (*Cox.*)

1854

1. **W. K. Macrorie**[13]
2. **T. H. Pain**[14]
3. **E. M. Webster**
4. **C. W. Sergison**
5. **J. C. Egerton**[15]
6. **A. W. H. Langford**
7. **G. S. Elliott**
   J. E. Codrington (*Str.*)
   W. L. Williams (*Cox.*)

1855

	st.	*lb.*
1. E. Mather	9	5
2. T. H. Pain[16] (E. M. Webster, 3 nights)		
3. S. Wimbush[17]	10	3
4. S. H. Reynolds[18]	13	2
5. E. C. Maclure	11	10
6. F. R. Bryans	11	3
7. J. Rogers	11	3

J. E. Codrington (*Str.*)
W. L. Williams (*Cox.*)

1856

A[19]

1. A. L. Willett
2. E. Mather
3. S. York
4. H. D. Moore
5. G. M. Bell
6. S. Wimbush
7. J. Rogers
8. F. R. Bryans
   H. E. Butler (*Cox.*)

B

1. S. York
2. E. Mather
3. S. Wimbush
4. A. W. H. Langford
5. G. M. Bell
6. F. R. Bryans
7. J. Rogers
   J. E. Codrington (*Str.*)
   H. E. Butler (*Cox.*)

1857

1. H. Wace
2. T. B. Shaw-Hellier
3. J. G. P. Hughes
4. S. H. Reynolds[20]
5. G. M. Bell
6. F. R. Bryans
7. J. Rogers[21]
   A. L. Willett (*Str.*)
   E. Mather (*Cox.*) (J. E. Codrington for 1 night.)

[1] B.A. May 22, 1851. [2] B.A. Nov. 14, 1850. [3] See 1850 note. [4] B.A. May 22, 1851. [5] See 1851 note. [6] M.A. June 12, 1851; see 1850 note. [7] See 1850 note. [8] B.A. May 5, 1852. [9] B.A. May 13, 1852. [10] B.A. 1852. [11] B.A. 1852. [12] B.A. 1852. [13] B.A. 1852. [14] B.A. 1853. [15] See 1853 note. [16] S. Wimbush (No. 2). [17] W. Morshead (No. 3). [18] B.A. 1854 and Fellow Feb. 2, 1855.

[19] The Crew rowed the first night as (A), then Messrs. Codrington and Langford came up and the crew rowed as (B).

[20] M.A. May 7, 1857; see 1855 note. [21] B.A. Nov. 27, 1856.

1858

1. R. B. Leach[1]
2. C. W. Prescot
3. T. B. Shaw-Hellier
4. H. F. Baxter
5. J. G. P. Hughes
6. F. R. Bryans
7. J. Rogers[2]

A. L. Willett (*Str.*)
W. L. Williams[3] (*Cox.*)

1859

	st.	lb.
1. W. B. Woodgate	9	10
2. R. B. Leach	9	4
3. J. B. Orme	10	5
4. C. S. Coldwell	10	6
5. W. Champneys	11	11
6. F. G. Blackburne	9	7
7. E. A. Hayward	10	0
H. F. Baxter (*Str.*)	11	3
C. I. Parkin (*Cox.*)	7	12

1860

1. E. J. Townley	9	12
2. J. Brown (five nights)	10	0
3. C. S. Coldwell (J. B. Orme four nights)	11	1
4. J. F. S. Vavasour	10	10
5. W. Champneys	10	12
6. C. W. Prescot	10	8
7. W. B. Woodgate	10	9
H. F. Baxter (*Str.*)	11	6
C. I. Parkin (*Cox.*)	8	2

1861

1. W. T. Burges	10	0
2. J. Brown	10	0
3. S. R. Coxe	10	12
4. J. F. S. Vavasour	10	8
5. R. Shepherd	11	0
6. W. B. Woodgate (first two nights W. C. Harris)	11	4
7. W. Champneys	11	0
W. C. Harris (*Str.*) (first two nights R. B. Leach)	10	8
C. I. Parkin (*Cox.*)	8	2

1862

	st.	lb.
1. W. C. Harris	10	9
2. W. T Burges	10	2
3. D. L. Landale	11	3
4. R. T. Whittington	11	9
5. S. E. Illingworth	11	3
6. R. Shepherd	11	0
7. W. Champneys[4]	11	0
W. B. Woodgate (*Str.*)	11	4
C. I. Parkin[5] (*Cox.*)		

1863

1. W. T. Burges	10	6
2. W. C. Harris	11	0
3. S. R. Coxe	11	3
4. D. Pocklington	11	3
5. S. E. Illingworth	11	6
6. A. J. Richards	10	6
7. R. Shepherd	11	6
W. B. Woodgate (*Str.*)	11	9
F. J. Huyshe (*Cox.*)	9	0

1864

1. W. C. Harris[6]	10	12
2. A. J. Richards	10	4
3. G. E. Gardiner	11	0
4. W. B. Woodgate[7]	11	13
5. S. E. Illingworth	11	8
6. D. Pocklington[8]	11	8
7. S. R. Coxe	11	4
R. Shepherd (*Str.*)	11	8
C. Thompson (*Cox.*)	7	12

For the first four races A. Shepherd rowed 2, and Richards 6.

1865

1. **P. A. Latham**	10	7
2. **A. J. Richards**	10	7
3. **R. F. Rumsey**	11	10
4. **J. Rickaby**	11	2
5. **S. R. Coxe**[9]	11	7
6. **W. B. Woodgate**[10]	11	12
7. **S. E. Illingworth**	11	7
A. Shepherd (*Str.*)	10	9
C. Thompson (*Cox.*)	8	0

For half the races Richards rowed 6 and J. P. Law (10 st. 1 lb.) rowed 2.

[1] 1. C. W. Prescot; 2. R. B. Leach; 6. J. Rogers; 7. F. R. Bryans.
[2] See 1857 note. [3] B.A. 1855. [4] B.A. Dec. 5, 1861. [5] B.A. Dec. 12, 1861. [6] B.A. Feb. 6, 1864. [7] B.A. June 17, 1863. [8] B.A. Dec. 10, 1863. [9] B.A. May 26, 1864. [10] See 1864 note.

1866

		st.	lb.
1.	**K. M. Pughe**[1]	11	1
2.	**R. S. Lea**	10	10
3.	**W. C. Crofts**	11	2
4.	**F. Crowder**	11	9
5.	**E. P. Garnett**	12	4
6.	**D. Pocklington**[2] (*Str.* for three nights)	11	13
7.	**R. F. Rumsey**	12	1
	A. Shepherd (*Str.* for three nights)	11	0
	W. A. Fanning (*Cox.*)	9	2

1867

1.	**R. S. Lea**	10	7
2.	**J. P. Law**	10	2
3.	**R. F. Rumsey**[3]	12	2
4.	**E. P. Garnett**	12	4
5.	**W. C. Crofts**	11	1
6.	**F. Crowder**	11	9
7.	**W. B. Woodgate**[4]	11	11
	A. Shepherd (*Str.*)	11	9
	J. A. Budgett (*Cox.*)	8	4

1868

1. R. S. Lea
2. J. P. Law
3. C. Entwistle[5]
4. E. P. Garnett
5. R. F. Rumsey[6]
6. W. C. Crofts
7. F. H. Champneys

A. Shepherd[7] (*Str.*)
J. A. Budgett (*Cox.*)

1869

		st.	lb.
1.	F. Champneys	10	13
2.	R. James	11	0
3.	C. S. Shepherd	11	12
4.	F. C. Coxhead	12	13
5.	A. G. Rickards	11	9
6.	F. W. Goodwyn	11	10
7.	H. E. Burges	11	12
	W. C. Crofts (*Str.*)[8]	11	3
	J. Longridge (*Cox.*)	8	4

1870

1. V. K. Cooper
2. R. James
3. M. G. Farrer
4. F. C. Coxhead
5. A. G. Rickards
6. F. W. Goodwyn
7. H. E. Burgess

F. H. Champneys (*Str.*)
J. Longridge (*Cox.*)

1871

1. V. K. Cooper
2. H. A. Anderson
3. G. G. Monck
4. F. W. Goodwyn
5. M. G. Farrer
6. T. Stock (F. H. Champneys last four nights)
7. H. E. Burgess

Str. J. W. McC. Bunbury
J. Longridge (*Cox.*)

1872

		st.	lb.
1.	F. D. Hunt	10	13
2.	H. A. Anderson	10	10
3.	R. C. Freeman	10	8
4.	G. G. Monck	11	12
5.	A. G. Rickards[9]	12	6
6.	T. Stock	10	6
7.	M. G. Farrer	12	2
Str.	J. P. Way	10	7
	J. Longridge (*Cox.*)	8	2

1873

		st.	lb.
Str.	J. P. Way	10	8
7.	R. C. Freeman	10	10
6.	T. Stock	10	9
5.	M. G. Farrer	12	5
4.	G. G. Monck[10]	11	7
3.	F. D. Hunt	11	2
2.	A. S. Garnett-Botfield	11	6
1.	H. de V. Vane	9	6
	C. Utermarck (*Cox.*)	7	12

[1] B.A. 1865. [2] See 1864 note. [3] B.A. June 21, 1866. [4] See 1864 note. [5] 3. R. F. Rumsey; 5. C. Entwistle. [6] See 1867 note. [7] B.A. June 27, 1867. [8] B.A. Dec. 10, 1868. [9] B.A. Feb. 8, 1872. [10] B.A. Oct. 10, 1872.

1874

		st.	lb.
Bow	P. H. Coxe	11	5
2.	W. B. Hornby	11	5¼
3.	H. W. Benson	11	3
4.	H. P. Marriott	11	10
5.	H. N. Cunningham	11	13
6.	W. L. White	11	9
7.	M. G. Farrer	12	0
Str.	J. P. Way[1]	10	11
	A. Inkersley (*Cox.*)	8	6

1875

Bow	H. De V. Vane	10	0
2.	A. J. Kayll	11	7
3.	P. H. Coxe	11	10
4.	H. P. Marriott	11	13
5.	H. N. Cunningham	11	13
6.	W. L. White	11	12
7.	T. C. Edwards-Moss	12	8
Str.	J. P. Way[2]	10	11
	H. M. Bailey (*Cox.*)	9	0

For the first five races Marriott rowed 6 and White 4.

1876

Bow	**A. Symonds**	10	13
2.	**A. A. Knollys**[3]	11	1½
3.	**H. D. Daunt**	11	7
4.	**A. J. Kayll**	11	9
5.	**P. H. Coxe**	12	2
6.	**W. L. White**	11	11
7.	**T. C. Edwards-Moss**	12	3
Str.	**H. P. Marriott**	12	1
	H. M. Baily (*Cox.*)	9	3½

1877

Bow	T. C. T. Warner	10	3½
2.	A. A. Knollys[4]	11	2
3.	J. K. Brooke	10	6
4.	W. L. White	11	6½
5.	A. J. Kayll	11	8½
6.	A. Symonds	10	10
7.	T. C. Edwards-Moss	12	7½
Str.	H. P. Marriott	12	2
	A. C. King (*Cox.*)	8	11

For the first two races H. M. Baily (9 st. 7 lb.) rowed *Bow*, Warner 2, and Knollys 4.

1878

		st.	lb.
Bow	T. C. T. Warner	10	8
2.	M. C. Pike	10	13
3.	T. G. Gardiner	11	7
4.	H. P. Marriott	12	4
5.	T. C. Edwards-Moss	12	6
6.	H. D. Daunt	11	5
7.	R. H. J. Poole	10	6
Str.	J. G. Bruce	10	4½
	A. W. M. Weatherly (*Cox.*)	8	3

On the fourth night Edwards-Moss rowed 3, Gardiner 5. On the fifth night Edwards-Moss rowed 7, Marriott 6, Poole 5, Daunt 4, and Gardiner 5.

1879

Bow	R. H. J. Poole	10	8½
2.	F. N. Thicknesse	11	5
3.	G. H. E. Smith	10	7
4.	P. A. Newton	12	1
5.	R. A. Baillie	11	12
6.	J. G. Bruce	10	2
7.	T. G. Gardiner	11	12
Str.	T. C. T. Warner	10	11
	A. W. M. Weatherly (*Cox.*)	8	4

On the last two nights G. Longridge steered.

1880

Bow	G. F. Bassett	11	4
2.	A. W. Arkle	10	6½
3.	T. G. Gardiner	11	7
4.	P. A. Newton	12	2
5.	R. A. Baillie	11	12
6.	F. N. Thicknesse	11	6
7.	R. H. J. Poole	10	12
Str.	A. McN. Campbell	10	2
	G. Longridge (*Cox.*)	9	4

On the fourth night B. H. Barton (10 st. 1 lb.) rowed *Bow*, Bassett 3, and Gardiner 5.

[1] B.A. April 23, 1874. [2] See 1874 note. [3] B.A. 1875. [4] See 1876 note.

1881

		st.	lb.
Bow	A. McN. Campbell[1]	10	6⅓
2.	A. W. Arkle	10	10⅔
3.	S. Dugdale	11	2½
4.	A. O. M. Mackenzie	12	1¾
5.	R. A. Baillie	12	3
6.	E. L. Puxley	13	0
7.	R. H. J. Poole	10	13
Str.	H. S. Barton	10	4¼
	G. Longridge (*Cox.*)	9	0

1882

1.	A. E. Dubuisson	10	1
2.	H. S. Barton	10	12
3.	A. McN. Campbell[2]	10	7
4.	A. W. Arkle	10	12
5.	R. A. Baillie	12	4
6.	A. O. M. Mackenzie	12	2
7.	E. L. Puxley	12	7
Str.	P. Y. Gowlland	10	8
	F. J. Humphreys (*Cox.*)	7	10

1883

1. E. H. Good
2. H. S. Barton
3. J. Reade
4. G. R. Askwith
5. J. H. Ware
6. E. L. Puxley
7. A. W. Arkle
8. P. Y. Gowlland

F. J. Humphreys (*Cox.*)

1884

1.	E. H. Good	
2.	R. H. Rhodes	
3.	G. R. Askwith	
4.	E. Milliken	
5.	J. H. Ware	
6.	E. L. Puxley	
7.	J. Reade[3]	
Str.	P. Y. Gowlland	
	F. J. Humphreys (*Cox.*)	

1885

1.	E. H. Good
2.	C. Child
3.	J. Methuen
4.	G. E. Rhodes
5.	J. H. Ware
6.	H. Gordon Watson
7.	R. H. Rhodes
Str.	H. R. Parker
	F. J. Humphreys (*Cox.*)

[1] B.A. May 5, 1881.

[2] See 1881 note.

1886

1.	H. V. Nixon
2.	W. H. Loraine
3.	E. F. Macpherson
4.	G. E. Rhodes
5.	J. Methuen
6.	H. R. Parker
7.	W. F. C. Holland
Str.	L. Frere
	J. A. Dun (*Cox.*)

1887

1.	A. W. Ormond
2.	C. H. Mellen
3.	G. E. Rhodes
4.	E. F. Macpherson
5.	H. B. Martin
6.	H. R. Parker
7.	W. F. C. Holland
Str.	L. Frere
	J. A. Dun (*Cox.*)

1888

		st.	lb.
1.	F. L. L. Puxley	10	4
2.	C. W. Kent	10	5
3.	G. E. Rhodes	12	3
4.	J. M. Barbour	11	4
5.	F. Wilkinson	13	9
6.	H. R. Parker	13	5
7.	W. F. C. Holland	10	11
Str.	L. Frere	10	0
	L. S. Williams (*Cox.*)	7	6

1889

1.	**F. L. L. Puxley**	10	6
2.	**J. A. Ford**	10	11
3.	**C. E. Tristram**	10	4
4.	**G. E. Rhodes**	12	3
5.	**F. Wilkinson**	13	6
6.	**J. M. Barbour**[4]	11	3
7.	**W. F. C. Holland**	10	10
Str.	**C. W. Kent**	10	8
	L. S. Williams (*Cox.*)	7	12

1890

1.	**H. E. L. Puxley**	9	10
2.	**C. H. R. Horwood**	10	12
3.	**C. H. Hodgson**	10	8
4.	**J. Hallward**	12	1
5.	**W. A. Leith**	12	10
6.	**J. A. Ford**	11	5
7.	**F. Wilkinson**	13	8
Str.	**C. W. Kent**	10	10
	L. S. Williams (*Cox.*)	8	0

[3] B.A. May 5, 1884.

[4] B.A. June 14, 1888.

1891

		st.	lb.
1.	**H. E. L. Puxley**	10	1
2.	**C. H. R. Horwood**	11	10
3.	**F. W. Owen**	13	13
4.	**A. B. Nutter**	12	1½
5.	**J. Hallward**	12	12½
6.	**J. A. Ford**	11	8
7.	**F. Wilkinson**	13	10
Str.	**C. H. Hodgson**	10	8
	L. S. Williams (*Cox.*)	8	0

1892

1. H. E. L. Puxley
2. G. W. Halcomb
3. A. J. Morris
4. J. Hallward
5. W. B. Stewart
6. J. A. Ford
7. F. Wilkinson

Str. H. J. H. Irish
E. Edwards (*Cox.*)

N.B.—*Str.* and 6 changed places for the last three nights.

1893

		st.	lb.
1.	H. E. L. Puxley	9	13
2.	J. D. Graham	11	7
3.	H. J. H. Irish	11	2
4.	A. B. Nutter	12	4
5.	W. B. Stewart	13	2
6.	J. A. Ford	11	13
7.	T. O. Lloyd	11	2
Str.	J. S. Porter	12	1
	H. H. Gairdner (*Cox.*)	8	0

1894

		st.	lb.
1.	E. D. Sidgwick	11	2
2.	J. D. Graham	11	11
3.	J. L. Rushton	11	6
4.	R. B. Pearson	13	7
5.	W. B. Stewart	13	6
6.	A. B. Nutter[1]	12	7
7.	T. O. Lloyd	11	8
Str.	J. S. Porter	12	3
	H. H. Gairdner (*Cox.*)	8	2

1895

		st.	lb.
Bow	J. Taylor	10	1
2.	C. J. Astbury	10	2
3.	E. D. Sidgwick	11	5
4.	H. W. Ellwood	11	12
5.	J. L. Rushton	11	6
6.	R. B. Pearson	13	8
7.	W. B. Stewart	13	5
Str.	J. D. Graham	11	6
	H. R. K. Pechell (*Cox.*)	8	3

1896

		st.	lb.
Bow	J. H. Preston	10	0
2.	C. J. Astbury	10	12½
3.	C. F. Payne	11	3
4.	A. C. Allnutt	11	8
5.	H. F. Chamberlayne	11	7
6.	A. J. Sargent	11	8
7.	L. H. Fripp	12	1
Str.	R. C. Wallroth	11	6
	H. R. K. Pechell (*Cox.*)	8	1

1897

		st.	lb.
Bow	J. Taylor	10	4
2.	R. C. Wallroth	11	8
3.	C. F. Payne	11	1
4.	A. C. Allnutt	11	9
5.	L. H. Fripp[2]	12	3
6.	H. C. de J. du Vallon	11	12
7.	A. L. Davis	11	3
Str.	J. H. Preston	10	0
	H. R. K. Pechell (*Cox.*)	8	4

1898

		st.	lb.
Bow	R. C. Lea	10	6
2.	R. C. Wallroth	11	10
3.	C. F. Payne[3]	11	5
4.	T. T. Blyth	13	0
5.	W. M. Bouch	12	6
6.	H. C. de J. du Vallon	12	5
7	H. C. Brocklehurst	9	11
Str.	A. K. Tyrer	9	6
	H. R. K. Pechell (*Cox.*)	8	5

[1] B.A. 1893. [2] B.A. 1896. [3] B.A. 1897.

	1899	st.	lb.
Bow	J. Taylor	10	4
2.	H. C. Lea	10	5
3.	R. Brown	11	9
4.	C. H. P. Lamond	10	8
5.	K. T. Frost	11	6
6.	J. K. Lancashire	10	13
7	H. C. Brocklehurst	9	12
Str.	H. G. Baker Cresswell	10	7
	G. S. Croshaw [1] (*Cox.*)	8	2

	1900	st.	lb.
Bow	F. W. Partridge	9	7
2.	L. C. Bromley	10	8
3.	S. E. Stinton [2]	10	9
4.	C. H. P. Lamont [3]	10	7
5.	W. A. Fiddian	11	10
6.	H. C. de J. du Vallon	12	7
7.	J. E. Lancashire [4]	10	9
Str.	H. C. Brocklehurst [5]	10	2
	G. S. Croshaw [6] (*Cox.*)	8	5

[1] B.A. 1898. [2] B.A. 1899. [3] B.A. 1899. [4] B.A. 1899.
[5] B.A. 1899. [6] See 1899 note.

APPENDIX III

CREWS OF THE BRASENOSE TORPIDS

[Black type indicates Head of the River.]

1839

Bow H. Tindal
2. D. Rawnsley
3. E. Garbett
4. H. O. Holmes
5. J. O. Taylor
6. G. Antrobus
7. T. Jackson
Str. J. Gordon
M. H. S. Champneys (*Cox.*)

1850

Bow **R. Dawson**
2. **O. K. Prescot**
3. **W. J. Williams**
4. **C. J. Wood**
5. **J. Y. Barton**
6. **S. G. Payne**
7. **K. Prescot**
Str. **R. Greenall**
F. St. J. Balguy (*Cox.*)

1851

Bow **W. A. Nowell**
2. **W. K. Macrorie**
3. **F. G. Newbold**
4. **J. Worthington**
5. **J. C. Egerton**
6. **P. H. Moore** (**C. J. Wood** for one night)
7. **E. P. Nicholl**
Str. **W. J. Williams**
O. K. Prescot (*Cox.*)

1852

Bow **W. K. Macrorie**
2. **A. T. Atwood**
3. **E. P. Nicholl**
4. **A. W. H. Langford**
5. **J. C. Egerton**
6. **J. Worthington**
7. **P. H. Moore**
Str. **W. J. Williams**
O. K. Prescot } (*Cox.*)
Hornby }

1853

Bow **C. Knipe**
2. **E. M. Webster**
3. **G. S. Elliot**
4. **D. R. Fidler**
5. **J. C. Egerton**
6. **J. E. Codrington**
7. **T. W. Mills**
Str. **A. W. H. Langford**
F. Pott (*Cox.*)

1854

Bow F. B. Dickinson
2. T. H. Pain
3. W. K. Macrorie
4. T. W. Mills
5. C. W. Sergison
6. E. Green
7. C. Knipe
Str. E. M. Webster
W. L. Williams (*Cox.*)

1855

Bow E. Mather
2. H. E. Butler
3. S. York
4. T. G. Edmondson
5. E. G. Maclure
6. F. R. Bryans
7. S. Wimbush
Str. J. Rogers
J. Clough (*Cox.*)

1856

		st.	*lb.*
Bow	T. W. Kidd	8	7
2.	A. L. Willett	9	3
3.	B. Lambert		
4.	C. R. Tollemache		
5.	H. D. Moore	10	7
6.	G. M. Bell		
7.	H. Heigham	9	5
Str.	S. York	10	4
	H. E. Butler (*Cox.*)		

1857

Bow	W. Berkeley (only rowed two nights, Dawson one, Clough three)
2.	R. B. Leach
3.	H. Wace
4.	T. B. Shaw-Hellier
5.	B. Lambert
6.	S. H. Reynolds[1]
7.	J. G. P. Hughes
Str.	A. L. Willett
	J. Clough (*Cox.*) (three nights, W. L. Williams[2] one, J. E. Codrington[3] two).

1858

Bow	R. W. Cullen
2.	H. P. W. Freeman
3.	O. de L. Baldwin
4.	E. A. Hayward
5.	C. S. Coldwell
6.	C. W. Prescot
7.	H. F. Baxter
Str.	R. B. Leach
	W. Berkeley (*Cox.*)

1859

Bow	O. de L. Baldwin
2.	W. B. Woodgate
3.	E. J. Townley
4.	C. S. Coldwell
5.	W. Champneys
6.	J. F. S. Vavasour
7.	E. A. Hayward
Str.	F. G. Blackburne
	C. I. Parkin (*Cox.*)

1860

		st.	*lb.*
Bow	P. W. Freeman	9	9½
2.	C. Horwood	10	13½
3.	C. H. Norwood	10	1
4.	C. W. Prescot	10	9
5.	S. J. Phillips	12	9
6.	J. F. S. Vavasour	11	0
7.	E. J. Townley	9	13
Str.	J. Brown	10	1½
	R. B. Leach (*Cox.*)		
	W. Berkeley (*Cox.* first four nights)	9	13

1861

		st.	*lb.*
Bow	**F. J. Huyshe**	8	11
2.	**W. T. Burges**	10	0
3.	**R. Shepherd**	11	2
4.	**R. T. Whittington**	10	13
5.	**W. C. Harris**	10	6½
6.	**D. Pocklington**	10	7
7.	**S. R. Coxe**	10	12
Str.	**F. G. Blackburne**	9	8
	R. B. Leach (*Cox.*)[4]	9	8

1862

Bow	**A. M. Lipscomb**	10	2
2.	**E. Smith**	10	2
3.	**G. E. Gardiner**	10	11
4.	**R. T. Whittington**	12	1
5.	**S. E. Illingworth**	11	4
6.	**D. Pocklington**	10	9
7.	**D. L. Landale**	11	0
Str.	**H. Garnett**	10	6
	R. B. Leach[5] (*Cox.*)	9	7

1863

Bow	P. A. Latham	9	12
2.	E. Smith	10	2
3.	R. F. Rumsey	11	8
4.	H. Knight	10	6
5.	G. E. Gardiner	10	12
6.	D. Pocklington	11	5
7.	S. R. Coxe	11	2
Str.	A. J. Richards	11	6
	F. J. Huyshe (*Cox.*)	9	0

1864

Bow	P. A. Latham	10	2
2.	A. Shepherd	10	4
3.	L. Garnett	10	2
4.	R. T. Whittington	12	0
5.	R. W. Pound	14	0
6.	R. F. Rumsey	11	7
7.	G. E. Gardiner	10	12
Str.	F. J. Huyshe	8	13
	C. Thompson (*Cox.*)	7	12

1865

Bow	F. J. Huyshe[6]
2.	J. Rickaby
3.	K. M. Pughe
4.	F. Crowder
5.	R. F. Rumsey
6.	E. P. Garnett
7.	P. A. Latham
Str.	J. P. Law
	H. F. Johnson (*Cox.*)

[1] Fellow, 1855. [2] B.A. 1855. [3] B.A. 1856. [4] B.A. 1859.
[5] See 1861 note. [6] B.A. 1864.

1866

Bow	**L. Garnett**[1] (rowed 3 for four
2.	**A. Nash** [days)
3.	**K. M. Pughe**[2] (rowed 7 for
4.	**W. C. Crofts** [four days)
5.	**E. P. Garnett**
6.	**D. Pocklington**[5]
7.	**G. E. Gardiner**[4]
Str.	**F. J. Huyshe**[5]
	W. A. Fanning (*Cox.*)

1867

		st.	*lb.*
Bow	P. Robins	9	2
2.	G. R. Sandbach		
3.	F. W. Miller[6]	10	5
4.	S. Matthews	10	5
5.	W. M. North	11	11
6.	A. Nash	10	7
7.	J. Rickaby	11	0
Str.	J. P. Law		
	J. A. Budgett (*Cox.*)		

1868

Bow	J. F. Hartley
2.	P. Robins
3.	F. W. Miller[7]
4.	C. C. Prichard
5.	C. Entwisle
6.	C. S. Shepherd
7.	F. H. Champneys
Str.	G. R. Sandbach
	F. E. Weatherly (*Cox.*)

1869

Bow	V. K. Cooper
2.	F. W. Goodwyn
3.	W. H. Hadow
4.	F. C. Coxhead
5.	A. G. Rickards
6.	C. C. Prichard[8]
7.	H. E. Burgess
Str.	R. James

1870

Bow	W. C. Furneaux
2.	F. Carter
3.	W. B. Brown
4.	S. E. Butler
5.	W. H. Hadow
6.	G. G. Monk
7.	V. K. Cooper
Str.	F. W. Dunn

1871

		st.	*lb.*
Bow	H. A. Anderson	10	10
2.	F. W. Dunn	9	11
3.	C. A. Wallroth	11	0
4.	A. S. Garnett-Botfield	11	1
5.	G. G. Monck	11	11½
6.	W. C. Furneaux	10	11½
7.	J. P. Way	10	0
Str.	T. Stock	10	4
	C. E. E. Williams (*Cox.*)	8	10

1872

Bow	R. C. Freeman	10	4
2.	W. A. Smith-Masters	10	12½
3.	F. D. Hunt	10	9
4.	W. B. Hornby	11	5
5.	H. N. Cunningham	11	11½
6.	A. S. Garnett-Botfield	11	1
7.	W. C. Furneaux	11	2
Str.	J. P. Way	10	6
	C. E. E. Williams (*Cox.*)	9	0

1873

Bow	P. H. Coxe
2.	A. W. A. Pollock
3.	W. L. White
4.	W. B. Hornby
5.	H. N. Cunningham
6.	C. A. Wallroth
7.	A. S. Garnett-Botfield
Str.	H. de V. Vane
	C. Utermarck (*Cox.*) 8 0

1874

Bow	**A. W. A. Pollock**	11	1
2.	**W. B. Hornby**	11	3½
3.	**A. A. Knollys**	10	12
4.	**H. P. Marriott**	11	13½
5.	**H. N. Cunningham**	12	1½
6.	**W. L. White**	11	8
7.	**P. H. Coxe**	11	3
Str.	**H. W. Benson**	11	7½
	A. Inkersley (*Cox.*)	8	5½

1875

Bow	**H. B. Roberts**	9	12
2.	**A. Symonds**	10	11
3.	**H. D. Daunt**	11	3
4.	**A. F. Leupolt**	10	13
5.	**C. F. Wright**	11	10
6.	**A. J. Kayll**	11	4
7.	**H. de V. Vane**	9	12
Str.	**A. A. Knollys**	10	13
	H. M. Baily (*Cox.*)	8	9

[1] B.A. 1865. [2] B.A. 1865. [3] B.A. 1863. [4] B.A. 1864.
[5] See 1865 note. [6] B.A. 1865. [7] See 1867 note. [8] B.A. Jan. 14, 1869.

	1876	st.	lb.
Bow	H. M. Baily	9	1¾
2.	A. F. Leupolt	11	2
3.	F. O. Harke	10	5
4.	A. Symonds	9	9½
5.	H. D. Daunt	11	4
6.	C. F. Wright	11	12
7.	H. B. Roberts	10	2
Str.	J. K. Brooke	10	1
	A. Inkersley (*Cox.*)	9	3

	1877	st.	lb.
Bow	F. V. Hornby	11	2
2	R. P. Willock	11	3¼
3.	G. H. E. Smith	10	7½
4.	L. S. B. Tristram	11	7
5.	A. G. McNish	12	0
6.	A. F. Leupolt	11	2½
7.	T. C. T. Warner	10	3
Str.	N. ff. Eckersley	11	0
	A. C. King (*Cox.*)	8	12½

	1878 *First Torpid.*	st.	lb.
Bow	A. McN. Campbell	10	2½
2.	M. C. Pike	10	13
3.	T. G. Gardiner	11	5
4.	F. Rohrweger	11	2
5.	E. R. Turton	11	3½
6.	H. D. Daunt	11	6
7.	R. H. J. Poole	10	5
Str.	J. G. Bruce	10	5½
	A. W. M. Weatherly (*Cox.*)	8	4½

Second Torpid.

Bow	B. H. Barton	10	1
2.	H. A. N. Smith	10	9
3.	F. N. Thicknesse	11	0
4.	F. W. Pym	11	6½
5.	N. ff. Eckersley	10	13
6.	G. S. Marriott	12	2½
7.	F. V. Hornby	11	1½
Str.	R. P. Willock	11	3
	E. S. Saurin (*Cox.*)	8	12½

	1879 *First Torpid.*	st.	lb.
Bow	G. F. Bassett	11	1¼
2.	R. P. Willock	11	4
3.	E. Jacob	11	2½
4.	P. A. Newton	11	9½
5.	R. Grey	11	7
6.	A. O. M. Mackenzie	11	6½
7.	F. N. Thicknesse	11	1
Str.	A. McN. Campbell	10	3½
	G. Longridge (*Cox.*)	9	0

Second Torpid.

Bow	H. E. Sharpe	9	8¾
2.	B. H. Barton	9	11
3.	G. V. Fiddes	10	4
4.	E. S. Marshall	10	12
5.	A. H. Heath	11	13
6.	J. H. B. Wollocombe	12	9½
7.	R. A. Baillie	11	5½
Str.	J. H. B. Rea	10	4¾
	T. C. T. Warner (*Cox.*)	10	10½

	1880 *First Torpid.*	st.	lb.
Bow	F. W. Hayes	11	1¼
2.	A. W. Arkle	10	10
3.	S. Dugdale	11	6
4.	W. B. Brown	13	1
5.	R. Gray	11	11
6.	R. P. Willock[1]	11	12
7.	G. F. Bassett	11	6¾
Str.	R. W. Byass	12	5
	J. G. Blencowe (*Cox.*)	9	0

Second Torpid.

Bow	W. A. Briscoe	9	5
2.	H. A. Martin	9	10
3.	A. E. Du Buisson	10	5
4.	K. J. Hough	10	6
5.	W. W. Gascoyne	12	9
6.	W. T. B. Hayter	11	12
7.	R. R. Rothwell	10	7¾
Str.	G. V. Fiddes	10	6¼
	A. McN. Campbell (*Cox.*)	10	7

	1881	st.	lb.
Bow	**A. E. Du Buisson**	10	4
2.	**G. R. Askwith**	12	0
3.	**J. P. C. Shrubb**	11	0
4.	**W. B. Brown**	12	5
5.	**S. Dugdale**	11	1
6.	**A. O. M. Mackenzie**	11	12
7.	**E. L. Puxley**	13	1
Str.	**H. S. Barton**	10	5
	F. W. Brooke (*Cox.*)	8	4

	1882	st.	lb.
Bow	R. H. Rhodes	10	8
2.	T. Hitchcock	11	2
3.	W. Scott	11	4
4.	R. Crossman	12	2
5.	J. Reade	11	9
6.	G. R. Askwith	12	3
7.	A. E. Du Buisson	10	1
Str.	P. Y. Gowlland	10	5
	F. J. Humphreys (*Cox.*)	7	6

[1] B.A. 1879.

1883

Bow	R. H. Rhodes	
2.	S. Lane	
3.	W. Scott	
4.	E. Milliken	
5.	J. H. Ware	
6.	G. Askwith	
7.	J. Reade	
Str.	E. H. Good	
	B. Melville (*Cox.*)	

1884 missing.

1885

Bow	A. R. Appach	
2.	F. S. K. Gregson	
3.	E. F. Macpherson	
4.	G. E. Rhodes	
5.	J. Methuen	
6.	H. R. Parker	
7.	H. G. Watson	
Str.	C. Child	
	H. Czarnikow (*Cox.*)	

1886

		st.	lb.
Bow	**D. L. Rhys**	9	6½
2.	**F. S. K. Gregson**	10	9½
3.	**W. V. Nixon**	10	9½
4.	**W. H. Loraine**	11	5
5.	**E. F. Macpherson**	11	7
6.	**A. R. Appach**	10	8
7.	**W. F. C. Holland**	10	10½
Str.	**L. Frere**	10	2
	J. A. Dun (*Cox.*)	9	0

1887

Bow	**A. W. Ormond**	9	9½
2.	**W. C. Kent**	10	9¼
3.	**D. L. Rhys**	9	8
4.	**C. S. Currie**	11	4
5.	**H. B. Martin**	12	4½
6.	**F. S. K. Gregson**	10	11½
7.	**P. M. Watkins**	10	8
Str.	**C. V. Mellen**	10	2½
	G.Cunningham(*Cox.*)	8	11½

1888

First Torpid.

Bow	**F. L. L. Puxley**	10	9
2.	**S. Fisher**	9	11
3.	**C. E. Tristram**	10	3
4.	**C. S. Currie**	11	1
5.	**F. Wilkinson**	13	12½
6.	**L. H. Grubb**	11	4
7.	**J. M. Barbour**	11	3
Str.	**W. C. Kent**	10	3
	A.W.Holyoak(*Cox.*)	8	2

Second Torpid.

		st.	lb.
Bow	C. H. Hodgson	10	12
2.	H. W. B. Harrison	10	6½
3.	C. Chichester	10	12
4.	F. H. B. Ellis	12	1
5.	W. H. M. Sinclair	13	2
6.	J. D. Boswell	13	13
7.	B. P. Browning	12	2
Str.	P. M. Watkins	11	1½
	L. S. Williams (*Cox.*)	7	8

1889

First Torpid.

Bow	**B. W. Bradford**	11	1
2.	**R. H. Tilney**	10	5
3.	**W. A. Leith**	12	3
4.	**C. Chichester**	10	0
5.	**W. H. M. Sinclair**	12	5
6.	**W. H. Spurrier**	12	5
7.	**A. J. Morris**	11	2½
Str.	**J. A. Ford**	10	13½
	A.W.Holyoak(*Cox.*)	8	9

Second Torpid.

Bow	G. Cunningham	9	1
2.	B. W. Bradford	11	2
3.	F. W. Owen	11	10½
4.	C. H. Falcon	12	12
5.	F. Y. Dalziel	13	2
6.	P. M. Watkins	11	0
7.	C. S. Currie	11	11
Str.	C. H. R. Horwood	11	3
	H. H. Child (*Cox.*)	9	2

1890

First Torpid.

Bow	**B. W. Bradford**	11	4½
2.	**C. H. R. Horwood**	11	8½
3.	**A. B. Nutter**	12	2
4.	**W. M. S. Moore**	11	12
5.	**B. P. Browning**	12	0
6.	**J. Hallward**	11	10
7.	**W. A. Leith**	12	8
Str.	**C. H. Hodgson**	10	10½
	H. H. Child (*Cox.*)	8	8½

Second Torpid.

Bow	H. H. E. L. Puxley	9	11
2.	H. P. Brown	9	8
3.	J. Bayly	10	2
4.	F. G. Barker	11	13
5.	F. W. Owen		
6.	I. R. Davies	13	3
7.	A. J. Morris	11	7
Str.	P. M. Watkins	11	2
	E. Edwards (*Cox.*)	8	5

F. W. Owen rowed 5 instead of F. I. Cowlishaw, who got influenza.

1891

First Torpid.

		st.	lb.
Bow	**J. Bayly**	10	5
2.	**J. S. Porter**	10	10
3.	**F. W. Owen**	11	13
4.	**W. M. S. Moore**	12	2
5.	**B. P. Browning**	12	8
6.	**A. B. Nutter**	12	4
7.	**A. J. Morris**	10	8
Str.	**C. E. Tristram**	10	12
	E. Edwards (*Cox.*)	8	8

Second Torpid.

Bow	H. C. Haldane	10	3
2.	H. P. Brown	9	11
3.	T. D. Stanger-Leathes	10	13
4.	W. D. P. Watson	11	6
5.	O. S. Laurie	11	1
6.	H. R. C. Dobbs	11	9
7.	H. J. H. Irish	10	8
Str.	G. W. Halcomb	11	9
	E. C. Pontifex (*Cox.*)	9	0

1892

First Torpid.

Bow	**H. C. Haldane**	10	7½
2.	**G. W. Halcombe**	11	3
3.	**W. D. P. Watson**	11	13
4.	**H. R. C. Dobbs**	11	13½
5.	**R. B. Pearson**	12	6½
6.	**I. R. Davies**	13	8
7.	**A. J. Morris**	11	3
Str.	**H. J. H. Irish**	10	9
	E. Edwards (*Cox.*)	8	8

Second Torpid.

Bow	A. M. Latham	10	4
2.	H. Freeman	10	11½
3.	*J. S. Porter	10	13
4.	F. D. Gibbes	10	12½
5.	W. B. Stewart	13	4½
6.	F. D. Evans	11	1
7.	A. W. Tonge	12	4
Str.	H. P. Brown	9	13
	R. W. Duff (*Cox.*)	8	2

(* For the first two nights O. S. Laurie rowed 3.)

1893

First Torpid.

		st.	lb.
Bow	**H. C. Haldane**	10	10
2.	**L. H. Leslie-Jones**	11	3
3.	**W. D. P. Watson**	12	0
4.	**H. W. Ellwood**	11	12
5.	**R. B. Pearson**	13	0
6.	**A. B. Nutter**	12	4
7.	**T. O. Lloyd**	11	6
Str.	**J. S. Porter**	11	11
	H. H. Gairdner (*Cox.*)	8	1

Second Torpid.

Bow	E. D. Sidgwick	11	1
2.	J. L. Rushton	11	3
3.	T. A. S. Shepherd-Cross	11	4
4.	J. D. Graham	11	2
5.	J. Hearn	11	13
6.	A. J. Sargent	11	4
7.	T. G. H. Williams	11	3
Str.	C. J. Astbury	10	10
	H. G. Palmer (*Cox.*)	9	3

1894

First Torpid.

Bow	**E. D. Sidgwick**	10	12
2.	**J. L. Rushton**	11	2
3.	**T. A. S. Shepherd-Cross**	12	3
4.	**H. W. Ellwood**	12	1
5.	**R. B. Pearson**	13	7
6.	**L. H. Leslie-Jones**	10	13
7.	**A. J. Sargent**	11	6
Str.	**C. J. Astbury**	10	13
	W. H. Rhodes (*Cox.*)	9	5

Second Torpid.

Bow	J. Taylor	10	2
2.	F. B. L. Maunsell	10	8
3.	H. F. Chamberlayne	11	6
4.	G. P. Andrew	11	3
5.	A. C. Allnutt	11	0½
6.	J. S. Bradbury	12	8¼
7.	H. Freeman	11	3
Str.	C. E. G. Crocker	10	9
	H. G. Palmer (*Cox.*)	8	12

1895[1]

First Torpid.

		st.	lb.
Bow	**C. F. Payne**	11	5
2.	**R. C. Wallroth**	10	11
3.	**H. F. Chamberlayne**	11	4
4.	**H. W. Ellwood**	12	2
5.	**L. H. Fripp**	12	1
6.	**H. Freeman**	11	1
7.	**J. Taylor**	10	3
Str.	**C. J. Astbury**	11	3
	H.R.K.Pechell (*Cox.*)	8	3

Second Torpid.

Bow	H. A. M. Barbour	10	1
2.	C. R. Taylor	9	11
3.	F. M. May	9	4
4.	C. E. G. Crocker	10	7
5.	A. M. Gibbes	12	8
6.	A. G. Jenkinson	10	12
7.	A. J. Sargent	11	9
Str.	J. H. Preston	10	1
	F. H. Taylor (*Cox.*)	8	6

1896

First Torpid.

Bow	C. F. Payne	11	4
2.	R. C. Wallroth	11	7
3.	H. F. Chamberlayne	11	5
4.	A. C. Allnutt	11	8
5.	A. L. Davis	11	4
6.	H. Freeman	11	12
7.	L. H. Fripp	12	1
Str.	J. H. Preston	9	13
	F. H. Taylor (*Cox.*)	8	1

Second Torpid.

Bow	F. H. Rosedale	9	0
2.	R. Brown	11	$7\frac{3}{4}$
3.	L. J. C. Riley	10	$10\frac{1}{4}$
4.	M. Frost	12	0
5.	C. H. Style	12	4
6.	G. P. Andrew	11	12
7.	A. G. Jenkinson	10	12
Str.	C. E. J. Machen	11	$8\frac{1}{2}$
	G. S. Croshaw (*Cox.*)	8	7

1897

First Torpid.

		st.	lb.
Bow	H. C. Brocklehurst	9	10
2.	L. R. Crawshay	10	8
3.	E. Brocklehurst	10	3
4.	T. S. C. Webster	10	4
5.	L. J. C. Riley	10	10
6.	H. C. Du Vallon	12	0
7.	J. Taylor	10	2
Str.	R. A. Bartholomew	11	3
	F. H. Taylor (*Cox.*)	8	4

Second Torpid.

Bow	P. P. Fox	10	0
2.	A. K. Tyrer	9	8
3.	E. W. F. Gilman	10	10
4.	F. M. May (Stinton)	11	2
5.	T. R. Thompson	12	5
6.	M. Frost	12	2
7.	R. Brown	11	6
Str.	H.G.Baker-Cresswell	10	4
	G. S. Croshaw (*Cox.*)	8	8

1898

First Torpid.

Bow	H. C. Brocklehurst	10	0
2.	R. A. Bartholomew	11	5
3.	T. R. Thompson	13	2
4.	T. T. Blyth	12	11
5.	B. C. Boulter	12	9
6.	W. M. Bouch	12	5
7.	J. K. Lancashire	11	8
Str.	A. K. Tyrer	9	9
	F. H. Taylor (*Cox.*)	8	3

Second Torpid.

Bow	E. W. F. Gilman	10	10
2.	S. E. Stenton	10	10
3.	W. S. Milne	11	5
4.	C. H. P. Lamond	10	8
5.	R. Brown	11	8
6.	G. V. Rawlence	11	3
7.	H. C. Lea	10	8
Str.	H. G. Baker-Creswell	10	9
	G. S. Croshaw (*Cox.*)	8	3

[1] Owing to frost no races were held this year.

1899

	First Torpid.	*st.*	*lb.*
Bow	L. J. C. Riley	10	8
2.	C. V. Rawlence	11	1
3.	R. Brown	11	13
4.	C. H. P. Lamond	10	8
5.	J. K. Lancashire	11	2
6.	B. C. Boulter	12	7
7.	K. T. Frost	11	1
Str.	H. G. Baker-Creswell	11	0
	G. S. Croshaw[1] (*Cox.*)	8	10

	Second Torpid.		
Bow	J. Birkett	9	10
2.	S. R. Mutch	10	6
3.	R. S. Marsden	11	1
4.	E. N. Trappes-Lomax	13	0
5.	T. R. Thompson	13	13
6.	F. P. Murphy	11	0
7.	J. D. Heddon	11	3
Str.	S. E. Stinton	10	4
	R. S. Ker (*Cox.*)	8	6

1900

	First Torpid.	*st.*	*lb.*
Bow	F. W. Partridge	9	8
2.	L. C. Bromley	10	8
3.	W. E. T. S. Gray	10	11
4.	C. V. Rawlence	11	4
5.	W. M. Bouch	13	3
6.	H. C. du Vallon	12	5
7.	W. A. Fiddian	11	12
Str.	T. S. Wright	10	0
	R. A. Ironside (*Cox.*)	8	13

	Second Torpid.		
Bow	J. A. Salter	9	4
2.	H. B. Spencer	10	12
3.	B. A. W. Stone	10	10
4.	J. W. Hedley	12	0
5.	E. N. Trappes-Lomax	13	3
6.	E. F. Evetts	11	7
7.	R. A. Scott-James	10	4
Str.	H. A. Back	10	8
	J. A. Morton (*Cox.*)	8	13½

[1] B.A. 1898.

APPENDIX IV

O.U.B.C. CHALLENGE RACES

THE first challenge race to be founded was the Silver Challenge Oars in 1839: the Fours were instituted in 1840 and the Sculls in 1841. The Pair Oars and the Fours were originally rowed in the Michaelmas Term, and the Sculls in the Lent Term, but in 1852 the Sculls were moved to the Summer Term and in 1857 the Pairs followed them. Up till 1851 the races were rowed level, but that year for the first time 'time races' were adopted for all the Challenge Races, and in 1859 the level races were finally given up. Up to 1871 the holders were not required to row in the preliminary heats. In 1893 semaphores were substituted for pistols at the winning post.

O.U.B.C. CHALLENGE RACES

[Winners and members of winning crews are printed in black type.]

	Fours	*Pairs*	*Sculls*
1839		1. R. G. Walls 2. G. Meynell C. E. Goodhart, *Cox.*	
	st. lb.		
1840	**G. Meynell**, *Bow* . 11 11 2. **E. Royds** . . . 11 13 3. **R. G. Walls** **J. J. T. Somers-Cocks**, *Str.* 11 3 **M. H. S. Champneys**, *Cox.*	1. **D. B. Barttelot** (Corpus) 2. **E. Royds** **T. Evetts** (Corpus), *Cox.*	
1841	E. Royds, *Bow* . . 11 13 2. G. Meynell . . . 11 11 3. W. Lea . . . 11 7 J. Royds, *Str.* S. F. Cradock, *Cox.*	1. J. Randolph 2. E. Royds S. F. Cradock, *Cox.*	
1843	E. Royds, *Bow* 2. J. J. T. Somers-Cocks 3. G. Meynell F. E. Tuke, *Str.* Fergusen, *Cox.* Brasenose are stated to have entered merely to make the heats even (Sherwood). The cox is entered as Mr. Fergusen, who was not a member of Brasenose.	1. J. W. Conant (St. John's) 2. F. E. Tuke G. F. Buller (Exeter), *Cox.*	

1845	J. Oldham, *Bow* 2. C. W. Goode 3. J. S. Bushby J. A. Ogle, *Str.* H. V. Packe, *Cox.*		
1846	W. H. Midgley, *Bow* 2. T. W. Nowell 3. J. Oldham F. C. Royds, *Str.* R. H. Knight, *Cox.* Brasenose won the third heat, then withdrew owing to an illness of one of their crew.		
1847		[Steerers were done away with this year (President's Book). Thenceforth the Silver Rudder was held by the Coxswain of the head boat on the river (Sherwood).]	F. C. Royds R. H. Knight
1848	W. P. S. Stanhope, *Bow* 2. P. Earle 3. R. R. Kewley J. L. Errington, *Str.* R. Dawson, *Cox.*		
1849	**G. Irlam**, *Bow* 2. **J. L. Errington** 3. ***W. W. Townsend** **W. Houghton**, *Str.* **O. K. Prescot**, *Cox.*	1. W. W. Townsend 2. W. Houghton	

	Fours	*Pairs*	*Sculls*
1850	**K. Prescot**, *Bow* 2. **J. L. Errington** 3. **R. Greenall** **W. Houghton**, *Str.* **O. K. Prescot**, *Cox.* In all the races this year the Gut was staked out (Sherwood).		
1851	K. Prescot, *Bow* 2. P. H. Moore 3. J. C. Egerton R. Greenall, *Str.* F. St. J. Balguy, *Cox.* *st. lb.*	1. **K. Prescot** 2. **R. Greenall**	W. W. Townsend R. Greenall
1856	E. Mather, *Bow* . . 9 6 2. S. Wimbush 3. G. M. Bell . . . 12 1 F. R. Bryans, *Str.* . 11 2 H. E. Butler, *Cox.*		B. Lambert S. Wimbush
1857	H. Wace, *Bow* . . 10 2 2. T. B. Shaw-Hellier . 10 7 3. G. M. Bell . . . 11 11 F. R. Bryans, *Str.* . 11 3 W. Berkley, *Cox.* Lost by three lengths, Brasenose catching a tremendous crab at the start.	1. T. B. Shaw-Hellier 2. B. Lambert Rowed for the first time in the Summer instead of the October Term (Sherwood).	A. L. Willett
1858		1. **F. Balcomb** (Wadham) 2. **T. H. Shaw-Hellier**	

1859	W. Champneys, *Bow* . 11 2	1. H. F. Baxter	**H. F. Baxter**
	2. C. W. Prescot . . 10 4	2. W. Champneys	
	3. W. B. Woodgate . . 10 5		
	H. F. Baxter, *Str.* . 11 4		
	C. I. Parkin, *Cox.* . 7 12		
1860	**W. Champneys**, *Bow* 11 0	1. **W. B. Woodgate**	W. B. Woodgate
	2. **J. F. S. Vavasour** . 10 11	2. **H. F. Baxter**	H. F. Baxter, Holder
	3. **W. B. Woodgate** . 11 4		
	H. F. Baxter, *Str.* . 11 6		
	C. I. Parkin, *Cox.* . 8 4		
1861	R. Shepherd, *Bow* . 11 4	1. R. Shepherd	**W. B. Woodgate**
	2. W. Champneys . . 11 6	2. W. C. Harris	
	3. D. Pocklington . . 10 9	1. **W. Champneys**	
	W. B. Woodgate, *Str.*. 11 4	2. **W. B. Woodgate**	
	F. J. Huyshe, *Cox.* . 8 12		
1862	R. Shepherd, *Bow* . 11 7	1. W. C. Harris	R. Shepherd
	2. D. Pocklington . . 11 7	2. D. Pocklington	**W. B. Woodgate**, Holder.
	3. W. C. Harris . . 10 11	1. **R. Shepherd**	Won easily
	W. B. Woodgate, *Str.*. 12 1	2. **W. B. Woodgate**	
	E. G. C. Parr, *Cox.* . 9 0		
1863		1. C. E. Harris	C. E. Harris
		2. D. Pocklington	
1865	A. J. Richards, *Bow* . 10 7		**J. Rickaby**
	2. F. Crowder . . 11 11		
	3. R. F. Rumsey . . 11 12		
	A. Shepherd, *Str.* . 10 11		
	W. A. Fanning, *Cox.* . 9 2		

	Fours	*Pairs*	*Sculls*
1866		1. W. C. Crofts 2. J. Rickaby	J. Rickaby, Holder
1867		1. **F. Crowder** 2. **W. C. Crofts**	J. Rickaby **W. C. Crofts**
1868		1. **A. V. Jones** (Exeter) 2. **W. C. Crofts**	**W. C. Crofts**
1869	*st. lb.*		H. E. Wetherall
1870	M. G. Farrer, *Bow* . 11 10 2. F. W. Goodwyn . . 11 4 3. H. E. Burgess . . 12 9 J.W.McC.Bunbury, *Str.* 11 0 J. Longridge, *Cox.* . 8 2		F. B. Chappell
1871		1. **J. W. McC. Bunbury** 2. **A. G. P. Lewis** (Univ.)	**J. W. McC. Bunbury** F. B. Chappell
1872	E. V. Freeman, *Bow* . 10 8 2. T. Stock . . . 10 7 3. M. G. Farrer . . 12 5 J. P. Way, *Str.* . . 10 7 W. H. Gale, *Cox.* . 7 13 Sliding seats were first used in these races in Oxford (Sherwood).	1. M. G. Farrer 2. T.H.A.Houblon(Ch.Ch.)	F. B. Chappell J. P. Cooper
1873	H. W. Benson, *Bow* . 10 12 2. T. Stock . . . 10 12 3. M. G. Farrer * . . 12 8 J. P. Way, *Str.* . . 10 12 The first year of coxswainless Fours. The steerers are now denoted by an * (Sherwood).	1. **W. Farrer** (Balliol) 2. **M. G. Farrer**	J. P. Way

1874	**S. M. Tancred**, *Bow*			1. **M. G. Farrer**	
	2. **H. P. Marriott**			2. **H. W. Benson**	
	3. **T. C. Edwards-Moss** *				
	H. W. Benson, *Str.*				
	Won by a bare half-length.				
1875	H. de V. Vane, *Bow*			1. **H. J. Preston** (Univ.)	A. Symonds
	2. W. L. White			2. **T. C. Edwards-Moss**	
	3. T. C. Edwards-Moss *				
	H. P. Marriott, *Str.*				
	Lost by a second.				
1876	**H. D. Daunt**, *Bow* .	11	5	1. **T. C. Edwards-Moss**	
	2. **A. J. Kayll** . .	11	5	2. **H. P. Marriott**	
	3. **T. C. Edwards-Moss** *	12	7		
	A. Symonds, *Str.* .	10	10		
1877	**R. H. J. Poole**, *Bow* .	10	2		**T. C. Edwards-Moss**
	2. **H. D. Daunt** . .	11	4		
	3. **T. C. Edwards-Moss** *	12	9		
	A. Symonds, *Str.* .	10	12		
1878	R. H. J. Poole *, *Bow* .	10	$8\frac{1}{2}$	1. **T. C. Edwards-Moss**	
	2. M. C. Pike . . .	11	3	2. **W. A. Ellison** (Univ.)	
	3. T. G. Gardiner . .	11	$7\frac{3}{4}$	Edwards-Moss's steering as usual was faultless (Sherwood).	
	T. C. T. Warner, *Str.* .	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$		
1879	R. H. J. Poole, *Bow* .	10	10	1. R. H. J. Poole	
	2. R. A. Baillie . .	11	11	2. A. A. Wickens (Balliol)	
	3. T. G. Gardiner . .	11	11		
	P. A. Newton, *Str.* .	12	4		

	Fours	*Pairs*	*Sculls*
	st. lb.		
1880	R. H. J. Poole *, *Bow* . 10 13 2. F. N. Thicknesse . 11 10 3. T. G. Gardiner . . 11 13 A. MacN. Campbell, *Str.* 10 10		R. H. J. Poole
1881	A. W. Arkle, *Bow* . 10 13 2. E. L. Puxley* . . 12 9 3. R. A. Baillie . . 11 13 H. S. Barton, *Str.* . 10 8		
1882	E. H. Good, *Bow* . 10 2 2. A. O. M. Mackenzie . 12 6 3. A. W. Arkle . . 10 10 P. Y. Gowlland, *Str.* . 10 9		J. P. C. Shrubb
1883	E. H. Good, *Bow* . 10 $4\frac{3}{4}$ 2. E. L. Puxley* . . 12 3 3. J. Reade . . . 11 6 P. Y. Gowlland, *Str.* . 10 $9\frac{3}{4}$	1. A. E. Staniland (Magd.) 2. E. L. Puxley	E. L. Puxley
1884		1. **W. S. Unwin** (Magd.) 2. **J. Reade** 1. E. L. Puxley 2. R. S. de Havilland (Corpus)	

1886	W. F. C. Holland *, *Bow* 10 10 2. H. R. Parker . . 12 12 3. G. E. Rhodes . . 12 12 L. Frere, *Str.* . . 10 2		H. R. Parker
1887	**W. C. Kent**, *Bow* . 10 4 2. **W. F. C. Holland** . 11 0 3. **H. R. Parker** . . 13 3 **L. Frere**, *Str.* . . 10 1	1. W. F. C. Holland 2. L. Frere	G. E. Rhodes
1888	W. C. Kent, *Bow* . 10 9 2. G. E. Rhodes . . 12 3 3. F. Wilkinson . . 13 8 W. F. C. Holland*, *Str.* 10 13	1. W. F. C. Holland 2. L. Frere	**W. F. C. Holland**
1889	C. H. Hodgson, *Bow* . 10 5 2. J. A. Ford . . . 11 4 3. F. Wilkinson . . 13 6 W. C. Kent *, *Str.* . 10 11	1. R. P. P. Rowe (Magd.) 2. W. F. C. Holland	
1890	C. H. Hodgson, *Bow* . 10 7 2. J. Hallward . . 12 1½ 3. F. Wilkinson * . . 13 8 J. A. Ford, *Str.* . . 11 2	1. F. Wilkinson 2. W. A. L. Fletcher (Ch. Ch.) Won by 4 feet.	
1891	H. H. E. L. Puxley, *Bow* 10 11 2. A. B. Nutter . . 12 1 3. J. Hallward . . . 13 2 J. A. Ford *, *Str.* . 11 10	1. F. Wilkinson 2. W. A. L. Fletcher (Ch. Ch.)	A. W. Tonge

	Fours	*st.*	*lb.*	*Pairs*	*Sculls*
1892	H. H. E. L. Puxley, *Bow*	10	4	1. J. A. Ford	
	2. H. J. H. Irish . .	10	12	2. A. B. Nutter	
	3. J. Hallward . . .	12	13		
	J. A. Ford, *Str.* . .	12	7		
1893	T. O. Lloyd *, *Bow* .	10	$2\frac{1}{2}$		
	2. J. D. Graham . .	11	$4\frac{1}{2}$		
	3. W. B. Stewart . .	13	7		
	A. B. Nutter, *Str.* .	12	4		
1895					G. H. Piercy

ENTRIES FOR HENLEY AND OTHER RACES[1]

[Winners and members of winning crews are printed in black type.]

1839. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

J. W. Empson, *Bow*
R. W. Lowry
G. Meynell
W. E. Buckley
R. G. Walls
W. Lea.
J. C. Paxton
G. Sandbach, *Str.*
N. B. Garnett, *Cox.*

1840. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

J. Randolph, 3
J. J. T. Somers-Cocks, *Str.* } Westminster Club.
W. B. Garnett, 7. Etonian Club.

1843. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

E. Royds, 3. O.U.B.C. (7-oared race).

THAMES GRAND REGATTA.

Gold Challenge Cup.

E. Royds, 3. O.U.B.C.

1844. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

F. E. Tuke, 6. Oxford Etonians.

Stewards' Cup.

F. E. Tuke, *Str.* O.U.B.C.

THAMES GRAND REGATTA.

Gold Challenge Cup.

F. E. Tuke, *Str.* O.U.B.C.

1845. THAMES GRAND REGATTA.

Gold Challenge Cup.

G. Meynell, 3. O.U.B.C.

1846. *Ladies' Plate.*

B.N.C. entered the same boat as in the Oxford Eights.

Grand Challenge Cup.

J. A. Ogle, 6. Eton and Westminster.

1846. *Silver Wherries.*

F. C. Royds
H. S. Polehampton } Pembroke.

1847. *Ladies' Plate.*

D. Jones, *Bow*
2. **P. Earle**
3. **J. Oldham**
4. **J. A. Ogle**
5. **F. C. Royds**
6. **W. H. Smith**
7. **G. R. Winter**
T. W. Nowell, *Str.*
R. H. Knight, *Cox.*

Grand Challenge Cup.

J. Oldham, 3
F. C. Royds, 4
G. R. Winter, 7 } O.U.B.C.

1848. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

F. C. Royds, 4
G. R. Winter, 5 } O.U.B.C.

1850. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

W. Houghton, 2
J. J. Hornby, 3 } O.U.B.C.

Stewards' Cup.

J. J. Hornby, *Bow.* O.U.B.C.

Silver Goblets.

J. J. Hornby
J. W. Chitty (Balliol)

1851. *Ladies' Plate.*

O. K. Prescot, *Bow*
2. **P. H. Moore**
3. **H. Barton**
4. **W. Houghton**
5. **J. J. Hornby**
6. **J. L. Errington**
7. **K. Prescot**
R. Greenall, *Str.*
F. St. J. Balguy, *Cox.*

[1] The entries are for Henley unless otherwise stated.

1851. *Stewards' Cup and Visitors' Cup.*

K. Prescot, *Bow*
2. J. L. Errington
3. J. J. Hornby
R. Greenall, *Str.*
F. St. J. Balguy, *Cox.*

Grand Challenge Cup.

J. J. Hornby, 3
W. Houghton, 4 } O.U.B.C.
R. Greenall, 6

1852. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

R. Greenall, *Bow*
F. St. J. Balguy, *Cox.* } O.U.B.C.

Stewards' Cup.

R. Greenall, *Bow*
F. St. J. Balguy, *Cox.* } O.U.B.C.

1853. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

P. H. Moore, 2. O.U.B.C.
(Oxford beat Cambridge by 18 inches.)

1855. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

J. E. Codrington, 2. O.U.B.C.

1859. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

H. F. Baxter, 2. O.U.B.C.

1861. *Wyfold Cup.*

		st.	lb.
	R. Shepherd, *Bow*	11	0
2.	**W. C. Harris**	10	7
3.	**W. Champneys**	11	0
	W. B. Woodgate, *Str.*	11	4
	C. I. Parkin, *Cox.*	8	4

This Four also entered for the Visitors' Cup.

Silver Goblets.

W. Champneys
W. B. Woodgate

1862. *Stewards' Cup.*

	W. C. Harris, *Bow.*	10	7
2.	**R. Shepherd**	11	0
3.	**W. Champneys**	11	2
	W. B. Woodgate *Str.*	11	3
	C. I. Parkin, *Cox.*	8	4

The same Four, with E. G. C. Parr as cox, won the Visitors' Cup.

1862. *Silver Goblets.*

W. Champneys
W. B. Woodgate

Diamond Challenge Sculls.

W. B. Woodgate rowed a dead heat, but was beaten on the race being re-rowed.

WINGFIELD CHALLENGE SCULLS.

W. B. Woodgate

1863. Brasenose entered for the Grand Challenge Cup, the Ladies' Plate, the Stewards' Cup, the Visitors' Cup. In the first three they were beaten by University. In the Visitors' Cup they rowed over, University, who had won their trial heat, not starting for the Final, their Stroke having been knocked up by his exertions.

Grand Challenge Cup.
Ladies' Plate.

		st.	lb.
	W. C. Harris, *Bow*	10	12
2.	W. T. Burges	10	7
3.	S. E. Illingworth	11	6
4.	W. B. Woodgate	11	5
5.	S. R. Coxe	11	1
6.	A. J. Richards	10	6
7.	R. Shepherd	11	8
	D. Pocklington, *Str.*	11	4
	F. J. Huyshe, *Cox.*	9	0

Visitors' Cup.
The Four.

	W. C. Harris, *Bow.*	10	12
2.	**D. Pocklington**	11	4
3.	**R. Shepherd**	11	7
	W. B. Woodgate, *Str.*	11	5
	F. J. Huyshe, *Cox.*	9	0

Silver Goblets.

W. B. Woodgate
R. Shepherd
(Rowed over.)

Diamond Sculls.

W. B. Woodgate

1864. *Diamond Sculls.*
W. B. Woodgate

WINGFIELD SCULLS.
W. B. Woodgate

1865. *Diamond Sculls.*
W. B. Woodgate
J. Rickaby

WINGFIELD SCULLS.
W. B. Woodgate

1866. WINGFIELD SCULLS.
W. B. Woodgate

1867. *Diamond Challenge Sculls.*
W. C. Crofts

Silver Goblets.
W. B. Woodgate
R. T. Raikes (Merton)

Grand Challenge Cup.
J. P. Law, 2 } Oxford
W. B. Woodgate, 7 } Radleians

Stewards' Cup.
W. B. Woodgate, 2. Oxford Radleians.

WINGFIELD SCULLS.
W. B. Woodgate (rowed over)

PARIS INTERNATIONAL REGATTA.
W. B. Woodgate entered for the Pairs and the Sculls.

1868. *Stewards' Cup.*

	st.	lb.
F. H. Champneys, *Bow*	10	10
2. R. F. Rumsey . .	11	11
3. W. B. Woodgate .	11	8
W. C. Crofts, *Str.* .	10	12

Came in first, but disqualified for carrying no coxswain.

Silver Goblets.
W. C. Crofts
W. B. Woodgate

1868. *Diamond Sculls.*
W. C. Crofts

1869. *Diamond Sculls.*
W. C. Crofts

Stewards' Cup.
H. E. Burgess, 3 } Oxford
J. Longridge, *Cox.* } Radleians

Presentation Cup
(without coxswains)
H. E. Burgess, 3. Oxford Radleians.

1870. *Stewards' Cup.*
H. E. Burgess, 3 } Oxford
J. Longridge, *Cox.* } Radleians

1871. *Diamond Sculls.*
J. W. McC. Bunbury
F. Chappell

Grand Challenge Cup.
M. G. Farrer, 3 } Oxford
J. W. McC. Bunbury, 4 } Etonians.

Stewards' Cup.
J. W. McC. Bunbury, *Str.* Oxford Etonians

1874. *Grand Challenge Cup and Ladies' Plate.*

	st.	lb.
H. W. Benson, *Bow*.	11	2
2. F. D. Hunt . .	11	6
3. P. H. Coxe . .	11	7
4. W. L. White . .	11	8
5. H. N. Cunningham .	12	0
6. H. P. Marriott . .	11	11
7. M. G. Farrer . .	12	7
J. P. Way, *Str.*. .	10	10
C. Utermarck, *Cox.* .	8	2

Visitors' Cup.
H. W. Benson, *Bow*
2. H. P. Marriott
3. M. G. Farrer
J. P. Way, *Str.*

1876. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

An amalgamated crew of University and Brasenose.

		st.	*lb.*
	W. A. Ellison (Univ.), *Bow*	10	12
2.	A. Symonds (B.N.C.)	10	11
3.	H. D. Daunt ,,	11	4
4.	H. J. Preston (Univ.)	11	12
5.	J. N. Bowstead ,,	11	10
6.	J. E. Bankes ,,	11	9
7.	T. C. Edwards-Moss (B.N.C.)	12	5
	H. P. Marriott ,, *Str.*	12	1
	H. M. Baily ,, *Cox.*	9	5

Visitors' Cup.

	H. de V. Vane, *Bow.*	10	7
2.	A. Symonds . .	10	11
3.	T. C. Edwards-Moss*	12	5
	H. P. Marriott, *Str.*.	12	1

1877. *Visitors' Cup.*

	A. J. Kayll, *Bow* .	11	4
2.	H. J. Marriott . .	11	12
3.	T. C. Edwards-Moss*	11	11
	A. Symonds, *Str.* .	10	7

Diamond Sculls.

T. C. Edwards-Moss

WINGFIELD SCULLS.

T. C. Edwards-Moss

1878. *Diamond Sculls.*

T. C. Edwards-Moss

Silver Goblets.

T. C. Edwards-Moss
W. A. Ellison (Univ.)

1882. *Visitors' Cup.*

	A. W. Arkle, *Bow* .	10	12
2.	**S. L. Puxley** . .	12	9
3.	**R. A. Baillie** . .	11	12
	P. Y. Gowlland, *Str.*	10	9

1886. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

2. W. F. C. Holland
4. H. R. Parker
L. Frere, *Str.*
F. J. Humphreys, *Cox.*
} Oxford Etonians.

1887. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

W. F. C. Holland, *Bow*
4. H. R. Parker
L. Frere, *Str.*
F. J. Humphreys, *Cox.*
} Oxford Etonians.

1888. *Visitors' Cup.*

		st.	*lb.*
	W. C. Kent, *Bow*		
2.	**W. F. C. Holland*** .	10	9
3.	**H. R. Parker** . .	13	7
	L. Frere, *Str.* .	10	0

Also entered for the Stewards' Cup.

1890. *Grand Challenge Cup.*

	C. H. Hodgson, *Bow*	10	11
2.	C. H. R. Horwood .	11	13
3.	W. F. C. Holland .	10	8
4.	J. Hallwood . .	12	5
5.	W. A. Leith . .	12	12
6.	J. A. Ford . .	11	6
7.	F. Wilkinson . .	13	12
	W. C. Kent, *Str.* .	10	10
	Ll. S. William, *Cox* .	8	4

Stewards' Cup.

W. F. C. Holland,* *Bow*
2. **J. A. Ford**
3. **F. Wilkinson**
W. C. Kent, *Str.*

Visitors' Cup.

C. H. Hodgson, *Bow*
2. **J. A. Ford**
3. **F. Wilkinson**
W. C. Kent,* *Str.*

1891. *Wyfold and Visitors' Cup.*

		st.	lb.
	F. L. Puxley, *Bow* .	10	2
2.	A. B. Nutter . .	12	4
3.	J. Hallwood . .	13	0
	C. H. Hodgson, *Str.*	11	0

Stewards' Cup.

	W.F.C.Holland,*Bow*	10	7
2.	J. A. Ford . .	11	8
3.	F. Wilkinson . .	13	9
	W. C. Kent, *Str.* .	10	11

1892. *Stewards' Cup.*

		st.	lb.
	H. H. E. L. Puxley, *Bow* . . .	10	9
2.	J. A. Ford* . .	11	6
3.	F. Wilkinson . .	13	6
	W. C. Kent, *Str.* .	10	2

1893. *Stewards' Cup.*

	W.F.C.Holland,*Bow*	10	10
2.	J. A. Ford . .	11	9
3.	F. Wilkinson . .	13	4
	W. C. Kent, *Str.* .	10	10

APPENDIX VI

MEMBERS OF B.N.C. WHO HAVE ROWED OR STEERED IN THE UNIVERSITY EIGHT AND THE TRIAL EIGHTS

1839	R. G. Walls	5
1840	R. G. Walls	5
	E. Royds	6
	G. Meynell	7
	J. J. T. Somers-Cocks	*Str.*
	W. B. Garnett	*Cox.*
1841	E. Royds	4
	W. Lea	6
	G. Meynell	7
	J. J. T. Somers-Cocks	*Str.*
1843	E. Royds (Henley) [1] 7 oared race.	3
1844	F. E. Tuke (Thames Regatta) [2]	*Str.*
1845	F. C. Royds	6
	F. E. Tuke	*Str.*
1846	F. C. Royds	6
1847	J. Oldham, F. C. Royds (Henley) [3]	4
	G. R. Winter	7
1848	F. C. Royds, G. R. Winter (Henley) [4]	5
1849	J. J. Hornby	*Bow*
Dec.	W. Houghton	2
1850	W. Houghton, J. J. Hornby (Henley) [5]	3
1851	J. J. Hornby	3
	W. Houghton (Henley) [6]	4
	R. Greenall	6
1852	O. K. Prescot	*Bow*
	R. Greenall	2
	W. Houghton	6
1853	P. H. Moore, K. Prescot (Henley) [7]	*Bow*
1855	J. E. Codrington (Henley) [8]	2

[1] Grand Challenge Cup. In the Trial Heats Oxford University beat the Oxford Etonian Club and Trinity, Cambridge, and Oxford Aquatic Club, London; in the Final, rowing with 7 oars, they beat the Cambridge Rooms, London, by 2 lengths.

[2] Oxford University won the Gold Challenge Cup beating Cambridge University and the Leander Club.

[3] Grand Challenge Cup. Oxford beat Cambridge.

[4] Oxford won the Grand Challenge Cup, beating Thames R.C. No Cambridge crews entered.

[5] Oxford rowed over for the Grand Challenge Cup.

[6] Oxford won the Grand Challenge Cup, beating Cambridge.

[7] Grand Challenge Cup. Oxford beat Cambridge by 18 inches.

[8] Grand Challenge Cup. Oxford University was beaten by Cambridge.

	TRIAL EIGHTS		UNIVERSITY EIGHT
		Boat	
1858	H. F. Baxter . . 6	(1)	
1859	H. F. Baxter . . 6	(1)	H. F. Baxter (Putney) . *Bow* H. F. Baxter (Henley) . 2
1860	W. B. Woodgate . *Str.* C. I. Parkin . . *Cox.*	(1)	H. F. Baxter . . . 6
	W. Champneys . . 7	(2)	
1861	D. Pocklington . . 3 H. Garnett . . 7	(1)	W. Champneys . . . *Bow*
	W. B. Woodgate . 3	(2)	
1862	R. Shepherd . . 6 D. Pocklington . . *Str.*	(1)	W. B. Woodgate . . *Bow*
	S. E. Illingworth . 3 C. E. Harris . . 6	(2)	
1863	S. R. Coxe . . 3 D. Pocklington . . *Str.*	(1)	R. Shepherd . . . *Bow* W. B. Woodgate . . 4
	W. C. Harris . . 2 S. E. Illingworth . 3 R. W. Pound . . 5	(2)	
1864	. . . . .		D. Pocklington . . . *Str.*
1865	F. Crowder . . 2	(1)	
	R. F. Rumsey . . 3 A. Shepherd . . *Str.*	(2)	
1866	R. F. Rumsey . . 7	(1)	F. Crowder . . . 2
1867	E. C. Baker . . *Bow*	(1)	F. Crowder . . . 6
1868	F. H. Champneys . *Bow* W. C. Crofts . . 7	(1)	
	H. E. Burgess . . 7	(2)	
1869	F. H. Champneys . *Bow* H. E. Burgess . . 7	(2)	
1870	J. W. McC. Bunbury 7	(1)	
	M. G. Farrer . . *Bow* H. E. Burgess . . 5	(2)	
1871	. . . . .		J. W. McC. Bunbury. . . 7
1872	M. G. Farrer . . 5 J. P. Way . . . *Str.*	(1)	
	W. H. Gale . . *Cox.*	(2)	
1873	H. N. Cunningham . 3	(1)	M. G. Farrer . . . 3
	H. W. Benson . . *Bow* W. L. White . . 3 J. P. Way . . . *Str.*	(2)	

	Trial Eights.	*Boat.*	University Eight.
1874	H. N. Cunningham . 3 H. P. Marriott . . 6 S. M. Tancred . . 7 J. P. Way . . *Str.* A. Inkersley . . *Cox.*	(1) (2)	H. W. Benson . . . *Bow* J. P. Way . . . . *Str.*
1875	T. C. Edwards-Moss *Str.* A. J. Kayll . . 2 H. P. Marriott . . *Str.*	(1) (2)	H. P. Marriott . . . 2 T. C. Edwards-Moss . . 7 J. P. Way . . . . *Str.*
1876	A. J. Kayll . . 2	(2)	H. P. Marriott . . . 7 T. C. Edwards-Moss . . *Str.*
1877	H. D. Daunt . . *Bow*	(1)	T. C. Edwards-Moss . . 7 H. P. Marriott . . . *Str.*
1878	R. H. J. Poole . . *Bow* T. G. Gardiner . . 3	(2)	T. C. Edwards-Moss . . 7 H. P. Marriott . . . *Str.*
1879	R. H. J. Poole . . *Bow* T. G. Gardiner . . 3	(1)	H. P. Marriott . . . *Str.*
1880	R. H. J. Poole . . 7	(2)	R. H. J. Poole . . . *Bow*
1881	A. W. Arkle . . *Bow* A. O. M. Mackenzie . 4 F. J. Humphreys . *Cox.* E. L. Puxley . . 4 R. A. Baillie . . 7	(1) (2)	R. H. J. Poole . . . *Bow*
1882	A. W. Arkle . . *Bow* F. J. Humphreys . *Cox.*	(1) (2)	
1883	E. L. Puxley . . 7 J. Reade . . . 3	(1) (2)	E. L. Puxley . . . 4
1884	J. H. Ware . . 5	(1)	F. J. Humphreys . . *Cox.*
1885	H. R. Parker . . 4	(1)	F. J. Humphreys . . *Cox.*
1886	G. E. Rhodes . . 3 H. R. Parker . . 6 W. F. C. Holland . *Bow* L. Frere . . . *Str.*	(1) (2)	
1887	W. F. C. Holland . *Str.* L. Frere . . . *Str.*	(1) (2)	W. F. C. Holland . . *Bow* H. R. Parker . . . 4
1888	W. C. Kent . . *Bow* F. Wilkinson . . 5	(1)	W. F. C. Holland . . *Bow* H. R. Parker . . . 6 L. Frere . . . . *Str.*
1889	F. Wilkinson . . 5 C. H. Hodgson . *Bow* J. A. Ford . . 4 W. C. Kent . . *Str.* Ll. S. Williams . *Cox.*	(1) (2)	H. R. Parker . . . 6 W. F. C. Holland . . *Str.*

	Trial Eights.	*Boat.*		University Eight.	
1890	J. A. Ford . .	2	(1)	W. F. C. Holland . .	*Bow*
	C. H. Hodgson .	*Bow*	(2)		
	Ll. S. Williams .	*Cox.*			
1891	A. B. Nutter . .	4	(2)	F. Wilkinson . . .	5
				W. C. Kent . . .	*Str.*
1892	. . . . .			J. A. Ford	2
1893	W. B. Stewart . .	5	(1)	J. A. Ford . . .	2
	A. B. Nutter . .	6			
1894	R. B. Pearson . .	5	(1)	W. B. Stewart . . .	3
	W. B. Stewart . .	6	(2)		
1895	H. R. K. Pechell .	*Cox.*	(1)	W. B. Stewart . . .	5
1896	. . . . .			H. R. K. Pechell . .	*Cox.*
1897	. . . . .			H. R. K. Pechell . .	*Cox.*
1898	W. M. Bouch . .	3	(1)	H. R. K. Pechell . .	*Cox.*

APPENDIX VII

B.N.C. MEMBERS OF THE O.U.B.C. COMMITTEE

1839	W. B. Garnett	
	G. Sandbach	
1840	J. J. T. Somers-Cocks	*President*
1841	,,	,,
	E. Royds	
1842	,,	
1844	F. E. Tuke	,,
1845	F. C. Royds	
1846	,,	,,
1847	G. R. Winter	*Secretary*
1848	,,	*President*
1850	J. J. Hornby	
1851	W. Houghton	*Secretary*
1852	R. Greenall	*President*
	W. Houghton	*Secretary*
	K. Prescot	,,
1853	,,	,,
1856	J. E. Codrington	,,
1859	H. F. Baxter	,,
1860	,,	,,
1861	W. Champneys	,,
1862	W. B. Woodgate	
1863	,,	
	R. Shepherd	
1864	S. R. Coxe	
1865	,,	*Treasurer*
1866	F. Crowder	
1867	,,	,,
1871	J. W. McC. Bunbury	
1873	M. G. Farrer	*Secretary*
1874	,,	,,
1875	T. C. Edwards-Moss	,,
	J. P. Way	
1876	T. C. Edwards-Moss	*President*
1877	,,	,,
	H. P. Marriott	*Secretary*
1878	T. C. Edwards-Moss	*President*
1880	R. H. J. Poole	*Secretary*
1883	E. L. Puxley	,,
1887	H. R. Parker	,,
1888	,,	*President*
	W. F. C. Holland	*Secretary*
	,,	*President*
1892	J. A. Ford	
1895	W. B. Stewart	
1897	H. R. K. Pechell	

APPENDIX VIII

NEW RULES OF THE B.N.C. BOAT CLUB

1. That no officer of the O.U.B.C. be for the future Captain of the B.N.C. at the same time.

2. That all College Challenge Cups, Silver Oars, &c., be kept always in College ; and that O.U.B.C. Challenge Cups be kept in the Buttery, so that any member of the College may have the use of them for meals, &c., when he requires.

3. That, for the future, at the commencement of term, the Committee be selected before the Captain, in order that there may be a full meeting for the election of a Captain : and that until the Captain be elected the Senior Member of the Committee of the previous term act as Captain.

4. That the tickets allowed to the College for the Oxford steamer be disposed of to rowing members of the College at the discretion of the Captain of the Boat Club.

Coxe Fours.

1. That the races be rowed in Michaelmas Term.

2. That no more than one member of the last Eight, and one of the last Torpid, row in any boat, and that each crew contain at least one freshman (i.e. any man in his first year).

3. That each boat practise bona fide for at least one week : that practice to be approved at the discretion of the Captain.

4. That the race be a 'Time' race in heavy boats from Weir's Bridge to the Barge.

Armitstead Pairs.

1. That the race be rowed in gig boats at the end of the October Term from the Gut to the Barge.

2. That no two men who have rowed in the Eight, nor the same two who have rowed for the Royds and Winter Pairs, be allowed to go on together.

3. That quart pewters be given to the winners always, but that no second prize be given unless at least four boats enter.

4. That the entrance money be 3*s.* 6*d.* each man.

Messrs. Mills and Pott Challenge Cup.

1. That the races take place annually in Easter Term after the Torpid races.

2. That they be rowed in pair oar gigs with coxswains; and that the crews be chosen entirely by lot; the strokes being selected beforehand; the coxswains only being drawn for separately.

3. That quart pewter pots be given to the winning crew, with the B.N.C. arms and the names of the winners engraved on them; and that if as many as eight boats enter, then pint pots be given to the crew of the second boat.

4. That the entrance fee be 3*s*.

Royds and Winter Pairs.

1. That these oars be called the 'Royds and Winter Challenge Oars' in commemoration of B.N.C. having for two successive years afforded captains to a victorious 'Varsity crew.

2. That no two men who have rowed for more than three nights in the Eight of the year, may row together.

3. That the holders be entitled to row the winning boat, unless disqualified by the previous rule.

4. That the entrance fee be 2*s*. 6*d*.

5. The Committee and Captain of B.N.C. Boat Club to be umpires.

6. That quart pewters should always be given for the Royds and Winter Pairs, but that no second prize be given unless at least four boats enter.

These rules were found loose among the Minutes of 1892, but they are undated, and they probably represent the remodelling of the rules ordered in the Committee Meeting of October, 1880.

	Royds and Winter Pair Oars	*Phoenix Challenge Sculls*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Challenge Sculls*	*Armitstead Pairs*
1850		Greenall (11)		
1851	Nicholl } (6) Hornby }	Prescot (5)	Heaven (Trin.) (6)	
1853	Sergison } (4) Langford }			
1855	Dickinson } (4) Pain }		Lloyd (3)	
1856		Wimbush (4)	Wimbush (2)	
1857	Brooke-Lambert } (3) Shaw-Hellier }	Willett (8)	Willett	
1858	Wace } Shaw-Hellier }	Willett	Baxter	
1859	Berkeley } (3) Champneys }	Baxter (6)		
1860	Baxter } (2) Blackburne }	Baxter (5)	Baxter	
1861	Pocklington } (3) Woodgate }	Woodgate (3)	Poole (2)? Trin.	(Mar.) Harris (2) Brown Parkin (*Cox.*) (Oct.) Landale (5) Woodgate Huyshe (*Cox.*)
1862	Pocklington } (2) Harris }	Woodgate (6)	Woodgate, R. O.	Richards (2) Woodgate Huyshe (*Cox.*)
1863	Landale } (2) Pocklington }	Harris, R. O.	Harris, R. O.	Coxe (3) Chator Llewellyn (*Cox.*)

* The figures in brackets denote the number of entries for the race.

WINNERS

	Royds and Winter Pair Oars	*Phoenix Challenge Sculls*	*B.N.C. & Trinity Challenge Sculls*	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1864	Pughe } (3) Shepherd }	Shepherd (3)	Shepherd, R. O.			
1865	Crofts (2) Rickaby				Pughe (9) Crofts Croft Crowder James (*Cox.*)	
1866	Crofts Rickaby	Crofts (5)		Crofts (5) Rumsey Johnson (*Cox.*)	Crofts (7) Pritchard Crofton (Trin.) Donne Lindsell (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Robbins (2) Prower Rumsey Miller Banting
1867				*Summer Term:* Prower (4) Crofts *October Term:* Prower (3) Crofts Budgett (*Cox.*)	Peel (7) (Trin.) Hartley Hutchings (Trin.) Crofts Budgett (*Cox.*)	
1868		(*June*) Weatherall (7)			Hutchings (3) (Trin.) Pritchard Wyllie (Trin.) Lea Bantry (*Cox.*)	Weatherall (6) Cooper Coxshead Champneys McCrae (*Cox.*)
1869		Burgess (?)		Cooper (2) Goodwyn Longridge	Cooper (7) Goodwyn Burgess Russell (Trin.) (*Str.*) Lindsell (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Furneaux (5) Wilkinson Coxshead Lea Williams (*Cox.*)
1870	Farrer (2) Furneaux	Chappell (2)			Hoskyns (7) (Trin.) Harper (Trin.) Escott (Trin.) Chappell	Norris (6) Elkington Botfield Bunbury

	Royds and Winter Pair Oars	*Phoenix Challenge Sculls*	*B.N.C. & Trinity Challenge Sculls*	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1871				Andersone (2) Farrer Boddington	Furneaux (8) Escott (Trin.) Woollcombe Farrer Lindsell (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Knollys (5) Smith Masters Freeman Stock Phillipps (*Cox.*)
1872	Farrer Cooper	Chappell (2)		Goodwyn (4) Furneaux Longridge (*Cox.*)	(7) (Trin.) Vane (Trin.) Coleridge (Trin.) (*Str.*) Gale (*Cox.*)	Knollys White Hunter Stock Gale (*Cox.*)
1873		Way (2)	Way (2)	Farrer (2) Cooper Phillips	Whitehead (7) (Trin.) Macmillan Coxe Stock Ferrard (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Littledale (5) Ralli Brooks Knollys
1874				Knollys Way Utermarck (*Cox.*)	(4) Smith (Trin.) (*Str.*)	Littledale * Ker Coxe Benson
1875					Harke (6) Moore Cosby Burroughs (Trin.) Capel Cure (Trin.) (*Str.*) du Buisson (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Ellicott (4) Walls Daunt Harke (*Str.*) Bailey (*Cox.*)
1876					Rhodocanachi (8) (Trin.) Burrowes (Trin.) Robins Willock (*Str.*) Sharpe (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Campbell (7) Golland Barnes Willock Weatherly (*Cox.*)

* The Coxe Fours were rowed this year as scratch races, as 'the required practice' was impracticable: 'it is especially requested that this may not be taken as a precedent.'

WINNERS

	Royds and Winter Pair Oars	*Phoenix Challenge Sculls*	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1877		Smith (5)	Hornby (3) Willock King (*Cox.*)	Rhodocanachi (9) (Trin.) Joy Peddie Empson Macdonald (*Cox.*)	Bond (3) Campbell Walls Bruce (*Str.*) Hulse (*Cox.*)
1878	Bruce (2) Barton	Thicknesse (2)	Campbell (2) Thicknesse Weatherly (*Cox.*)	Kershaw (9) Walker (Trin.) Paterson (Trin.) Grant Dalton (Trin.) (*Str.*) Burnett (Trin.) (*Cox*)	Gordon (5) Fletcher Grey King (*Str.*) Longridge (*Cox.*)
1879	Smith (2) Bruce *	King *, R. O.		Wilkinson (12) Beebe (Trin.) Taliacarne (Trin.) Maldon (Trin.) Gladstone (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Briscoe (9) Wilkinson King Fiddes (*Str.*) Taylor (*Cox.*)
1880	No entries.	Thicknesse (2)	† Bassett (2) Byass Campbell (*Cox.*) Barton (2) Arkle Campbell (*Cox.*)	Young (10) (Trin.) Haigh Mackenzie (Trin.) Newton (*Str.*) Lee (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Breeds (5) Haigh Rhodes Barton (*Str.*) Brooke (*Cox.*)
1881				Christophersen (3) (Trin.) Bevan Bennett (Trin.) Astbury (Trin.) Humphreys (*Cox.*)	Devenish ‡ Gowlland Scott Fisher

* It is much to be regretted that the entries for these races are so small. As long as pair-oar rowing and sculling is neglected as it is at present there will continue to be a want of watermanship in the College crews.

† Deferred from previous term owing to frost.

‡ The winning crew was entirely composed of Freshmen.

WINNERS

	Phoenix Challenge Sculls	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1882		Baillie (3) Askwith Humphreys (*Cox.*)	Wilson (Trin.) (9) Presse (Trin.) Gilbanks (Trin.) Balfour (Trin.) Humphreys (*Cox.*)	Parkes (4) Watson Wallace Milliken
1883		Reade (4) Askwith	Maude (Trin.) (8) Baker Clarke (Trin.) Dun Keeling (*Cox.*)	Rubie (4) Pulling Gordon Watson Child Melville (*Cox.*)
1884				
1885				
1886	Parker (5)			
1887	Holland (4)		Glover (9) Sinclair Rhodes Darbishire (Trin.) (*Str.*)	Hodgson (5) Knowles Browning Kent Holyoak (*Cox.*)
1888	Frere (2)	Hodgson (8) Tristram		Lys (5) Spurrier Sinclair Horwood Williams (*Cox.*)
1889	Puxley		Rickards Atherton (Trin.) Ryley (Trin.) Nutter Thomas (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Cunningham (5) Bayly Moore Horwood

WINNERS

	Phoenix Challenge Sculls	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1890	Tonge (6)			Hammick Gretton Tonge Porter
1891		Bayly Ford	Hawes (Trin.) Atherton (Trin.) Phillips (Trin.) Porter Gomery (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Thompson (3) Newman Dobbs Porter
1892			Martins (Trin.) (11) Emmanuel (Trin.) Murphy Chadwick Healy (Trin.) Taylor (*Cox.*)	Elwood (6) Rushton Williams Lloyd Bryant (*Cox.*)
1893			Tonge (12) Phillips Norris Holland (Trin.) (*Str.*) Major (Trin.) (*Cox.*)	Taylor (8) Jenkinson Tonge Ellwood Gairdner (*Cox.*)

WINNERS

	Phoenix Challenge Sculls	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1894			(Trinity). Crews not given.	Barbour (7) Currie Taylor Taylor
1895	Piercy	Sidgwick Tonge (*Str.*) Barbour (*Cox.*)	Maclaren (Trin.) (*Bow*) 2 Brown 3 Gillman 4 Thompson (Trin.)	Gillman (5) Webster Foreman Jenkinson Pitter
1896	Piercy (2)	Allnutt (9) Jenkinson	Gurney (Trin.) Du Vallon Barry (Trin.) Webster (*Str.*) Clark (Trin.) (*Cox.*)*	Blyth (6) (*Bow*) Lea Bouch Bartholomew (*Str.*) Wareham (*Cox.*)
1897			Lea (7) Barry (Trin.) Milne Mahoney	Viner (6) Blyth Milne Lammond Bradshaw (*Cox.*)
1898			Lucina (*Bow*) 2 ——— (Trin.) 3 Brown ——— (Trin.) (*Str.*)	James (4) Mutch Lancashire Stinton Ironside (*Cox.*)

* Webster brought back the Cup to B.N.C., thus making the twenty-fifth win credited to each College.

WINNERS

	Phoenix Challenge Sculls	*Armitstead Pairs*	*B.N.C. and Trinity Scratch Fours*	*Coxe Challenge Fours*
1899	Stinton (3)	Rawlence (5)	Salter (10) (*Bow*) Thomas (Trin.) Ward-Jones Forster (Trin.) Ironside	Burkitt (5) Evetts Grey Wright Ironside
1900		Brown		Stone (5) (*Bow*) Harnold Maude Connop (*Str.*) Layton (*Cox.*)

APPENDIX X

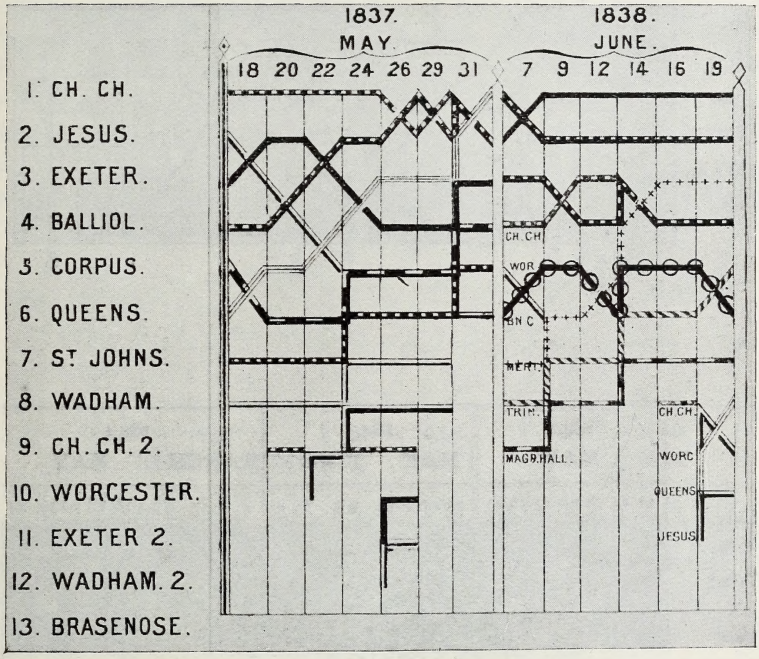
CHARTS OF THE EIGHTS AND TORPIDS

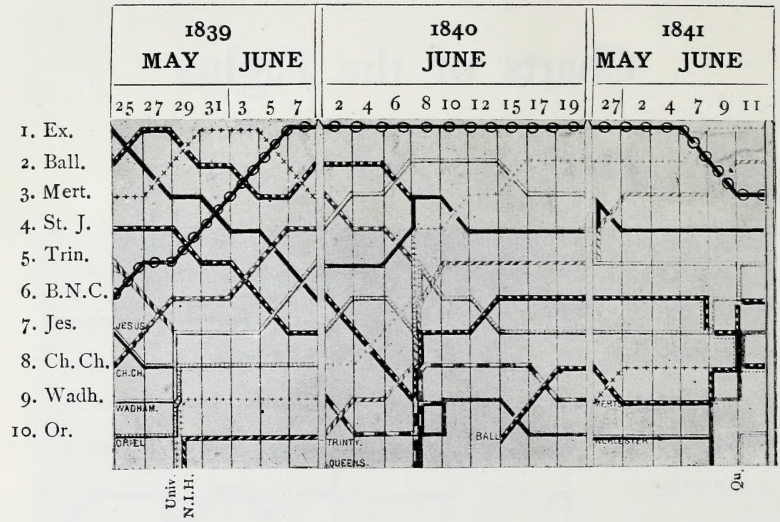
THE following Charts show graphically the position of the Brasenose Boat on every night of the Races, and are to be taken in connexion with the preceding pages. The periods covered are for the Torpids 1852[1]–1900, and for the Eights 1837–1900. The first ten places alone are given, since neither the Eight nor the Torpid was ever below ninth.

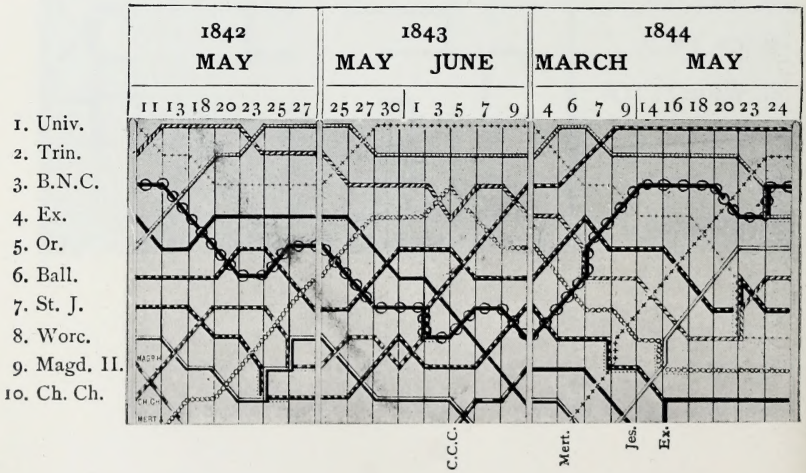
I owe these Charts to the kindness of Mr. Madan, who has had the Torpids taken from a manuscript Chart belonging to himself, and the Eights from his collection of the printed coloured lithographs. Both he and Mr. Hart, the Controller of the University Press, have taken infinite pains in the preparation of these Charts, which it would have been impossible to reproduce without their generous assistance. Owing to the varieties of style in both sets, and the varying duration of the Races at different times, it has been impossible to produce a quite symmetrical series, and our readers' indulgence is requested for this defect, which does not affect the clearness or accuracy of the records. It is hoped that the *Brazen Nose* will in 1910 bring these charts up to date by presenting them for the years 1901–1910.

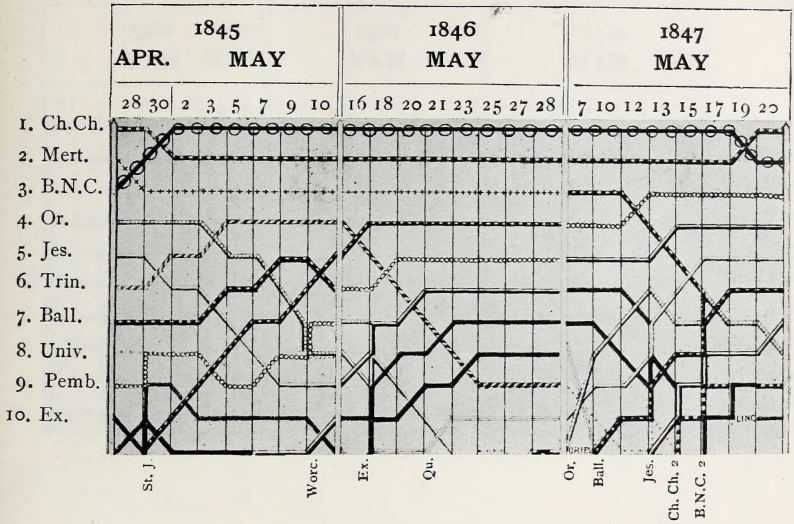
[1] In this year, for the first time, the Torpids were rowed, as they still are, before the Eights.

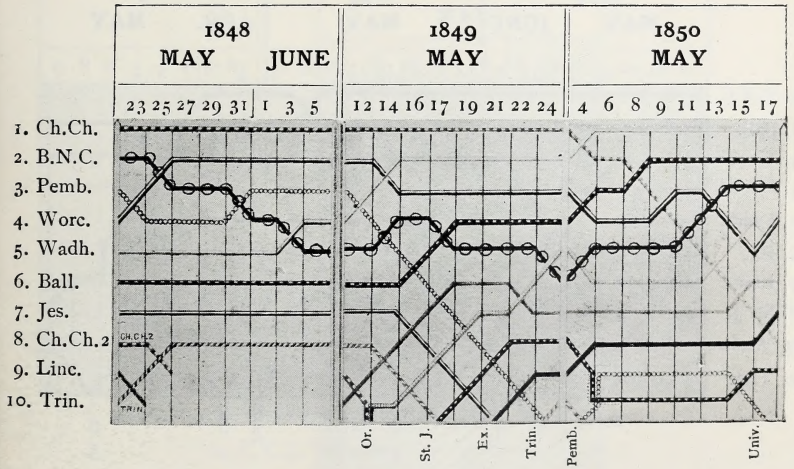
Charts of the Eights

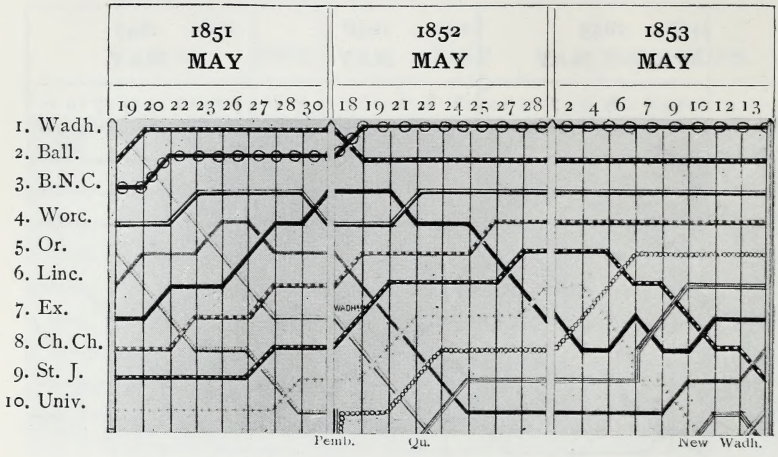


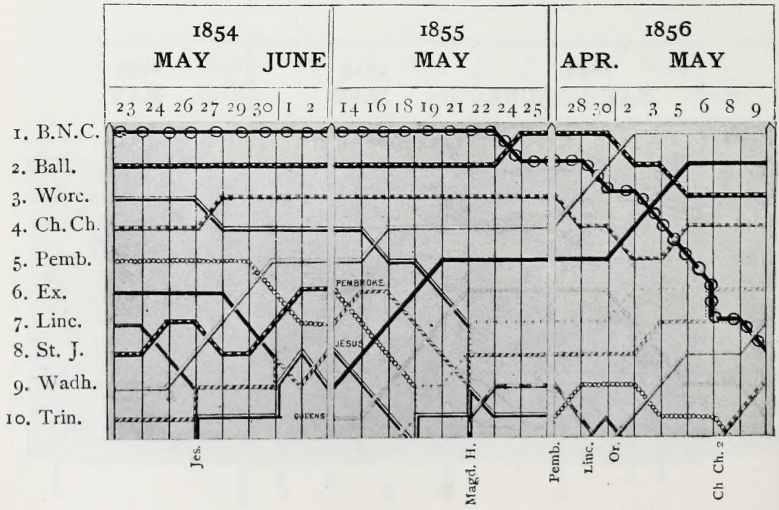

1839
MAY JUNE
25 27 29 31 3 5 7
1840
JUNE
2 4 6 8 10 12 15 17 19
1841
MAY JUNE
27 2 4 7 9 11
1. Ex.
2. Ball.
3. Mert.
4. St. J.
5. Trin.
6. B.N.C.
7. Jes.
8. Ch. Ch.
9. Wadh.
10. Or.
JESUS
CH.CH.
WADHAM.
ORIEL
TRINITY.
QUEENS.
BALL
MERT.
WORCESTER
Univ.
N.I.H.
Qu.

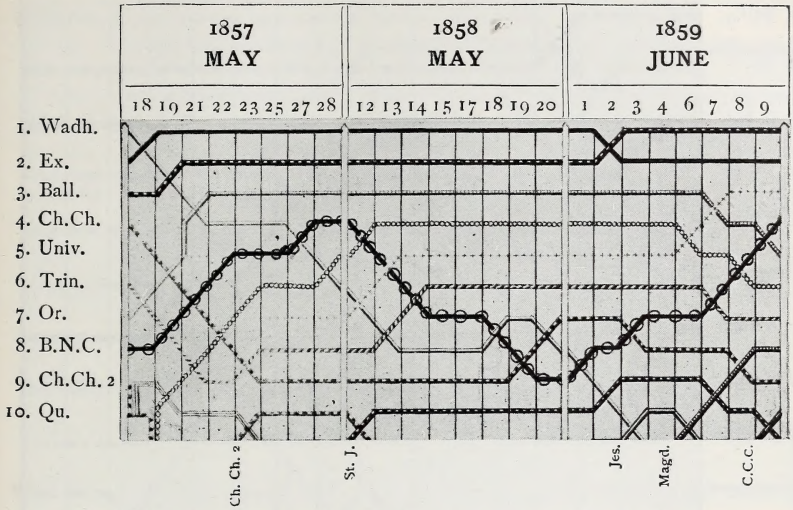

1842
MAY
1843
MAY JUNE
1844
MARCH MAY
11 13 18 20 23 25 27
25 27 30 1 3 5 7 9
4 6 7 9 14 16 18 20 23 24
1. Univ.
2. Trin.
3. B.N.C.
4. Ex.
5. Or.
6. Ball.
7. St. J.
8. Worc.
9. Magd. II.
10. Ch. Ch.
C.C.C.
Mert.
Jes.
Ex.

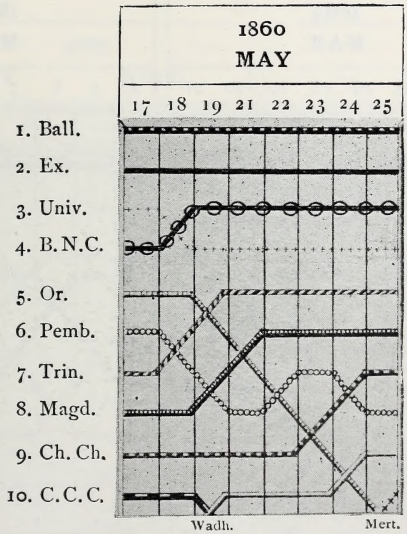

1845
APR.
MAY
1846
MAY
1847
MAY
28 30 2 3 5 7 9 10
16 18 20 21 23 25 27 28
7 10 12 13 15 17 19 20
1. Ch.Ch.
2. Mert.
3. B.N.C.
4. Or.
5. Jes.
6. Trin.
7. Ball.
8. Univ.
9. Pemb.
10. Ex.
St. J
Worc.
Ex.
Qu.
Or.
Ball.
Jes.
Ch. Ch. 2
B.N.C. 2

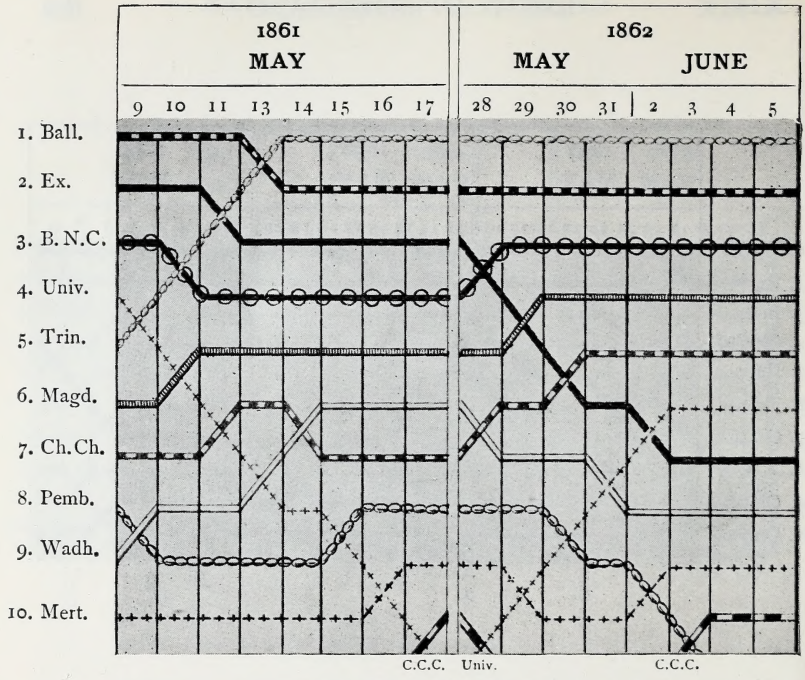

1848
MAY
JUNE
1849
MAY
1850
MAY
23 25 27 29 31 1 3 5
12 14 16 17 19 21 22 24
4 6 8 9 11 13 15 17
1. Ch.Ch.
2. B.N.C.
3. Pemb.
4. Worc.
5. Wadh.
6. Ball.
7. Jes.
8. Ch.Ch.2
9. Linc.
10. Trin.
Or.
St. J.
Ex.
Trin.
Pemb.
Univ.

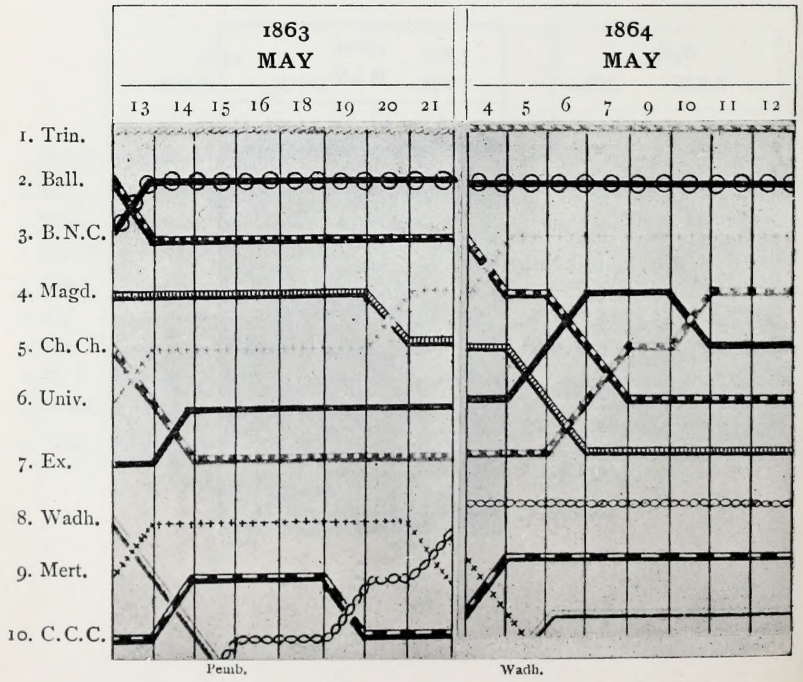

1851
MAY
19 20 22 23 26 27 28 30
1852
MAY
18 19 21 22 24 25 27 28
1853
MAY
2 4 6 7 9 10 12 13
1. Wadh.
2. Ball.
3. B.N.C.
4. Worc.
5. Or.
6. Linc.
7. Ex.
8. Ch. Ch.
9. St. J.
10. Univ.
WADH
Pemb.
Qu.
New Wadh.

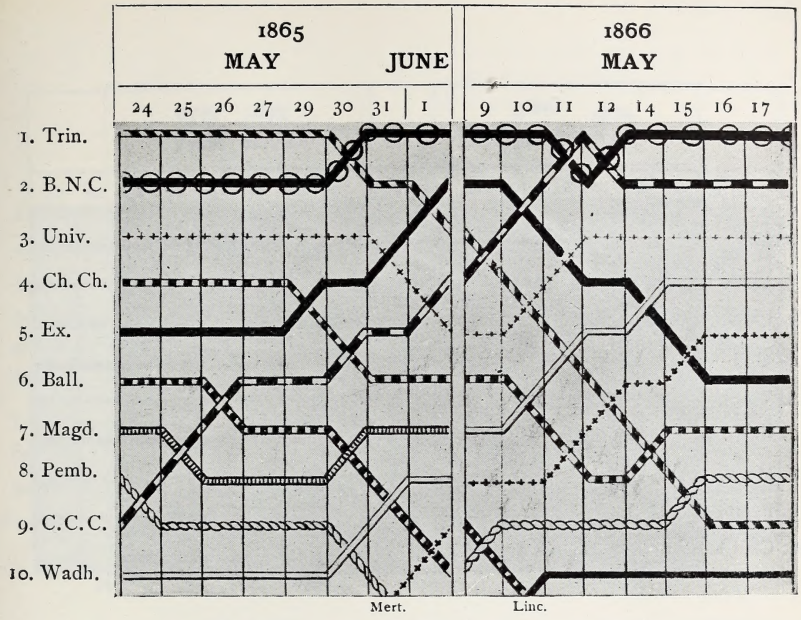

1854
MAY JUNE
23 24 26 27 29 30 1 2
1855
MAY
14 16 18 19 21 22 24 25
1856
APR. MAY
28 30 2 3 5 6 8 9
1. B.N.C.
2. Ball.
3. Worc.
4. Ch. Ch.
5. Pemb.
6. Ex.
7. Linc.
8. St. J.
9. Wadh.
10. Trin.
PEMBROKE
JESUS
QUEENS
Jes.
Magd. H.
Pemb.
Linc.
Or.
Ch Ch. 2

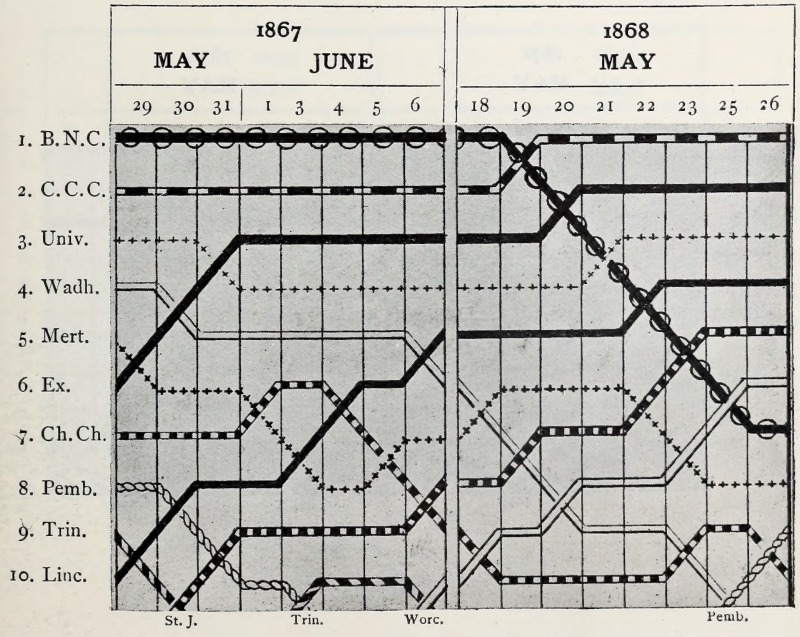

1857
MAY
1858
MAY
1859
JUNE
18 19 21 22 23 25 27 28
12 13 14 15 17 18 19 20
1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9
1. Wadh.
2. Ex.
3. Ball.
4. Ch.Ch.
5. Univ.
6. Trin.
7. Or.
8. B.N.C.
9. Ch.Ch. 2
10. Qu.
Ch. Ch. 2
St. J.
Jes.
Magd.
C.C.C.

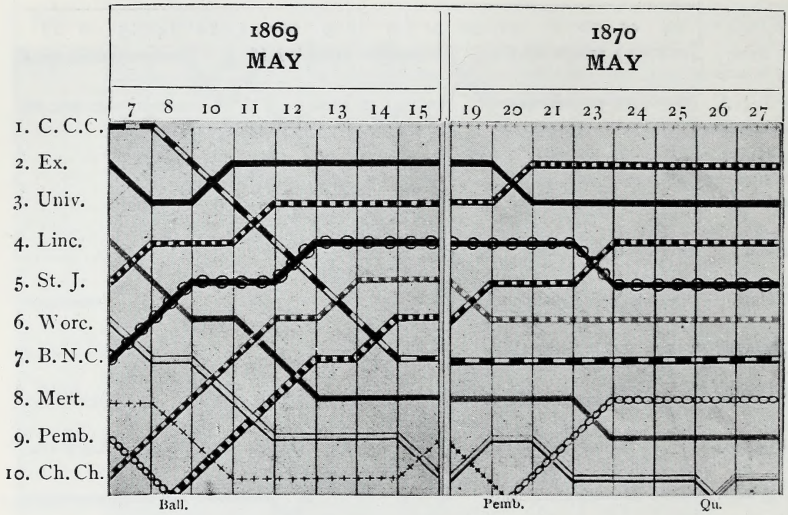

1860
MAY
17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25
1. Ball.
2. Ex.
3. Univ.
4. B.N.C.
5. Or.
6. Pemb.
7. Trin.
8. Magd.
9. Ch. Ch.
10. C.C.C.
Wadh.
Mert.

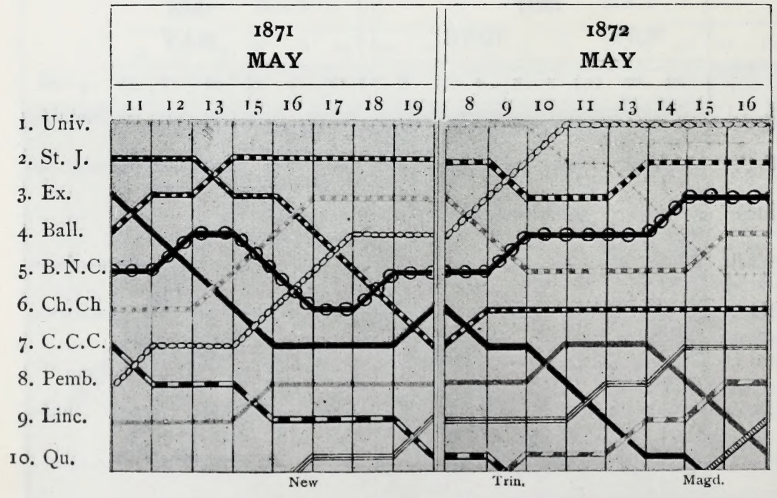

1861
MAY
1862
MAY
JUNE
9 10 11 13 14 15 16 17
28 29 30 31 2 3 4 5
1. Ball.
2. Ex.
3. B. N.C.
4. Univ.
5. Trin.
6. Magd.
7. Ch. Ch.
8. Pemb.
9. Wadh.
10. Mert.
C.C.C.
Univ.
C.C.C.

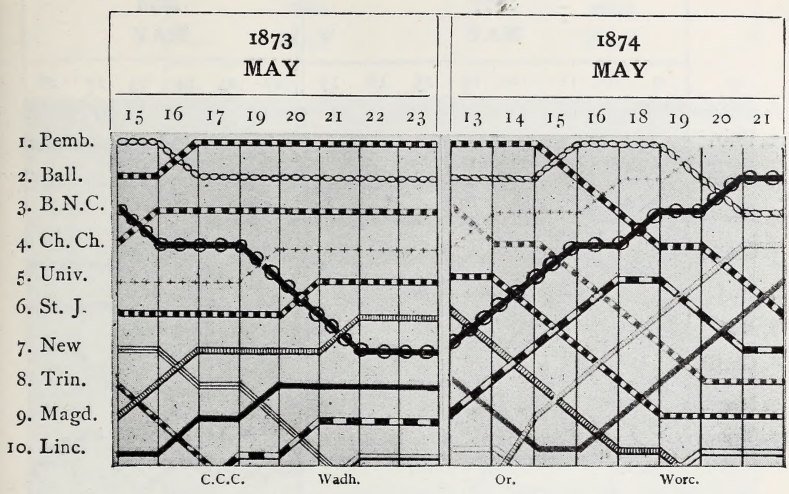

1863
MAY
1864
MAY
13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21
4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12
1. Trin.
2. Ball.
3. B. N.C.
4. Magd.
5. Ch. Ch.
6. Univ.
7. Ex.
8. Wadh.
9. Mert.
10. C. C. C.
Pemb.
Wadh.

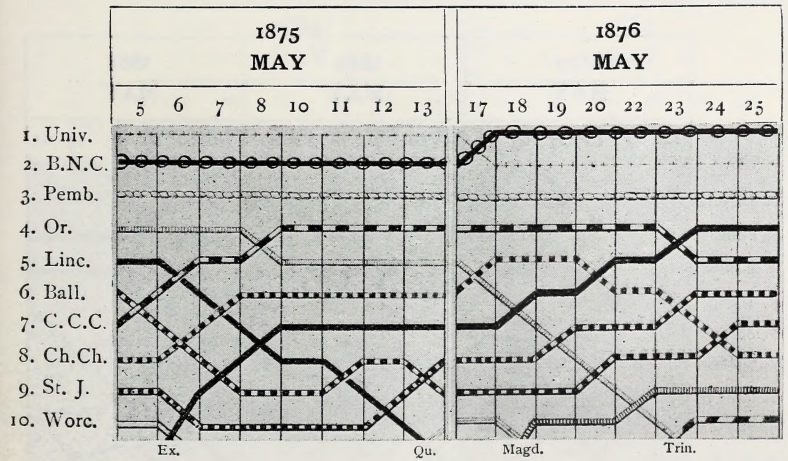

1865
MAY
JUNE
24 25 26 27 29 30 31 1
1866
MAY
9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17
1. Trin.
2. B.N.C.
3. Univ.
4. Ch.Ch.
5. Ex.
6. Ball.
7. Magd.
8. Pemb.
9. C.C.C.
10. Wadh.
Mert.
Linc.

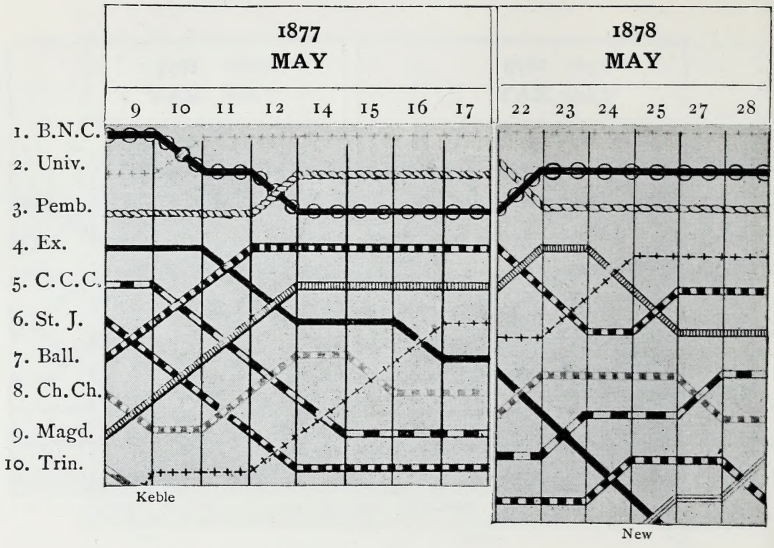

1867
MAY
JUNE
29 30 31 1 3 4 5 6
1868
MAY
18 19 20 21 22 23 25 26
1. B.N.C.
2. C.C.C.
3. Univ.
4. Wadh.
5. Mert.
6. Ex.
7. Ch.Ch.
8. Pemb.
9. Trin.
10. Linc.
St. J.
Trin.
Worc.
Pemb.

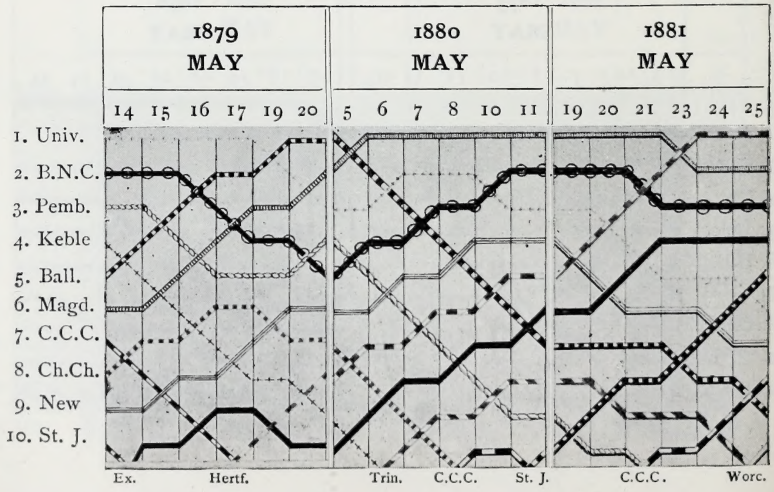

1869
MAY
7 8 10 11 12 13 14 15
1870
MAY
19 20 21 23 24 25 26 27
1. C. C.C.
2. Ex.
3. Univ.
4. Linc.
5. St. J.
6. Worc.
7. B.N.C.
8. Mert.
9. Pemb.
10. Ch. Ch.
Ball.
Pemb.
Qu.

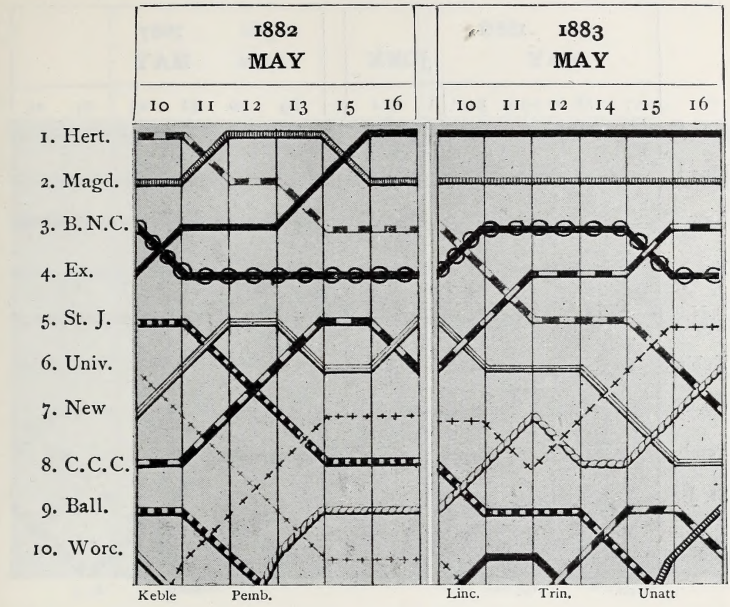

1871
MAY
11 12 13 15 16 17 18 19
1872
MAY
8 9 10 11 13 14 15 16
1. Univ.
2. St. J.
3. Ex.
4. Ball.
5. B.N.C.
6. Ch. Ch
7. C.C.C.
8. Pemb.
9. Linc.
10. Qu.
New
Trin.
Magd.

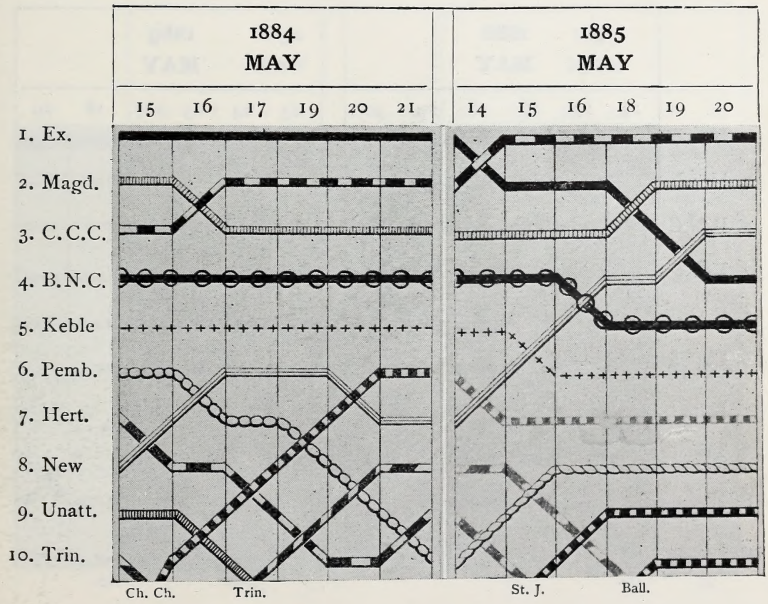

1873
MAY
15 16 17 19 20 21 22 23
1874
MAY
13 14 15 16 18 19 20 21
1. Pemb.
2. Ball.
3. B.N.C.
4. Ch. Ch.
5. Univ.
6. St. J.
7. New
8. Trin.
9. Magd.
10. Linc.
C.C.C.
Wadh.
Or.
Worc.

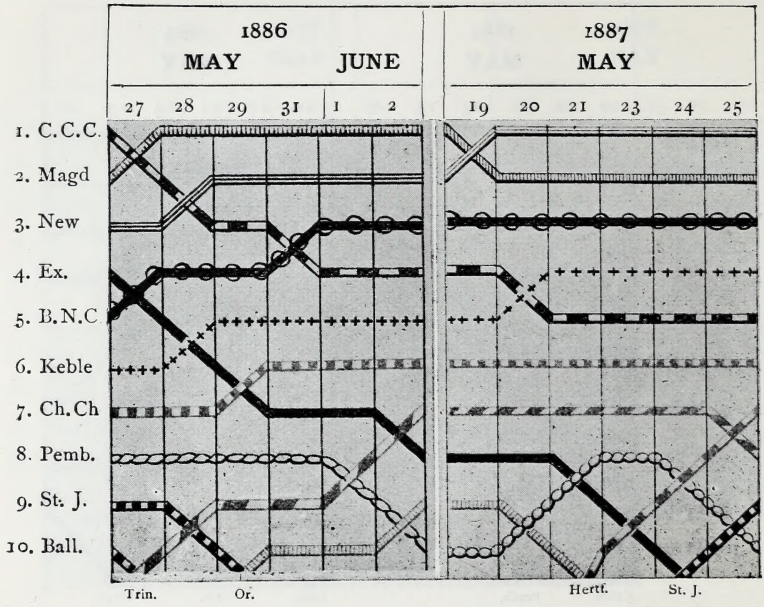

1875
MAY
5 6 7 8 10 11 12 13
1876
MAY
17 18 19 20 22 23 24 25
1. Univ.
2. B.N.C.
3. Pemb.
4. Or.
5. Linc.
6. Ball.
7. C.C.C.
8. Ch.Ch.
9. St. J.
10. Worc.
Ex.
Qu.
Magd.
Trin.

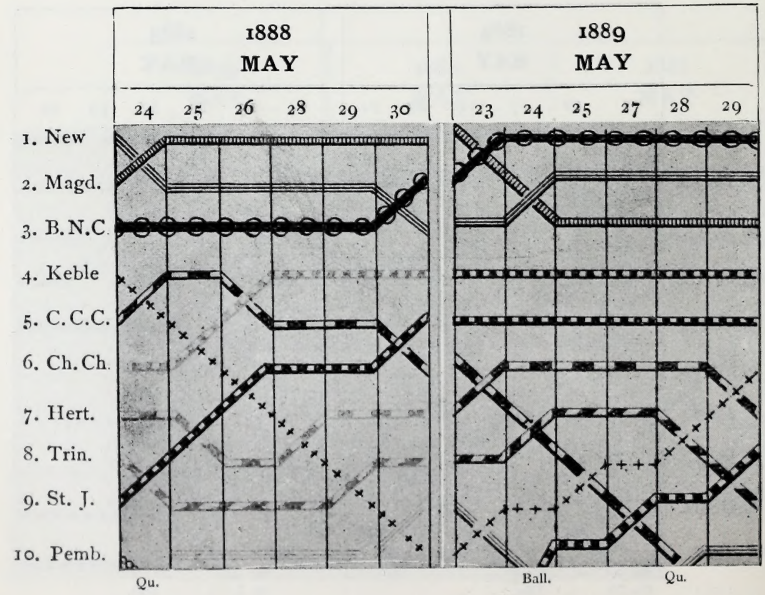

1877
MAY
9 10 11 12 14 15 16 17
1878
MAY
22 23 24 25 27 28
1. B.N.C.
2. Univ.
3. Pemb.
4. Ex.
5. C.C.C.
6. St. J.
7. Ball.
8. Ch.Ch.
9. Magd.
10. Trin.
Keble
New

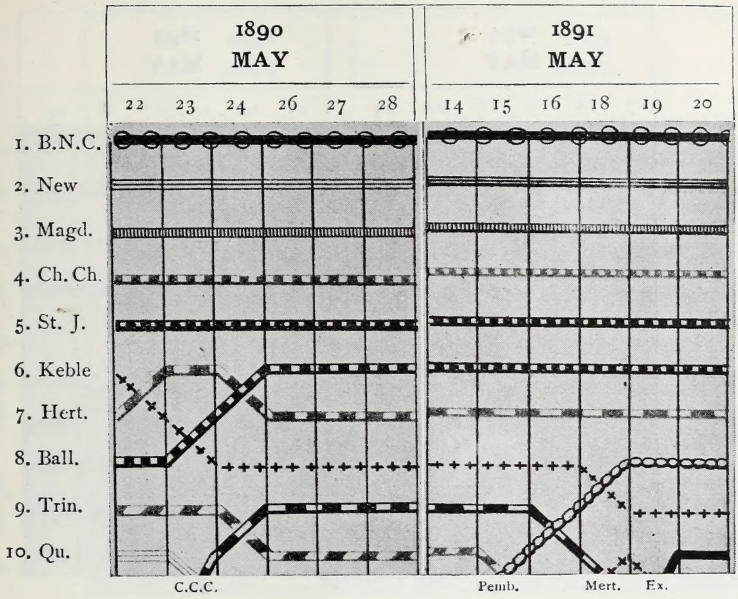

1879
MAY
14 15 16 17 19 20
1880
MAY
5 6 7 8 10 11
1881
MAY
19 20 21 23 24 25
1. Univ.
2. B.N.C.
3. Pemb.
4. Keble
5. Ball.
6. Magd.
7. C.C.C.
8. Ch.Ch.
9. New
10. St. J.
Ex.
Hertf.
Trin.
C.C.C.
St. J.
C.C.C.
Worc.

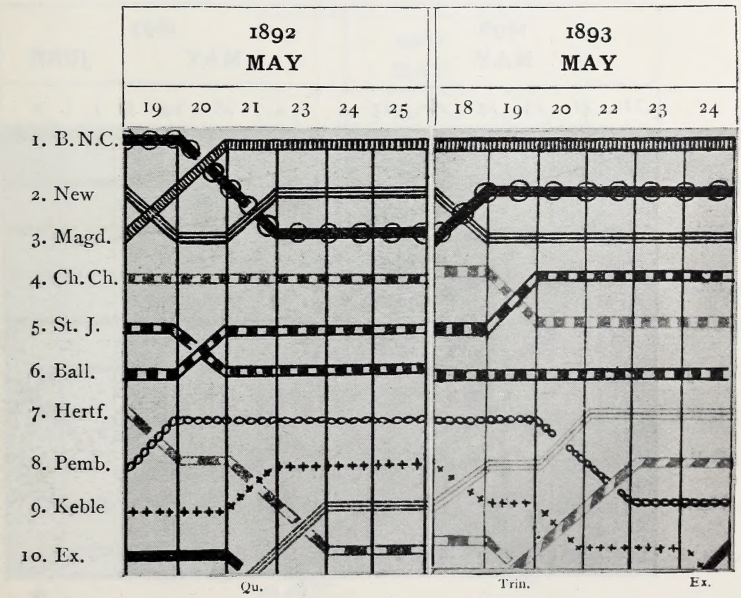

1882
MAY
10 11 12 13 15 16
1883
MAY
10 11 12 14 15 16
1. Hert.
2. Magd.
3. B.N.C.
4. Ex.
5. St. J.
6. Univ.
7. New
8. C.C.C.
9. Ball.
10. Worc.
Keble
Pemb.
Linc.
Trin.
Unatt

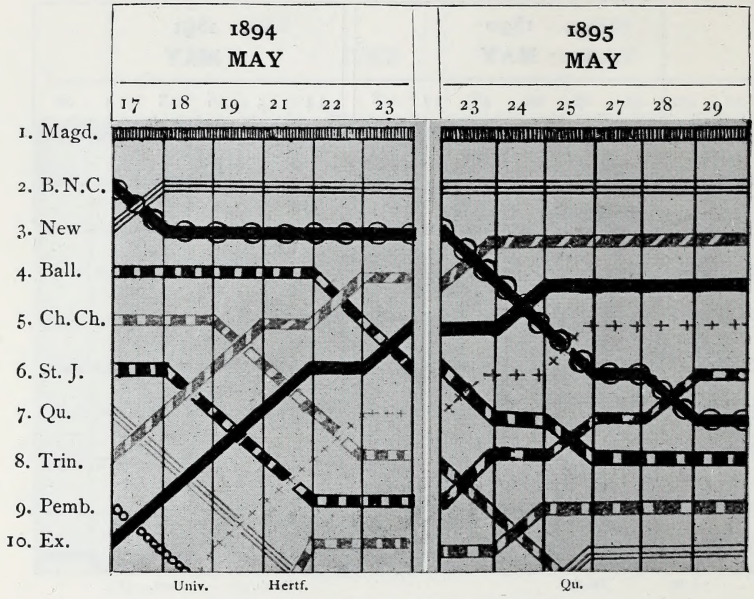

1884
MAY
15 16 17 19 20 21
1885
MAY
14 15 16 18 19 20
1. Ex.
2. Magd.
3. C.C.C.
4. B.N.C.
5. Keble
6. Pemb.
7. Hert.
8. New
9. Unatt.
10. Trin.
Ch. Ch.
Trin.
St. J.
Ball.

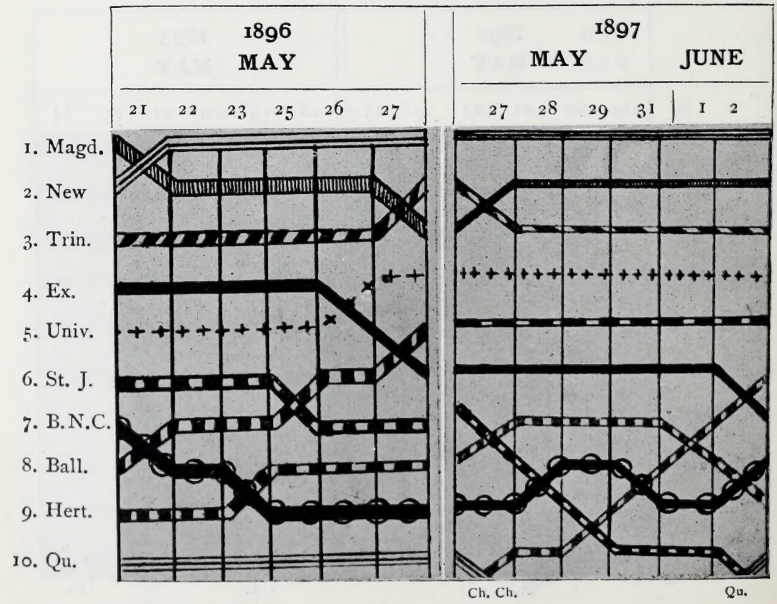

1886
MAY
JUNE
27 28 29 31 1 2
1887
MAY
19 20 21 23 24 25
1. C.C.C.
2. Magd
3. New
4. Ex.
5. B.N.C
6. Keble
7. Ch.Ch
8. Pemb.
9. St. J.
10. Ball.
Trin.
Or.
Hertf.
St. J.

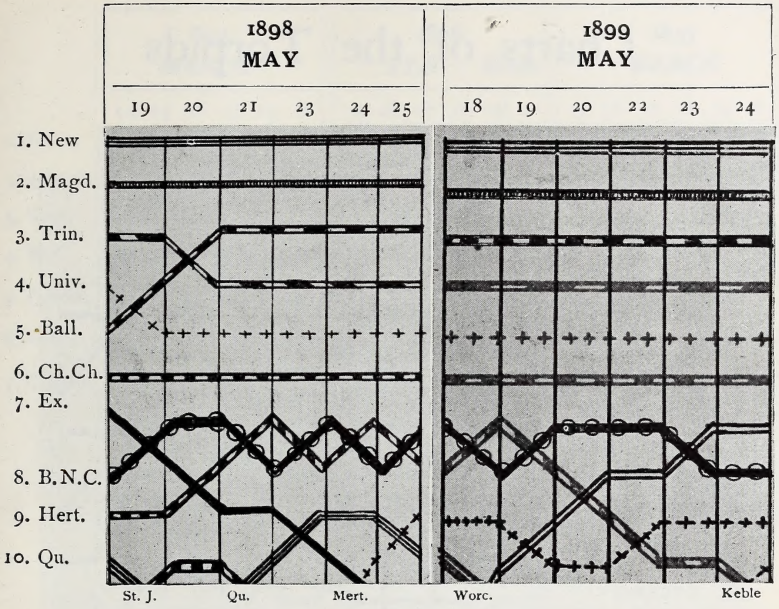

1888
MAY
1889
MAY
24 25 26 28 29 30
23 24 25 27 28 29
1. New
2. Magd.
3. B.N.C.
4. Keble
5. C.C.C.
6. Ch.Ch.
7. Hert.
8. Trin.
9. St. J.
10. Pemb.
Qu.
Ball.
Qu.

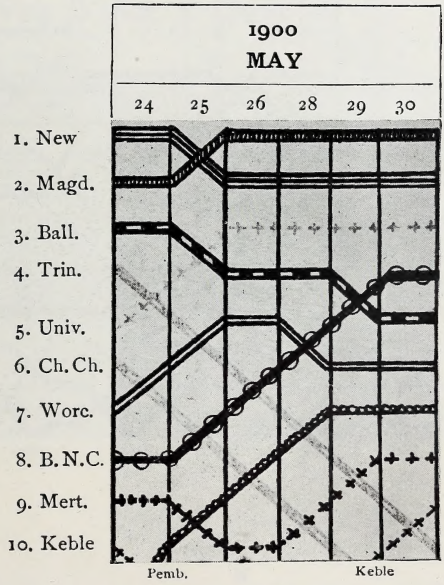

1890
MAY
22 23 24 26 27 28
1891
MAY
14 15 16 18 19 20
1. B.N.C.
2. New
3. Magd.
4. Ch. Ch.
5. St. J.
6. Keble
7. Hert.
8. Ball.
9. Trin.
10. Qu.
C.C.C.
Pemb.
Mert.
Ex.


1892
MAY
19 20 21 23 24 25
1893
MAY
18 19 20 22 23 24
1. B.N.C.
2. New
3. Magd.
4. Ch. Ch.
5. St. J.
6. Ball.
7. Hertf.
8. Pemb.
9. Keble
10. Ex.
Qu.
Trin.
Ex.

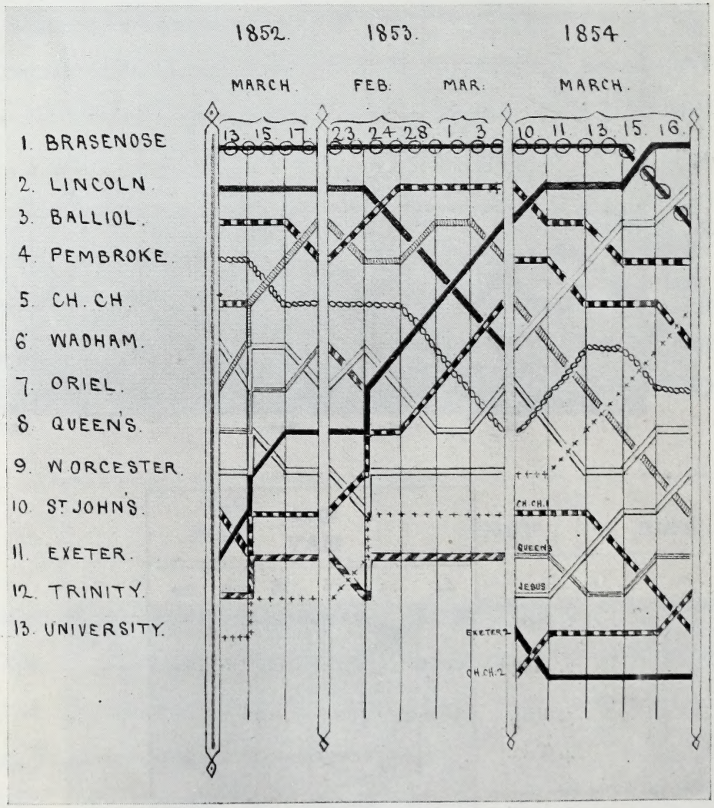

1894
MAY
1895
MAY
17 18 19 21 22 23
23 24 25 27 28 29
1. Magd.
2. B.N.C.
3. New
4. Ball.
5. Ch.Ch.
6. St. J.
7. Qu.
8. Trin.
9. Pemb.
10. Ex.
Univ.
Hertf.
Qu.

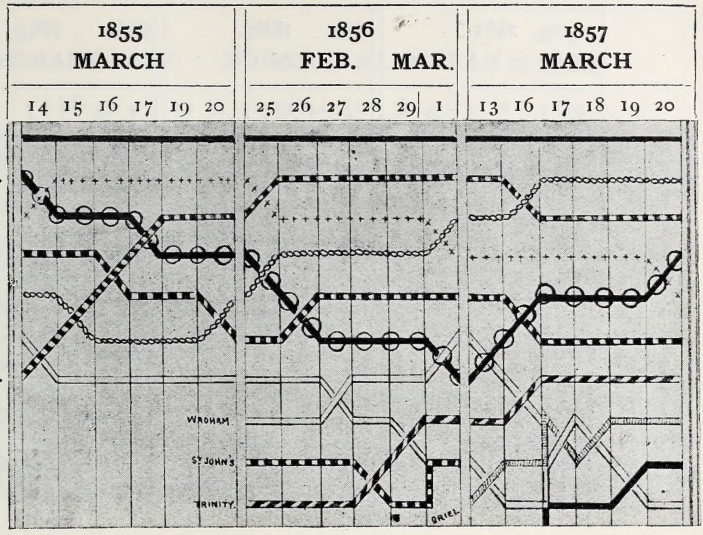

1896
MAY
1897
MAY
JUNE
21 22 23 25 26 27
27 28 29 31 1 2
1. Magd.
2. New
3. Trin.
4. Ex.
5. Univ.
6. St. J.
7. B.N.C.
8. Ball.
9. Hert.
10. Qu.
Ch. Ch.
Qu.

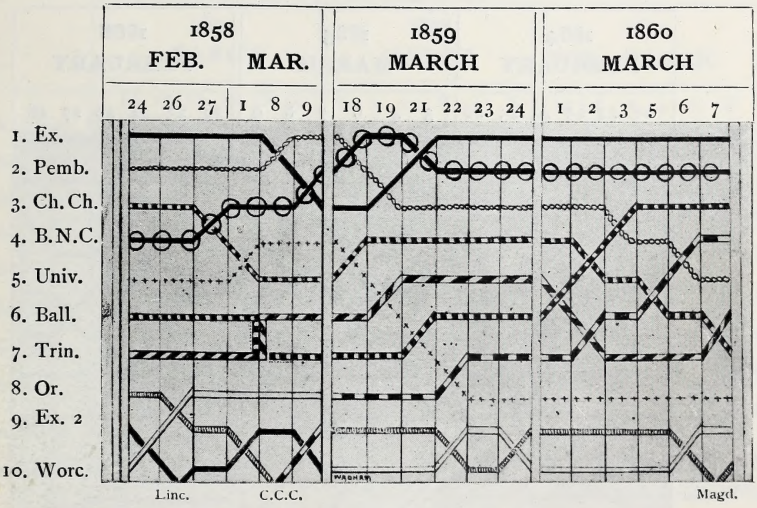

1898
MAY
19 20 21 23 24 25
1899
MAY
18 19 20 22 23 24
1. New
2. Magd.
3. Trin.
4. Univ.
5. Ball.
6. Ch.Ch.
7. Ex.
8. B.N.C.
9. Hert.
10. Qu.
St. J.
Qu.
Mert.
Worc.
Keble

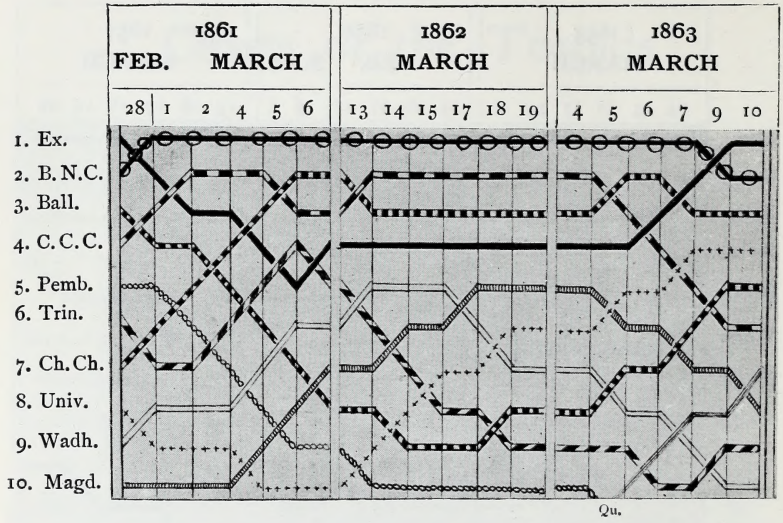

1900
MAY
24 25 26 28 29 30
1. New
2. Magd.
3. Ball.
4. Trin.
5. Univ.
6. Ch. Ch.
7. Worc.
8. B.N.C.
9. Mert.
10. Keble
Pemb.
Keble

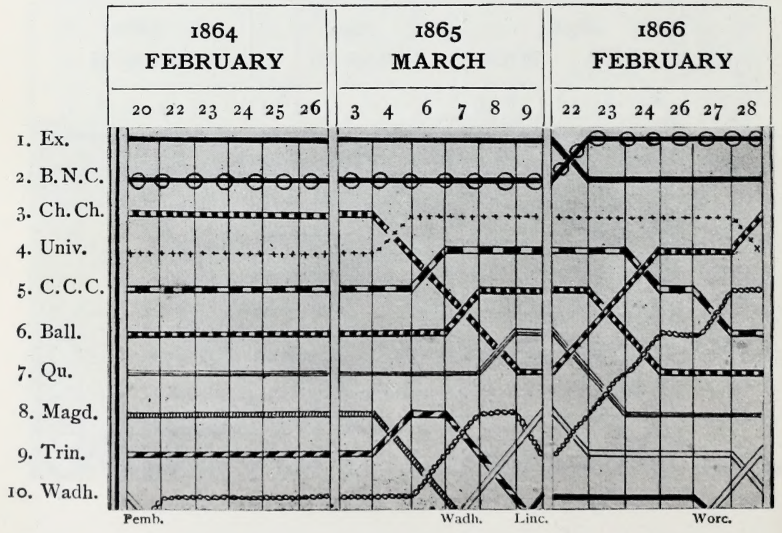
Charts of the Torpids

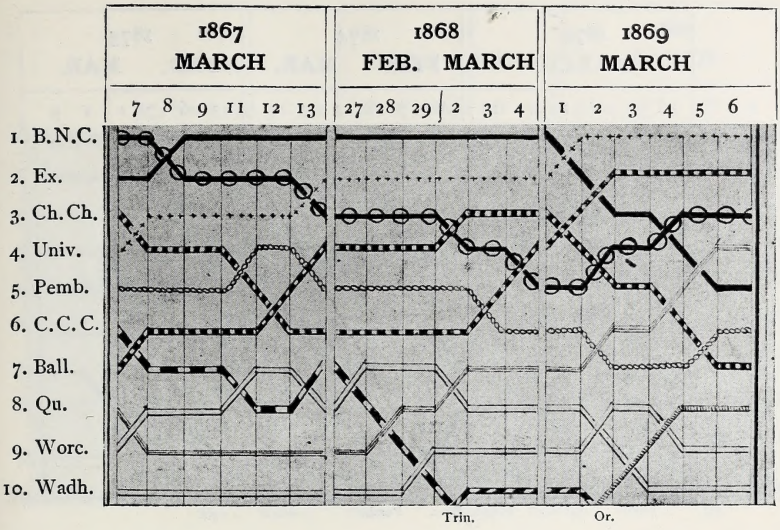


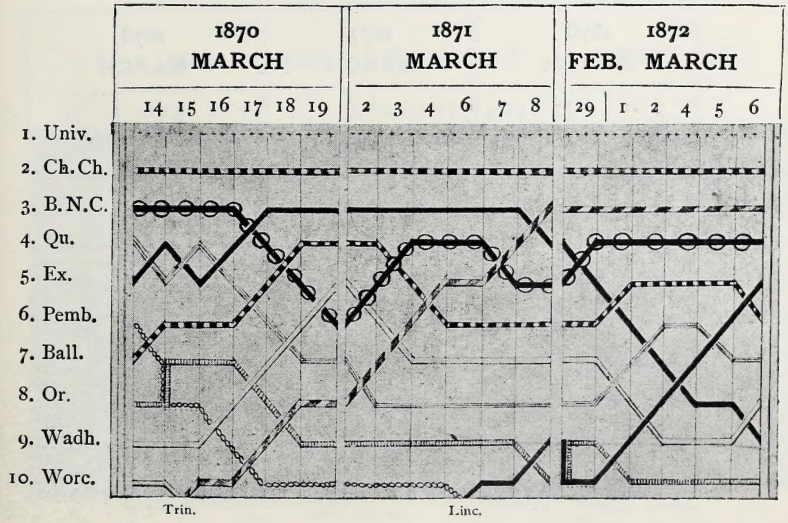

1855
MARCH
14 15 16 17 19 20
1856
FEB. MAR.
25 26 27 28 29 1
1857
MARCH
13 16 17 18 19 20
1. Ex.
2. B.N.C.
3. Univ.
4. Ball.
5. Pemb.
6. Worc.
7. Ch. Ch.
WADHAM
ST JOHN'S
TRINITY
ORIEL

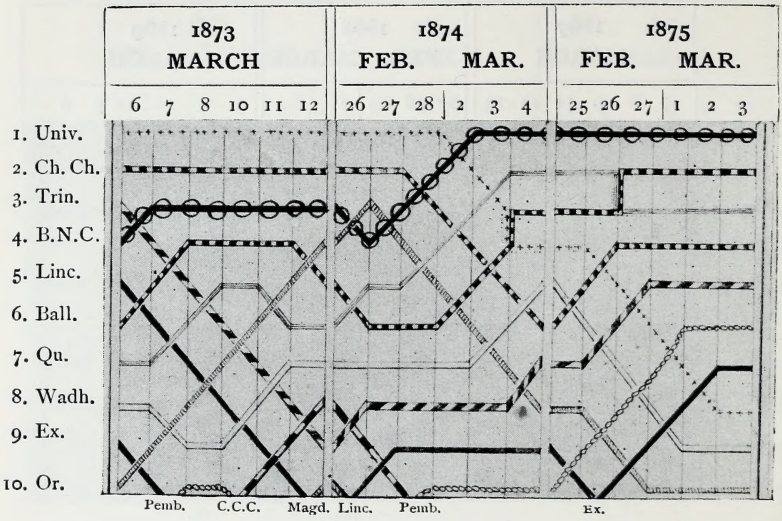

1858
FEB. MAR.
24 26 27 1 8 9
1859
MARCH
18 19 21 22 23 24
1860
MARCH
1 2 3 5 6 7
1. Ex.
2. Pemb.
3. Ch. Ch.
4. B.N.C.
5. Univ.
6. Ball.
7. Trin.
8. Or.
9. Ex. 2
10. Worc.
Linc.
C.C.C.
Magd.

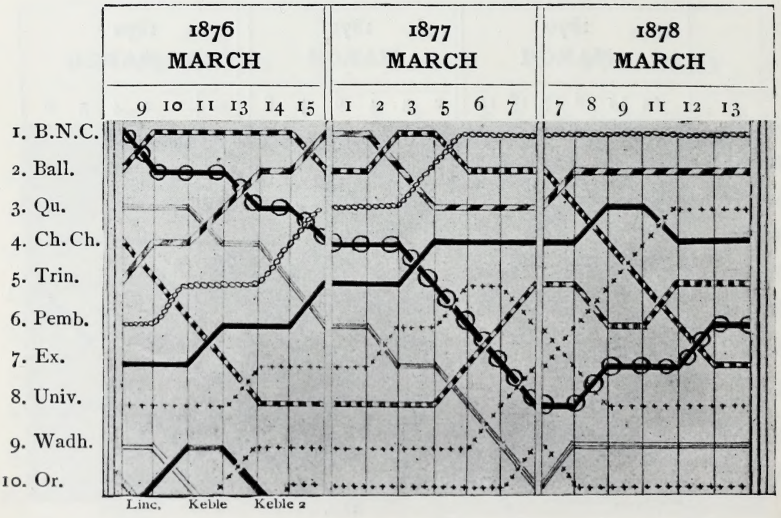

1861
FEB. MARCH
28 1 2 4 5 6
1862
MARCH
13 14 15 17 18 19
1863
MARCH
4 5 6 7 9 10
1. Ex.
2. B.N.C.
3. Ball.
4. C.C.C.
5. Pemb.
6. Trin.
7. Ch.Ch.
8. Univ.
9. Wadh.
10. Magd.
Qu.

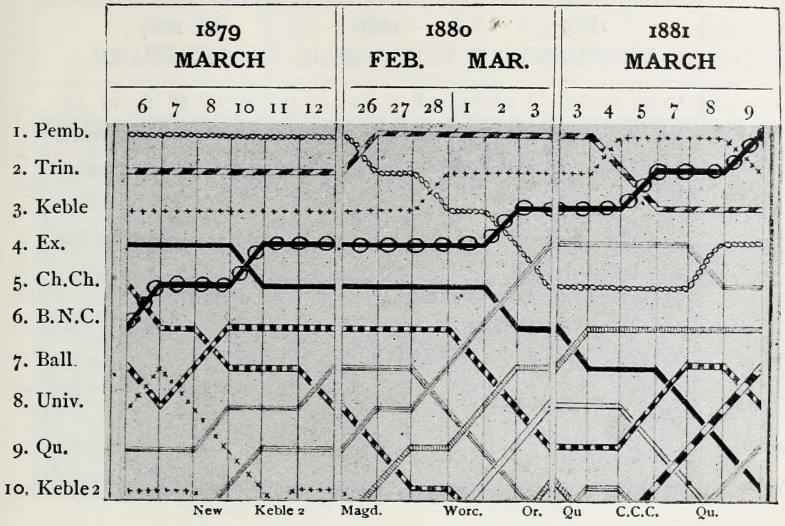

1864
FEBRUARY
20 22 23 24 25 26
1865
MARCH
3 4 6 7 8 9
1866
FEBRUARY
22 23 24 26 27 28
1. Ex.
2. B.N.C.
3. Ch.Ch.
4. Univ.
5. C.C.C.
6. Ball.
7. Qu.
8. Magd.
9. Trin.
10. Wadh.
Pemb.
Wadh.
Linc.
Worc.

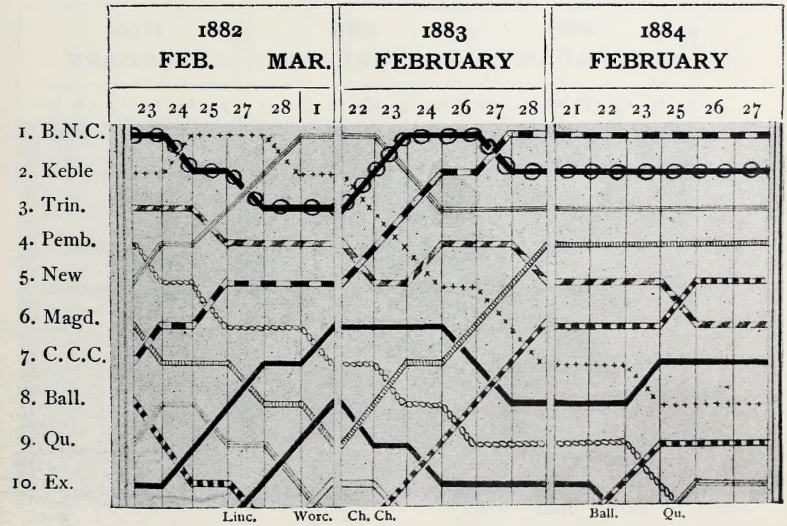

1867
MARCH
7 8 9 11 12 13
1868
FEB. MARCH
27 28 29 2 3 4
1869
MARCH
1 2 3 4 5 6
1. B.N.C.
2. Ex.
3. Ch.Ch.
4. Univ.
5. Pemb.
6. C.C.C.
7. Ball.
8. Qu.
9. Worc.
10. Wadh.
Trin.
Or.

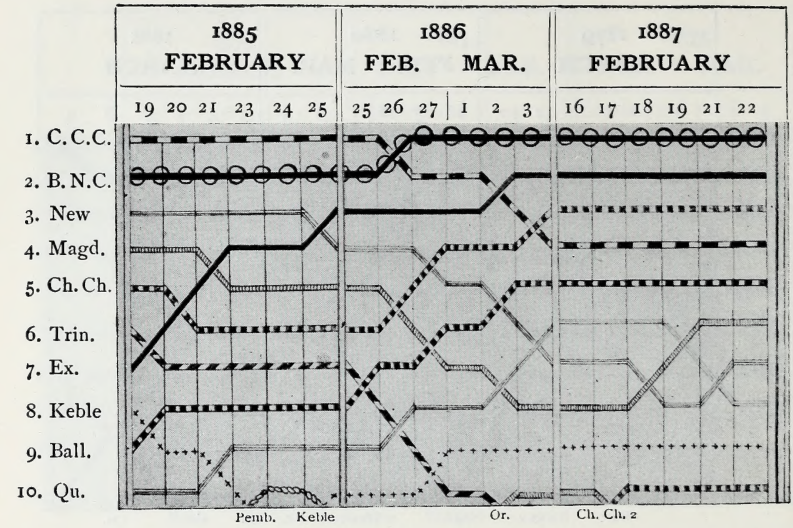

1870
MARCH
14 15 16 17 18 19
1871
MARCH
2 3 4 6 7 8
1872
FEB. MARCH
29 1 2 4 5 6
1. Univ.
2. Ch.Ch.
3. B.N.C.
4. Qu.
5. Ex.
6. Pemb.
7. Ball.
8. Or.
9. Wadh.
10. Worc.
Trin.
Linc.

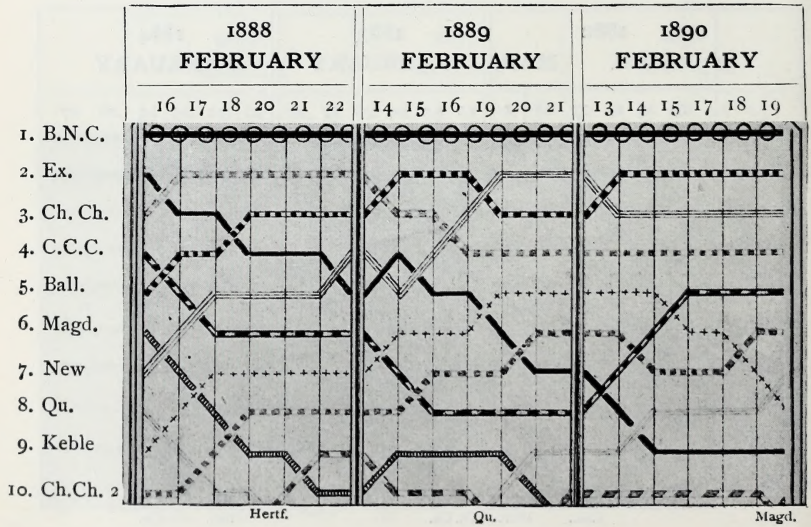

1873
MARCH
6 7 8 10 11 12
1874
FEB. MAR.
26 27 28 2 3 4
1875
FEB. MAR.
25 26 27 1 2 3
1. Univ.
2. Ch. Ch.
3. Trin.
4. B.N.C.
5. Linc.
6. Ball.
7. Qu.
8. Wadh.
9. Ex.
10. Or.
Pemb. C.C.C. Magd. Linc. Pemb. Ex.

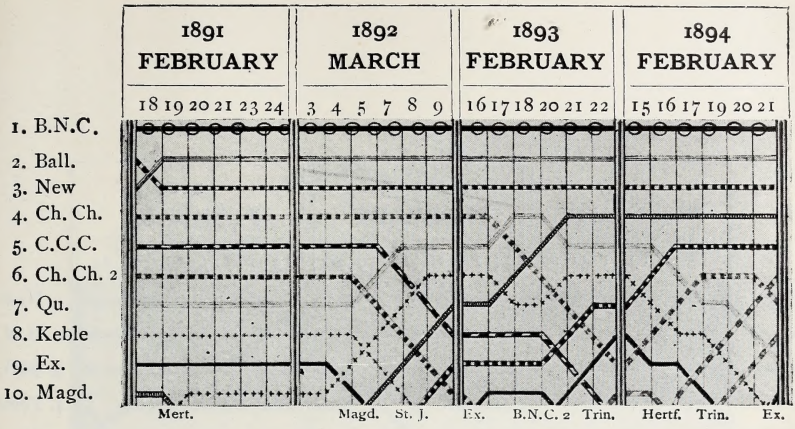

1876
MARCH
9 10 11 13 14 15
1877
MARCH
1 2 3 5 6 7
1878
MARCH
7 8 9 11 12 13
1. B.N.C.
2. Ball.
3. Qu.
4. Ch. Ch.
5. Trin.
6. Pemb.
7. Ex.
8. Univ.
9. Wadh.
10. Or.
Linc. Keble Keble 2

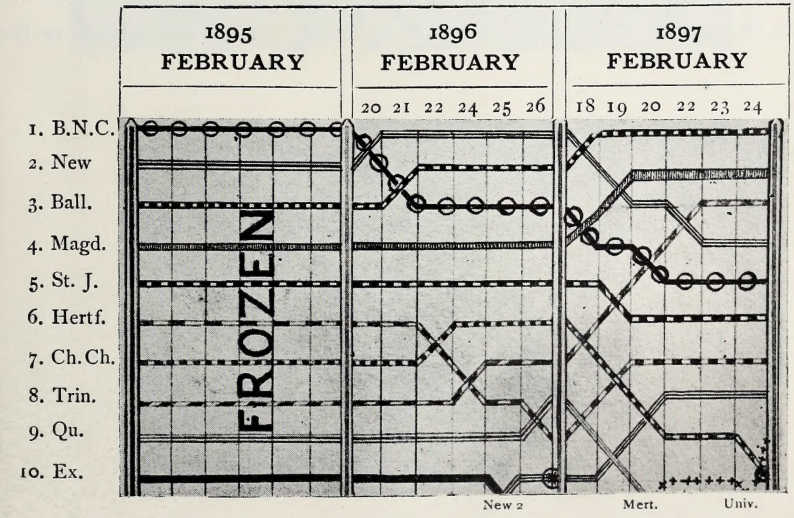

1879
MARCH
6 7 8 10 11 12
1880
FEB. MAR.
26 27 28 1 2 3
1881
MARCH
3 4 5 7 8 9
1. Pemb.
2. Trin.
3. Keble
4. Ex.
5. Ch.Ch.
6. B.N.C.
7. Ball.
8. Univ.
9. Qu.
10. Keble 2
New
Keble 2
Magd.
Worc.
Or.
Qu
C.C.C.
Qu.

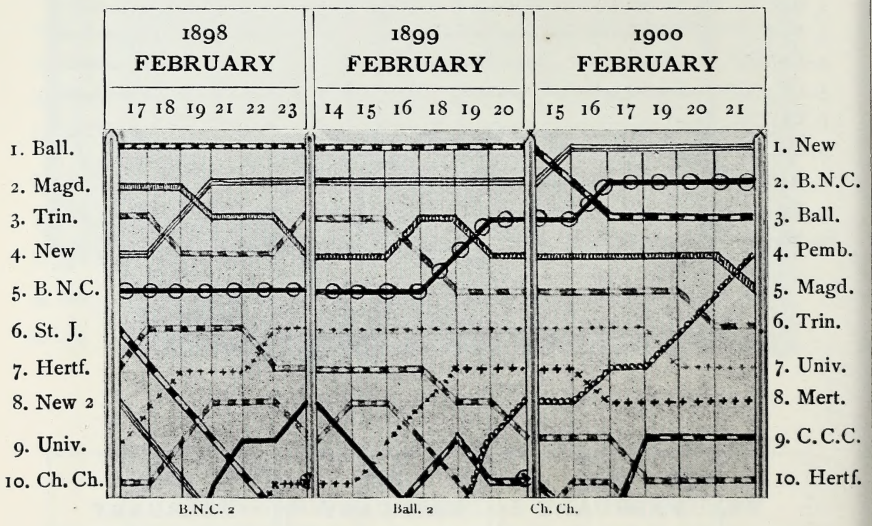

1882
FEB. MAR.
23 24 25 27 28 1
1883
FEBRUARY
22 23 24 26 27 28
1884
FEBRUARY
21 22 23 25 26 27
1. B.N.C.
2. Keble
3. Trin.
4. Pemb.
5. New
6. Magd.
7. C.C.C.
8. Ball.
9. Qu.
10. Ex.
Linc.
Worc.
Ch. Ch.
Ball.
Qu.


1885
FEBRUARY
1886
FEB. MAR.
1887
FEBRUARY
19 20 21 23 24 25
25 26 27 1 2 3
16 17 18 19 21 22
1. C.C.C.
2. B.N.C.
3. New
4. Magd.
5. Ch. Ch.
6. Trin.
7. Ex.
8. Keble
9. Ball.
10. Qu.
Pemb. Keble
Or.
Ch. Ch. 2


1888
FEBRUARY
1889
FEBRUARY
1890
FEBRUARY
16 17 18 20 21 22
14 15 16 19 20 21
13 14 15 17 18 19
1. B.N.C.
2. Ex.
3. Ch. Ch.
4. C.C.C.
5. Ball.
6. Magd.
7. New
8. Qu.
9. Keble
10. Ch.Ch. 2
Hertf.
Qu.
Magd.


1891 FEBRUARY
1892 MARCH
1893 FEBRUARY
1894 FEBRUARY
18 19 20 21 23 24
3 4 5 7 8 9
16 17 18 20 21 22
15 16 17 19 20 21
1. B.N.C.
2. Ball.
3. New
4. Ch. Ch.
5. C.C.C.
6. Ch. Ch. 2
7. Qu.
8. Keble
9. Ex.
10. Magd.
Mert.
Magd. St. J.
Ex. B.N.C. 2 Trin.
Hertf. Trin. Ex.


1895 FEBRUARY
1896 FEBRUARY
1897 FEBRUARY
20 21 22 24 25 26
18 19 20 22 23 24
1. B.N.C.
2. New
3. Ball.
4. Magd.
5. St. J.
6. Hertf.
7. Ch. Ch.
8. Trin.
9. Qu.
10. Ex.
FROZEN
New 2
Mert.
Univ.


1898
FEBRUARY
17 18 19 21 22 23
1899
FEBRUARY
14 15 16 18 19 20
1900
FEBRUARY
15 16 17 19 20 21
1. Ball.
2. Magd.
3. Trin.
4. New
5. B.N.C.
6. St. J.
7. Hertf.
8. New 2
9. Univ.
10. Ch. Ch.
1. New
2. B.N.C.
3. Ball.
4. Pemb.
5. Magd.
6. Trin.
7. Univ.
8. Mert.
9. C.C.C.
10. Hertf.
B.N.C. 2
Ball. 2
Ch. Ch.

APPENDIX XI

The following Tables give the place of the Eight and the Torpids for each year :—

75	76	7
2	1	
6	8	
9	7	
12	10	1
7	4	
1	2	
17	17	.
10	15	1
5	13	1
8	6	1
18	18	1
4	5	
3	3	
13	9	
16	19	1
11	11	1
14	14	1
20	20	2
...	16	1
...	...	..
21	...	2
19	...	..
15	12	(
...	21	1(

ivisions.

THE EIGHTS

| | 1815 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 1900 |
|---|---|---

53	54	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900
8	9	22	22	27	29	29	22	17
...	13	7	7	6	10	9	11	12
3	1	10	10	11	15	19	21	15
2	5	3	3	2	1	1	1	3
5	11	20	20	21	20	21	19	21
1	3	1	1	3	5	5	3	2
6	2	21	21	20	26	28	25	25
11	...	8	8	7	3	3	5	6
10	4	18	18	16	9	6	6	7
9	7	13	13	14	17	13	8	4
...	10	9	9	8	13	18	17	19
4	6	5	5	5	6	12	18	24
7	...	24	24	23	27	23	27	23
...	...	6	6	9	7	7	9	10
...	8	17	17	17	22	24	26	27
...	12	16	16	15	19	17	16	18
...	14	...	...	26	21	25	...	...
...	...	15	15	18	12	16	13	9
...	...	4	4	4	2	4	4	5
...	...	30	30	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	2	2	1	4	2	2	1
...	...	11	11	12	11	10	7	8
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	19	19	19	18	15	15	11
...	...	29	29	22	16	11	10	13
...	...	26	26	24	24	26	20	20
...	...	25	25	25	30	27	23	26
...	...	27	27	30	...	31	28	28
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	31	31	28	23	22	24	22
...	...	12	12	13	14	8	14	16
...	...	14	14	10	8	14	12	14

	1838	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	1900
Worcester	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	12	9	10	8	9	7	...	10	8	...	...	...	...	14	13	12	9	8	8	10	12	16	16	13	12	16	15	15	20	15	8	11	10	11	16	19	22	25	27	26	24	22	20	19	22	22	27	29	29	22	17
Christ Church	2	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	5	5	4	6	...	3	6	...	13	3	2	3	5	4	7	2	3	3	3	7	3	6	4	2	2	2	2	6	4	8	5	5	8	12	12	12	6	5	6	3	3	2	4	4	4	9	7	7	6	10	9	11	12
Exeter	3	...	...	4	2	...	5	...	1	1	...	5	7	10	9	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	3	4	9	15	11	7	5	4	4	5	6	10	6	8	7	3	2	2	5	7	9	9	11	12	10	10	11	15	19	21	15
Balliol	4	...	...	...	8	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	4	2	5	6	5	6	7	6	3	8	8	5	6	5	7	4	3	7	4	6	6	5	3	2	2	2	7	6	9	8	13	12	9	8	5	5	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	3
Oriel	...	1	...	5	...	2	1	4	...	...	...	3	11	7	3	5	11	...	...	8	11	9	11	11	11	...	...	...	...	16	12	8	9	10	10	4	8	10	16	19	15	16	10	16	15	16	18	15	10	12	11	14	15	21	22	24	20	20	21	20	21	19	21
Brasenose	...	2	...	2	1	...	6	1	3	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	4	7	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	5	3	6	5	4	3	1	1	4	8	6	4	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	3	2
Wadham	...	...	1	...	7	...	2	2	...	4	3	1	3	6	8	6	2	...	6	...	...	10	9	6	7	10	12	8	10	10	9	9	5	7	8	7	5	9	14	18	16	18	...	19	17	18	12	12	13	11	15	16	19	18	17	17	21	21	20	26	28	25	25
Trinity	...	...	...	1	6	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	11	...	...	...	9	7	6	5	6	5	9	9	9	11	13	12	10	12	8	3	3	9	7	5	1	3	2	2	1	3	4	5	6	7	11	13	14	10	11	12	15	10	8	8	7	3	3	5	6
University	...	...	...	3	3	1	...	...	4	...	...	7	8	...	13	10	4	2	4	5	4	8	8	10	6	4	4	3	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	8	7	6	8	12	14	14	14	13	19	20	18	15	16	18	22	25	24	21	18	18	16	9	6	6	7
Pembroke	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	4	5	9	7	5	3	2	1	3	5	9	10	11	10	9	5	5	6	6	10	11	11	12	10	6	3	1	1	1	5	4	7	9	11	11	15	17	21	19	18	16	18	14	13	13	14	17	13	8	4
Queen's	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	6	...	7	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	12	12	...	7	7	6	8	9	7	4	7	8	7	6	2	3	6	10	9	7	11	9	11	14	10	9	6	8	12	9	7	7	5	5	9	9	8	13	18	17	19
St. John's	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	4	8	11	4	6	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	14	12	14	15	14	14	14	13	16	16	15	11	12	17	13	18	17	16	20	22	21	19	16	17	12	13	13	9	7	5	5	5	6	12	18	24
Lincoln	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	2	2	7	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	14	10	11	11	14	16	11	9	5	11	9	11	12	11	13	17	21	15	8	10	13	18	17	18	18	23	20	19	23	22	24	24	23	27	23	27	23
Magdalen Hall } Hertford }	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	24	19	18	19	19	15	17	14	14	9	13	14	15	16	13	6	6	9	7	7	9	10
Jesus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	11	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	24	...	...	21	16	16	19	23	27	...	27	21	20	17	17	17	22	24	26	27
Christ Church II	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	17	17	...	22	...	23	21	...	20	20	15	14	13	12	10	8	6	6	6	10	13	16	16	15	19	17	16
Exeter II	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	9	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	14	13	11	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	26	27	...	...	26	26	...	...	21	25	...	...
Corpus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	7	4	3	2	6	5	4	6	7	13	13	13	13	14	8	13	17	19	20	14	14	13	7	5	1	1	1	4	4	6	8	5	5	8	11	15	15	18	12	16	13	9
Magdalen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	7	5	8	8	13	...	...	...	...	...	16	12	12	10	14	12	13	16	12	11	7	6	9	4	4	5	8	6	10	11	10	11	7	4	4	4	4	2	4	4	5
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XIV. 2

The Nineteenth Century

Contributions by

J. Buchan, A. J. Jenkinson, T. Humphry Ward and F. Madan

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(A)

Nine Brasenose Worthies

By

John Buchan

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NINE BRASENOSE WORTHIES

A HISTORY of a college has few landmarks. The communal academic life moves easily and quietly, and lists of successes in sport or in the schools, of entries and graduations, of acquisitions and benefactions, are the sum of its chronicle. Once in a generation some scheme of university reform may leave its mark on the college, and once in three centuries some great upheaval may bring the foundation into the light of national history. But by the side of the placid academic tale there runs, at a brisker pace, another—the story of the doings of those *alumni* whose fame has gone beyond college walls. To the world, which is not greatly concerned with Oxford affairs, the history of the college is the history of her famous men. A college, like a school, is judged on her record, and that record is interpreted in the worldly rather than in the academic sense. The instinct is, perhaps, a sound one; for education, of all the arts, must take large views and be valued by its ultimate achievement.

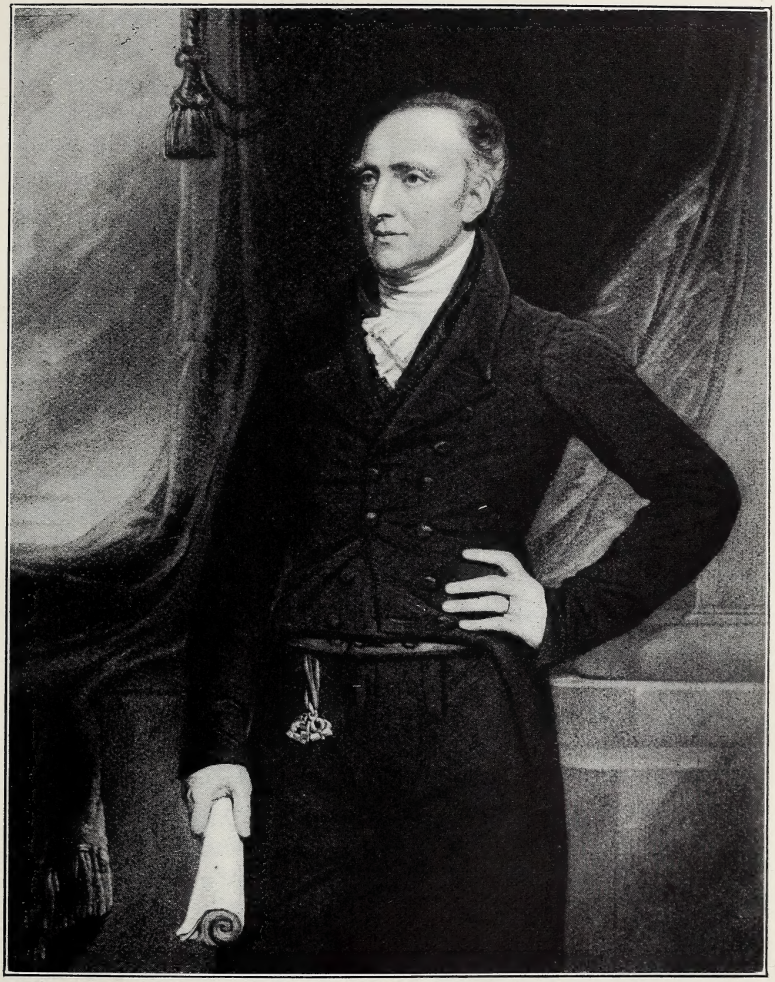
The Brasenose roll of honour in the nineteenth century is not long, but, as might have been foretold from the catholic traditions of the place, it is curiously varied. Its shortness carries no stigma, for it is amply proportioned to the size of a foundation which has never been other than small. There is a second reason, not less creditable. When Mark Pattison came to Oxford he found that the two colleges highest in repute were Brasenose and Oriel; but Brasenose terrified him—it was too full of rich young country gentlemen. The fashion continued during the better part of the century. Brasenose was a college for the average man, making no specialty of this or that type of scholarship; and, since Lord Curzon has taught us that it is the true collegiate function to provide a training for all stations and temperaments, we must set this *average* quality

to her credit. She has laboured always to produce the type rather than the individual; her honours, therefore, are no forced hot-house product, but the natural flower of a normal and vigorous corporate life.

I

Henry Addington.

Many worthy members of the college have sat on the Conservative back-benches in Parliament, but Henry Addington is our only Prime Minister. He is not the most distinguished on the list. 'The son of the respected family physician who had prescribed colchicum to the elder and port to the younger Pitt, Addington carried into politics the indefinable air of a village apothecary inspecting the tongue of the State.' So writes Lord Rosebery, who has filled the same high office. Addington is a good instance of how smooth the political path could be made for a young man with means and interest. From Winchester he came to Brasenose, where he won the Chancellor's English Essay and the Vinerian Scholarship, and acquired a taste for writing indifferent verse. He went to the Bar, and at twenty-six was brought into Parliament for Devizes, in time to support the first administration of his boyhood's companion. Pitt was a loyal friend, and at thirty-two we find Addington Speaker of the Commons, with an income of £6,000. For eleven years he filled the office with considerable credit, one of his few blunders being the partiality which he showed towards Pitt in the famous dispute with Tierney in 1798. It was his friend's Irish policy that brought him to the Treasury Bench. He had the good fortune to differ from Pitt, being of an old staunch no-popery spirit, and the fact coming to the King's ears won him the royal affections. In 1801 he was called upon to form a government, and succeeded in stringing together a few mediocrities. Pitt was, of course, outside; and Castlereagh and Canning refused to serve under 'the Doctor'. The Peace of Amiens was made by Addington, and won him great popularity. Neither lasted long, for clouds soon gathered, and the prime minister was no pilot for storms. War broke out again in 1803, and, to increase Addington's difficulties, he had quarrelled with



Henry Addington, Viscount Sidmouth

Pitt. Alone, he was no match for the Whigs and the malcontent Pittites in the House any more than he was a match for Napoleon abroad. His stalwart bodyguard of country gentry availed him little. Fox was warned that his tactics would bring back Pitt, and replied, 'Anything but fools.' The game was up when Pitt himself went into opposition, and in the spring of 1804 Addington resigned.

Addington, however, was no fool, and was to see out all his rivals at the game. A year later he was made Lord Sidmouth, and for nearly twenty years he continued to ornament Cabinets. He was in the Coalition of 1806; he was in Perceval's government of 1812; and for ten years held the Secretaryship for the Home Department. In this last post he had his fill of strife. Luddite riots at York, suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, treason trials, Manchester massacres, and Cato-street conspiracies made up the simple routine of his days. The Six Acts and the part he took against Queen Caroline did not add to his general popularity. Gradually he slipped out of active life, and spent the remainder of his eighty-seven years in retired leisure. But, true to his principles, the last speech he made was against Catholic Emancipation, and the last vote he gave against the first Reform Bill.

Addington had the misfortune to be despised by the men whose scorn creates an unpleasing immortality. He was really a very useful public servant, a good speaker, an excellent departmental chief, and, if his policy was stagnation, so was that of everybody else on his side except Canning and Pitt. He did not incur bitter and passionate hatred like Castlereagh, but he got what was worse, a good-humoured contempt, and he got it from both parties. Fox and Sheridan and the Whig wits made game of him, but likewise, and far more savagely, did Canning. The facts that he was the son of his father the doctor: that his name lent itself to rhyme with Paddington: that he was pompous and sententious and deplorably dull: and, finally, that he had the domestic and other virtues, were all damaging weapons in the hands of his keen-witted adversaries. The truth is that he was lucky beyond his deserts, and that the manner which he bore from

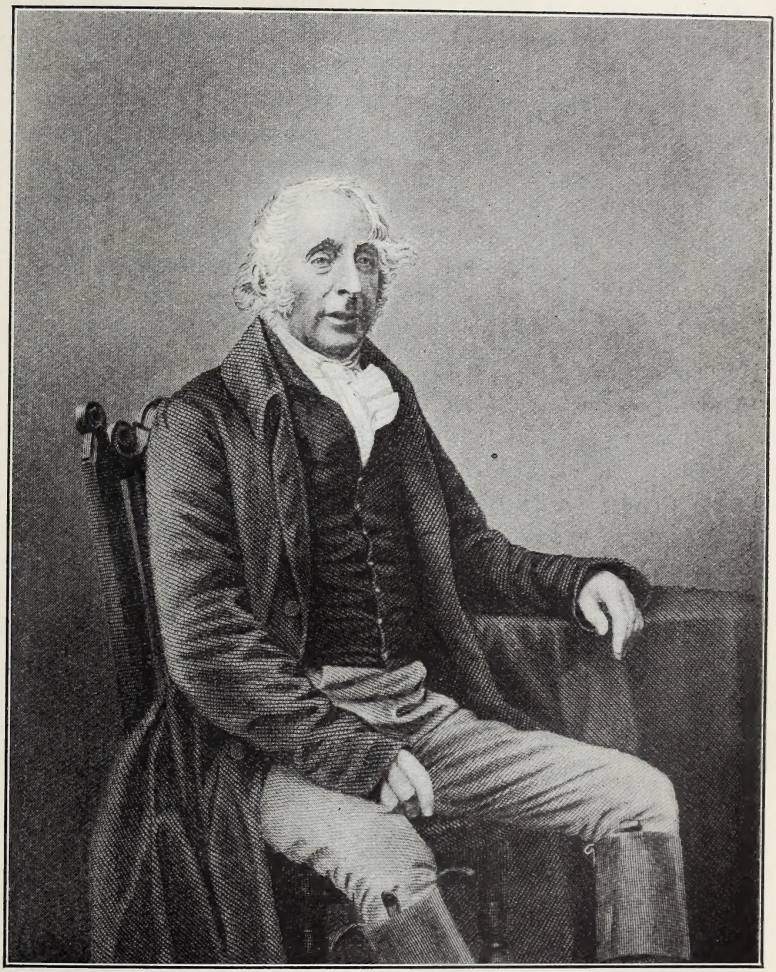
the Speaker's chair was a little ridiculous on the floor of the House. Also he suffered the penalty of association, and in consequence of contrast, with a genius of the first order. But with all allowances, he was no bad type of one permanent strain in English life, and he gave his best years and all his interests to his country's service.[1]

II

Sir Tatton Sykes.

With Sir Tatton Sykes we return to an older and quieter world. He is such a figure as Addison might have drawn in the *Spectator*, or Borrow met in some highway wandering. Born in 1772 of a famous Yorkshire stock, he matriculated in 1788 as a Gentleman-Commoner at Brasenose. There is no record of his undergraduate life, but it may be presumed that, like most men of his time and tastes, he used the College as a hunting-box. He learned law in the office of a London attorney, and something of accounts in a bank at Hull, but the business of his life was the duties of a country gentleman. Nature had given him a wonderful body, and the stories of his feats almost pass belief. When he was in the Hull bank he would walk the thirty-two miles to his home at Sledmere of a Saturday afternoon, and walk back in time for his work on the Monday morning. Once he rode from Sledmere to Aberdeen to ride Lord Huntly's 'Kutosoff,' and when the race was over started home without waiting to dine, and slept the first night at Brechin. The performance took six days, and the distance there and back was some 720 miles. He stood over six feet, but his figure was wiry and slim, and he used to ride eleven stone. Until his last day he followed the fashions of his youth in dress—a long frock-coat, a frilled shirt, drab breeches, and top-boots. 'His habits were most simple and regular. He rose at five in winter and at dawn in summer-time, often visiting his kennels at Eddlethorpe (fifteen miles from Sledmere) by daybreak. His favourite breakfast was a jug of new milk and an immense apple-pie. Then he would go out and send the first stonebreaker he met up to the

[1] *Life of Viscount Sidmouth*, by Pellew; Rosebery's *Pitt*; Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*; *Memorials of Charles James Fox*, &c.



Sir Tatton Sykes

house for a meal, while he broke stones for his morning's exercise. His luncheon was generally a crust of brown bread, Yorkshire cream cheese, and a pint of the famous Sledmere ale. This ale was famous over the whole north of England, and, be it said to his honour, no thirsty man was ever turned from his door. His figure was well known at every cattle-fair and race-meeting. He and his servant would travel quietly together to some race, master and man riding side by side and eating at the same table; and with it all he was always the great gentleman. Yorkshire regarded him as her peculiar pride, and it used to be said that natives of the county had three things which they wished all visitors to see. The first was York Minster, the second Fountains Abbey, and the third, without fail, Sir Tatton.'[1]

No side of country life, no form of field sport, came amiss to him. A good sheep, a good dog, a good horse, were all alike welcome. He owned and rode his own racehorses, bred prize stock, and kept the hounds. He was a north countryman always, and it was at Malton and Doncaster rather than Epsom or Newmarket that his famous colours—orange and purple—were seen at the winning-post. From his stables came Grey Momus, The Lawyer, St. Giles, Gaspard, and Elcho—if such classic names mean anything to an inerudite age. When he was seventy-four he led back a horse, called by his name, as winner of the St. Leger. Till his seventy-seventh year he was the most popular master of foxhounds in England, rarely missing a day's hunting, and to the end riding as straight as the youngest. As to his manner of riding races, let me quote one of his friends: 'If he is asked to go a hundred miles to ride a race, he puts a clean shirt in his pocket, his racing-jacket under his waistcoat, a pair of overalls above his leathers, and, jumping upon some thoroughbred, arrives there the next day by the time of starting, and, when the race is over, canters his thoroughbred home again.' Like a good horse he loved a good man; and for heroes like Tom Sayers, Jem Belcher, or 'Gentleman Jackson,' his old master, he had the warmest esteem. When occasion arose

[1] From the author's *Brasenose College*, p. 135.

he could use his hands with the best of them. 'Once he was travelling on one of his expeditions and stopped at a little alehouse for refreshment. Two great ruffianly-looking drovers were leaning against the bar, and when the ale was served one of them coolly lifted the pot and drained it. Sir Tatton said nothing, but quietly ordered more. When it was brought the second drover played the same trick with it. Sir Tatton, with indescribable meekness, ordered a third supply, drank it, and then, buttoning his coat, asked them sweetly which he should take first. In a quarter of an hour the slim, quiet-tempered man had given the two louts the best thrashing they had ever received.'[1]

Few men can have more heartily enjoyed life, and few have been more heartily beloved by their generation. A countryman with no hint of the bucolic, a sportsman without brutality or roughness—for his speech was singularly quiet and dignified, and he never used an oath—he made out of the pursuits of the ordinary squire a humane and liberal profession. He lived to a patriarchal age, and that ebbing of strength, so bitter to the man who has spent his days out of doors, was scarcely felt by him. At the age of eighty-eight he wanted to go to Cairo to a sale of Arabs, but could find no one to accompany him. Next year he got into a great heat breaking stones by the roadside, and after his modest luncheon fell asleep on the ground. He awoke badly chilled, and his health was never the same again, so that instead of completing his century, as he had hoped, he died in his ninety-first year. Peace to his ashes! No Brasenose man was ever more representative of what the College has at all times delighted to honour.[2]

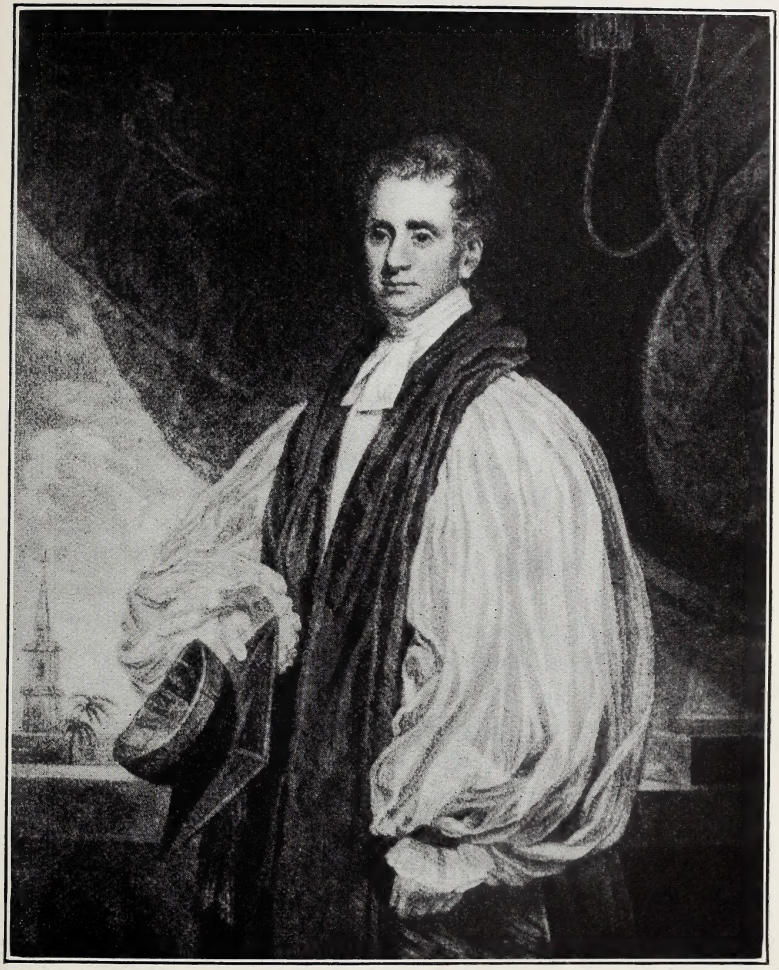
III

Reginald Heber.

Reginald Heber matriculated in the last year of the eighteenth century, and with him began a shortlived but very vigorous renaissance of letters in the College. His precocious elder brother had preceded him by ten years, but Richard

[1] From the author's *Brasenose College*, p. 135.

[2] *Bell's Life*, 1863; Thormanby's *Famous Racing Men* and *Kings of the Turf*; *Saddle and Sirloin*, by The Druid.



Bishop Reginald Heber

Heber, though a mine of curious learning, and the editor of texts of Persius, Silius Italicus, and Claudian, had no taste for original composition. He buried his talents in a library, and amassed one of the most prodigious collections of books in his day. When he died there were eight houses full of them—in London, at Hodnet, in Oxford, Paris, Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent. He is best remembered as the generous book-lover who declared that every gentleman should have three copies of a book, 'one for use, one for show, and one for borrowers,' and by Scott's reference to him in the introduction to *Marmion*, Canto 6. It was he who brought Sir Walter to Brasenose in 1802, when his brother Reginald entertained them at breakfast, and, at Scott's suggestion, added to his Newdigate on 'Palestine' the two most genuinely poetic lines that he ever wrote. Richard sat in Parliament for Oxford University from 1821 to 1826, an occasion on which the College, high and low, rallied to the support of their candidate with a vigour equalled only by Tammany Hall. A gratuity, it is recorded, was voted to the College servants for their sterling services.

Reginald Heber was the first of the distinguished Churchmen whom nineteenth-century Brasenose produced. He came early to maturity, and enjoyed as an undergraduate one of those reputations for many-sided talents which flower readily in Oxford and once in a while bear fruit. He had a distinguished academic career, winning the Newdigate, the Latin verse, the English Essay, and an All Souls' Fellowship. As a proof of his Oxford fame the Sheldonian was crowded to hear him recite the Newdigate, not only at the Encaenia, but at the rehearsal the night before. Two years of travel followed, and in 1807 he took orders and became rector of Hodnet in Shropshire. There in his own countryside he seems to have been very happy. He made an excellent parish priest, and set himself to promote the bodily as well as the spiritual well-being of his people. In 1812 he was made a prebendary of St. Asaph, in 1815 Bampton Lecturer at Oxford, and in 1822 Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Next year he was appointed to the See of Calcutta, and six years later died, worn out by the

toil to which his ardent soul committed him. It is not difficult to understand the secret of his reputation in his own day. His was one of those spirits which radiate cheerfulness and courage, richly endowed for friendship, and yet with that inner austerity which comes from a fervent faith and a masterful sense of duty. His first love was literature, but it is probable that he was at his best as a man of action. In the many books which he has left there seems something lacking, which we know the man to have possessed. His mind, indeed, was competent rather than profound. He could do most things easily after the fashion of the day, but—in literature at least—nothing supremely well after a more enduring fashion. His taste was more generous than fastidious, and in some translations from the Greek he commits himself to the astounding view that 'Southey and Pindar might seem to have drunk at the same source.' His best work is perhaps his *Life of Jeremy Taylor*, and his *Journey through India* has considerable historical interest. Of the sermons and Bampton lectures I leave others to speak. His poetry has suffered almost total eclipse from his fame as a hymn-writer. On looking through it I can find nothing better than some lines in his boyish Newdigate, for his Biblical romances run with heavy feet. But in his *Bluebeard*, and his early *Whippiad*, he reveals a delightful gift of irresponsible parody, which more than anything else he has written gives us an impression of the charm of his personality. It is the irony of fate that he should be known chiefly by his hymns, and especially by those like 'From Greenland's icy mountains', which are only one stage removed from doggerel. 'Holy, Holy, Holy', and 'Bread of the World' are better, but as a hymn-writer he seems to me to be about the level of Charles Wesley, and inferior to Cowper, James Montgomery, and Milman. Had he had a more leisured life he might have been remembered by some *magnum opus* of scholarship but he chose to forgo his first love for the exacting labours of his calling. He is not the first great Churchman in whom a man of letters died young.[1]

[1] *Life of Reginald Heber, D.D.*, by his Widow. For list of works see *Brasenose College Register*.



The Rev. R. H. Barham
(author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*)

IV

Richard Harris Barham seems to me to be, with the exception of Walter Pater, the most considerable name in literature on the College rolls. Born in Kent in 1788, he was educated at St. Paul's, and entered Brasenose as a Commoner in 1807. His undergraduate career was more variegated than distinguished, as was to be expected from a friend of Theodore Hook. Many stories are recorded, the best of which is his excuse to Frodsham Hodson for habitual non-attendance at morning chapel. The hour of seven, he said, was too late for him; unless he got to bed by five or six at the latest, he was fit for nothing next day. The death of a contemporary sobered his exuberance, and in 1813 he took orders. In 1817 the Archbishop of Canterbury presented him to the living of Snargate in Romney Marsh, and two years later he published his first novel, *Baldwin*. Professional preferment came slowly but regularly. In 1822 he was made a Minor Canon of St. Paul's and in 1824 Rector of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Gregory. His best known novel, *My Cousin Nicholas*, was published in *Blackwood* in 1834, but it was not till 1840 that he issued the book on which his fame rests. The first series of the *Ingoldsby Legends* appeared in that year, a second series in 1843, and a third posthumously in 1847. Meanwhile he had become a Priest in Ordinary of the Chapels Royal and Divinity Lecturer at St. Paul's. He died in the summer of 1845, having combined even more remarkably than Sydney Smith the rôles of jester and divine.

Richard Harris Barham.

It is fair to say that the *Ingoldsby Legends* have become a popular classic. Their appeal is as wide as Macaulay's *Essays* or Scott's poetry, and many a man who does not know another line of verse has pages of them by heart. As is usually the case, this wide popularity makes us overlook their high literary merit. Barham is said to have 'naturalized the French metrical *conte*', but I am very sure he had no thought of adapting any model. His head was full of stories, fantastic rhymes, and light-horseman airs. His Kentish home gave him tales of ghosts and smugglers, and he was deeply read in old local

histories and in ribald *acta sanctorum*. As his son tells us, he was always scribbling rhymes at odd moments, rhymes which he thought of as poorly as Scott thought of 'Bonnie Dundee'. When he began to publish the *Legends* in *Bentley's Miscellany*, he was doubtful about the wisdom of setting out the diversions of his idle hours. Yet he was producing something which was not only good literature, but unlike anything that had gone before. The mad gallop of verse, the amazing rhymes, the devil-may-care twists and turns of the narrative, and above all the power of reproducing even in the most nonsensical conditions an atmosphere of *diablerie* and mystery have never in their own way been surpassed. We laugh, and yet we feel at the back of our head that somehow and somewhere there is a horrible reality about the antics, that the grinning macabre figures are hovering on the brink of life, and that at any moment the gargoyle on the wall may become the veritable Prince of Darkness. Barham had so read himself into the spirit of the Middle Ages, with its shivering jollity and scoffing credulity, that he cannot make us believe that it is all fooling. I, for one, can never get rid of the conviction that something terrible really lurked in the Dark Entrie, and that Bloudie Jacke is mysteriously and awfully alive. He could produce the same effect in prose, and 'The Leech of Folkestone' seems to me one of the best witchcraft-stories in the language. Had he cultivated that side of his talents more deliberately, he might have left work to rank with that of Poe and Le Fanu. He has other strings to his bow than the gruesome. He is the master of an agreeable vulgarity, as in 'Misadventures at Margate,' which recalls Thomas Hood, and he can describe the incidents of domestic life with Pickwickian gusto. The beautiful lines, 'As I laye a-thynkynge' show that he could express the secular emotions of regret in exquisite verse; and throughout the *Legends* we come on lines and stanzas which have a serious poetic quality. But his unique talent is for riotous and whirling effects, carrying the reader on a yeasty current of rhythm, shaving rocks by a hair, shooting falls recklessly, and always, when the boat seems ready to founder, righting it by a miracle. His fancy glories in details, and he

dazes us with a shower of swift, odd little fragments of invention. Take the description of Bloudie Jacke's castle, so delightful in itself, so grim in its juxtaposition:

'It boasts not stool, table, or chair,
Bloudie Jacke!
But *one* Cabinet, costly and grand,
Which has little gold figures
Of little gold Niggers,
With fishing-rods stuck in each hand.—
It's japann'd,
And it's placed on a splendid buhl stand.'

The impetuous verse so carries us on that we have no time to note how cunningly it is constructed. 'The Jackdaw of Rheims', 'Hamilton Tighe', 'The Witches' Frolic', and a score of others, are the perfection of the mock-heroic ballad, in which every quality of the true ballad is preserved except gravity. The ballad note comes from the galloping rhythm, the farce from the magnificently contorted rhymes. Not Butler, or Byron, or Browning has achieved such a supreme ease in preposterous assonance, and Barham, be it remembered, never stumbles nor allows his ingenuity to impede the swift movement of the verse. Performances like

'twisting dom-
estic and foreign necks all over Christendom;'

and

'I wish I'd poor Fuseli's pencil, who ne'er I believe was exceeded in painting the terrible,
Or that of Sir Joshua
Reynolds, who was so a-
droit in depicting it'—

fall as easily into the narrative as the conventional 'loves' and 'doves'. Barham has won a permanent place in our literature partly as an acrobat of style, but more seriously as a master of strange atmospheres and incongruous sensations.[1]

V

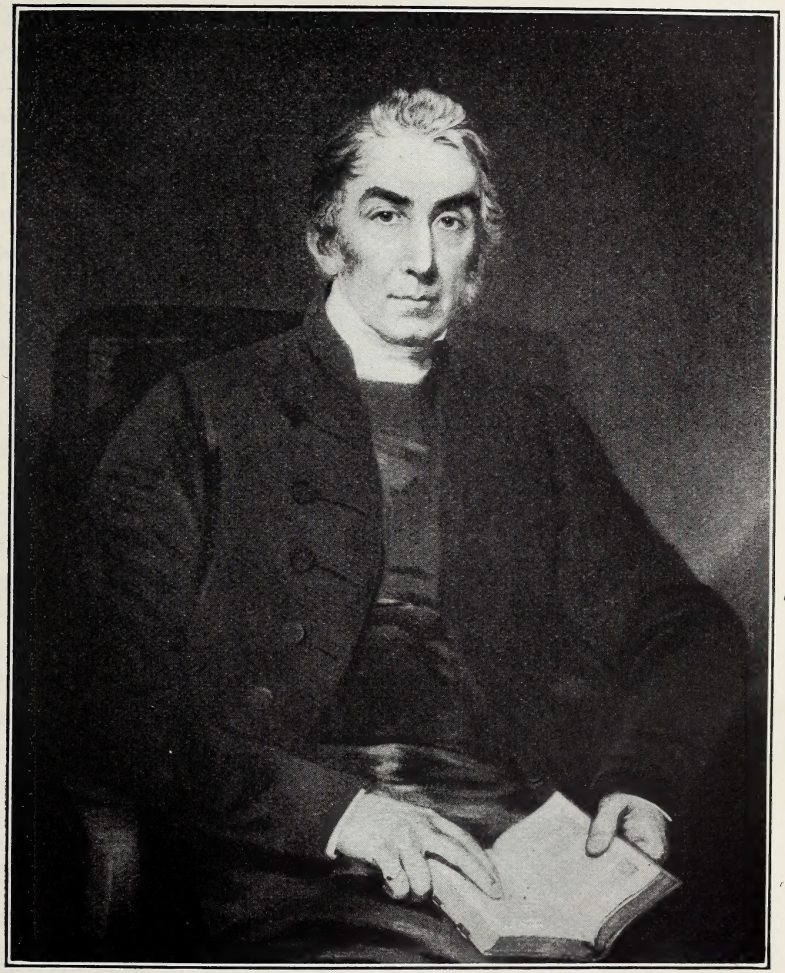
Henry Hart Milman.

Henry Hart Milman had a prodigious reputation in his day. When he was twenty-nine, the *Quarterly Review* contrasted him, very much to his advantage, with Shelley, and declared

[1] *Life of R. H. Barham*, by his son.

of his *Fall of Jerusalem* that he had produced a poem, 'to which, without extravagant encomiums, it is not unsafe to promise whatever immortality the English language can bestow.' He came from Eton to Brasenose in 1810, and won in close succession the Newdigate (with a poem on 'Apollo Belvedere' which is remembered by a reference in the *Ingoldsby Legends*), the Latin Verse, a First Class in the Schools, and the English and Latin Essays. He was elected a Fellow of the College in 1814, and for some years resided at Oxford occupied with ordinary tutorial work. He was presented to the living of St. Mary's, Reading, in 1818; was Select Preacher two years later; Professor of Poetry (preceding Keble) from 1821 to 1831; and Bampton Lecturer in 1827. In 1835, after the *History of the Jews* had won him fame, Sir Robert Peel made him a Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. In 1849 Lord John Russell gave him the Deanery of St. Paul's. He died in 1868, having from his College days been in high repute as a scholar and man of letters, having produced an immense variety of works, and having enjoyed one of those modest dictatorships in cultivated circles which is often conceded to the lettered ecclesiastic. Few ecclesiastics, indeed, have had the privilege at once of introducing a new spirit into biblical scholarship and of producing a play, *Fazio*, which had a long run at Covent Garden.

The reader who is at the pains to get down Milman's plays and epics from the library shelves will not agree with the *Quarterly* reviewer. He was a good writer of academic exercises in verse, having a considerable faculty of imitation, but he was not fitted to ride the rough fords of romance. Had he lived half a century earlier he would have been happier in Popean couplets. But Scott and Byron were the gods of his youth, and fashion ordered that he should follow their uneasy track. His epic, *Samor, the Lord of the Bright City*, is ornate and frigid, sometimes technically fine and always essentially uninspired. The minor epics which adorned the early nineteenth century are as unpalatable to the modern reader as mouldy wedding-cake. He was slightly more fortunate in his plays. The Biblical ones—*The Fall of Jeru-*



Dean Milman

salem, the *Martyr of Antioch*, *Belshazzar*—are indeed, so far as poetry goes, little better than *Samor*. But *Fazio* has enough of boyish fancy and fire to retain a lingering interest, and there are lines which suggest that, in spite of his taste for rococo ornament and second-hand philosophies, Milman had in him something of the aboriginal stuff of poetry. A piece which gave historic parts to Miss O'Neill, Fanny Kemble, and Madame Ristori must have had the elements of drama in it. In one department of verse he was wholly successful. He wrote admirable hymns, many of which like 'When our heads are bowed with woe' have become classic. He had a certain lyrical gift, as the songs in *Belshazzar* show, but especially he had the lyrical decorum which makes the hymn-writer. He also did something by his translations to introduce Sanskrit poetry to English readers, and late in life he published versions of the *Agamemnon* and the *Bacchae*, for which, perhaps, elegant is the correct term.

A good critic might have detected in Milman's heavier dramas qualities which pointed to his real vocation in letters. He had more intellect than imagination. His scenes were not pictures but arguments, excellent arguments often between rival tendencies and creeds. But he had enough imagination to be able to project modern attitudes into distant eras, so that he came to look at the past not as a picture, still less as a collection of laboratory data, but as a slightly more uncouth nineteenth century. He saw popes and prophets in stocks and cut-away coats, and, thinking of them as ordinary modern people, was enabled to guess shrewdly at their psychology. Milman deserves all the honour that is due to the first man who consciously and seriously applied the historic method to ecclesiastical subjects. His *History of the Jews*, published in 1830 for Murray's 'Family Library', so fluttered clerical dovecotes that its sale was stopped as manifestly unfit for family reading. We know that it troubled the great mind of John Henry Newman, who years after reviewed it while preparing his Tract XC. Milman's offence was that he treated the Jews like an oriental tribe of to-day, with sheikhs and emirs, instead of as a miraculous and unrelated episode in

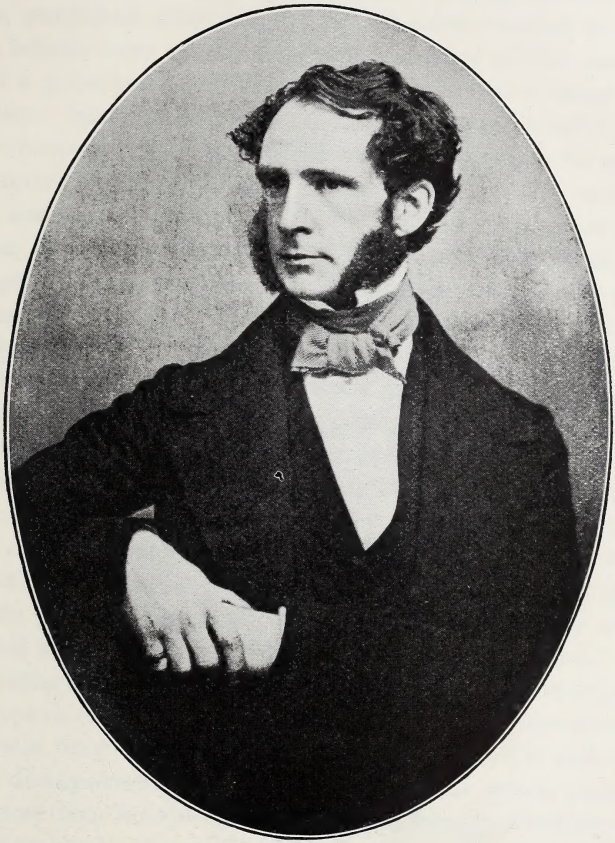
history. Ten years later appeared the *History of Christianity under the Empire*, which orthodox circles boycotted because of its predecessor. Meantime he had edited Gibbon, and published his life and letters. In 1855, six years after his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's, there appeared the historical work on which his fame chiefly rests, *The History of Latin Christianity down to the Death of Pope Nicholas V.* It is not a book to which one turns to while away an idle hour. The style is correct but unattractive, and there are no brilliant character studies, or profound moralizings, or swift dramas. Milman left his ornament to his verse, and in prose is the least showy of historians. But the sane and central character of the man makes it a model of what sober history should be. In private life the 'great Dean' was famous for the catholicity of his tastes, Macaulay and Sydney Smith being as much his friends as Lockhart and Hallam. In his history he has the same breadth of sympathy, candour, and justice. Writers so diverse as Macaulay and Lecky have united in praise of his work. His odd modernism made him enter into the debates of seventh-century Churchmen as if they had been dwelling in the diocese of London. He saw the living and continuous element in all institutions, and was philosopher enough to know that the great problems which once perplexed the world are as enduring and as modern in their interest as its great books. If Milman was not a man of the highest original genius, he performed a highly original work. He raised ecclesiastical history to the plane of a rational science.[1]

VI

Frederic William Robertson.

The fourth of the Brasenose churchmen was of a very different type. Frederic William Robertson was as remote from the genial and scholarly ecclesiasticism of Heber and Milman as from the unclerical *espièglerie* of Barham. He was that rarest of beings, the great preacher, a man who had as indisputably a genius for preaching as Keats had for poetry or Napoleon for war. Consider his achievement. In

[1] *Annual Register*, 1868; *Memoir of John Murray*, by S. Smiles; *Brasenose College Register*.



The Rev. F. W. Robertson
(from a rare photograph in the Library)

six years he made a little proprietary chapel in Brighton a household word in the land. He died at thirty-seven, with a popular fame greater than any man in his Church. His six years' sermons, expanded from imperfect shorthand notes, published after his death and never revised by him, have become one of the devotional classics of the century. Often a preacher succeeds by charm of voice or manner or presence: but here is the dead man, speaking in bald prose in posthumous books, and still moving the world as he moved his hearers at Trinity Chapel. I have spoken of him as a rare type, and indeed it is hard to find a parallel. Spurgeon is the nearest in his effects both during his life and after death; but Spurgeon preached thousands of sermons over many years, and, moreover, had tricks of oratory and adventitious aids to popularity of which Robertson knew nothing. He was, as has been truly said, in the strictest sense, a 'soldier of the Cross', the Crusader who fights passionately and desperately against evil, knowing that his time is short before the recall is sounded. He was a soldier, too, leading a lonely attack, for he had little sense of community, and was about as much of an orthodox ecclesiastic as Peter the Hermit. His broad sympathies estranged him from the Evangelical party in the Church, and his fierce individualism and contempt of all external authority prevented him from casting in his lot with the Tractarians. So he remained 'Robertson of Brighton', as we speak of Francis of Assisi or Bernard of Clairvaux.

He was born of soldier stock in London in 1816, and, after being disappointed of a commission in the army, came to Brasenose from Edinburgh University at the age of twenty-one. We know little about his Oxford life, except that he was a friend of Ruskin. After some miserable years in curacies at Winchester and Cheltenham, during which he began the ruin of his health, he was given charge of the parish of St. Ebbe's at Oxford. Almost immediately came the offer from Trinity Chapel, which, on the advice of Bishop Wilberforce and somewhat unwillingly, he accepted. Then followed six years of incessant work and almost incessant conflict. He packed his church, and won the trust and admiration of the

working-men, for no preacher was ever more democratic in manner and message. But he set the wiseacres and the 'unco guid' by the ears by a thousand unconventional acts. Brother Churchmen and rival sects were alike puzzled by his preaching, for if what he taught was essential Christianity, it is certain that no one religious body in the country was prepared to vouch for all of it. The result was an atmosphere of strain and disquiet, which combined with his incessant toil to fret his body to decay. He gave too generously both in his letters and sermons. To every one, from Lady Byron to the humblest labourer, he offered the best of his sympathy and counsel. It is not to be wondered at that he died of brain-fever in 1853, the sixth anniversary of his arrival in Brighton; the wonder is rather that he held out so long. Most reputations in oratory or preaching are transient things, for the human tongue leaves no records, and a tradition is soon forgotten. But the 'Letters', which Mr. Stopford Brooke has edited, and the five series of 'Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton,' are sufficient to preserve the memory of Robertson's fire, and depth, and tenderness.[1]

VII

Sir William Robert Grove.

Brasenose has produced many lawyers, but few have attained to the highest place. After the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere we have to wait three centuries before the English Bench is graced by a member of the College. William Robert Grove was not among the greatest of English judges, but he was unique in his reputation and attainments. Certain modern lords justices have made a hobby of science, and have used scientific knowledge to further their professional progress. But we have no case other than Grove of a man standing in the front rank of scientific inquiry and at the same time reaching high eminence in the practice of the law. Science is an exacting mistress, and as a rule scorns a divided allegiance. Grove was born at Swansea in 1811, and entered Brasenose at the age of eighteen. The Oxford curriculum at that time had small interest for his special bent of mind, and he sought no

[1] *Life and Letters*, by the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke; *Brasenose College Register*.



Sir William Grove

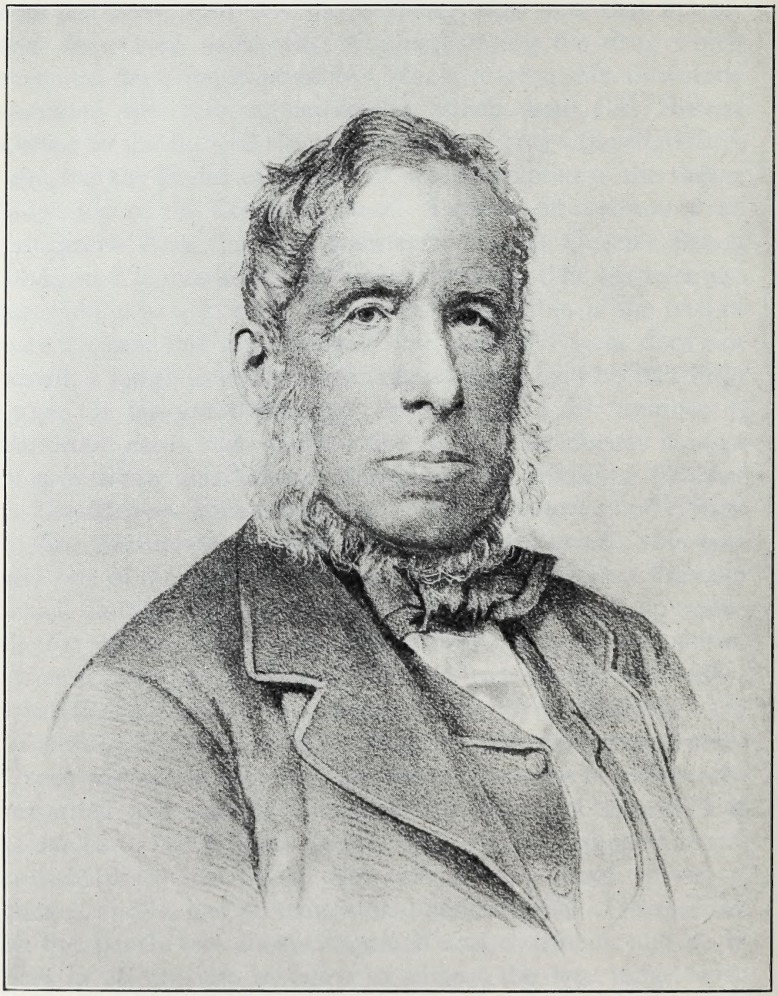
academic distinction. In 1835 he was called to the Bar, and the same year became a member of the Royal Institution. His health was poor in early life, and he preferred scientific work to the arduous task of building up a legal practice. For four years he was engaged in electrical research, and in 1839 invented the voltaic battery which bears his name. The following year he was elected a member of the Royal Society. During the next ten years he built up a European reputation in his own branch of science. His lectures as Professor of Experimental Philosophy at the Royal Institution, and his numerous papers read before the Royal Society, contained the germ of the doctrine of the mutual convertibility of natural forces, which he elaborated in his famous *The Correlation of Physical Forces*, published in 1846. He thus anticipated by a year the speculations of Helmholtz on the same subject. During the whole of his career Grove's deepest interest was natural science, and when he retired from the Bench in 1887 he devoted the remainder of his life to his first love. His name stands with the great scientists of the Victorian era, and there the matter must be left by a writer who is profoundly unlearned in such mysteries.

Meantime while he was winning scientific fame Grove's health had improved, and he began to give more time to his Bar practice. He went the Chester and South Wales circuits, and, gradually, his extra-legal reputation having reached the ears of solicitors, was engaged in those cases which involved scientific questions. This meant a Patent and Criminal practice, and soon Grove was the foremost Patent lawyer of his day. He took silk in 1853, and became a very busy counsel, working for high fees on subjects which to him were child's play, though dark as Erebus to the common practitioner. Among other things he did excellent work on the Royal Commission on the Patent laws, to which he was appointed in 1864. But he won his popular reputation in another sphere, for along with Serjeant Shee and Dr. Kenealy (of Tichborne fame) he defended Palmer, the Rugeley murderer. Here his knowledge of chemistry was valuable, for though, as it turned out, Cockburn's handling of the prosecution would have

succeeded on half a dozen grounds, yet poisoning by strychnine was the central allegation, and no strychnine was found in the body. Grove always maintained that strychnine had not been used, but the ordinary view was that Palmer had discovered some way of administering the drug which rendered detection impossible. When, in 1871, Mr. Gladstone executed the famous manœuvre which sent Sir Robert Collier to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Grove, who was the leader of his circuit, was appointed to the vacant judgeship of the Common Pleas. In 1880, as a result of the Judicature Acts, he was transferred to the Queen's Bench Division. It was hoped on his appointment that his scientific knowledge would make him specially valuable in the trial of patent cases, but unfortunately our judicial system does not permit a judge to be thus specially assigned, and he had little scope for his great learning. He decided a fair number of important cases, such as the action of the Law Society against Messrs. Shaw and Messrs. Waterlow, the printers ; *Foulkes* v. *The Metropolitan District Railway Company* ; and *Grant* v. *The Secretary of State for India in Council.* He was also one of the dissentient judges in *Regina* v. *Keyes*, the case which decided that the Central Criminal Court had no jurisdiction on the high seas within three miles of the shore. After sixteen years' service he retired from the Bench in 1887, when he was sworn a member of the Privy Council. Sir Ventris Field, who retired at the same time, was made a peer. Grove was asked why the two cases should be so differently rewarded, and replied, 'I suppose it is because I am only deaf of *one* ear.' Sir William Grove as a judge was competent and conscientious, but his special talents were never given a chance, and he had no exceptional judicial gifts. His manner on the Bench was always dignified and courteous, and he is held in affectionate memory as almost the last judge who took snuff.[1] His title to fame is mainly scientific, but he deserves remembrance, too, for having combined successfully the two most exacting of human professions.[2]

[1] The last was Lord Russell of Killowen.

[2] Foster's *Men at the Bar*; *Times*, Aug., 1896; *Law Times*, 8 Aug., 1896; *Law Journal*, 8 Aug., 1896.



Sir John Lawes

VIII

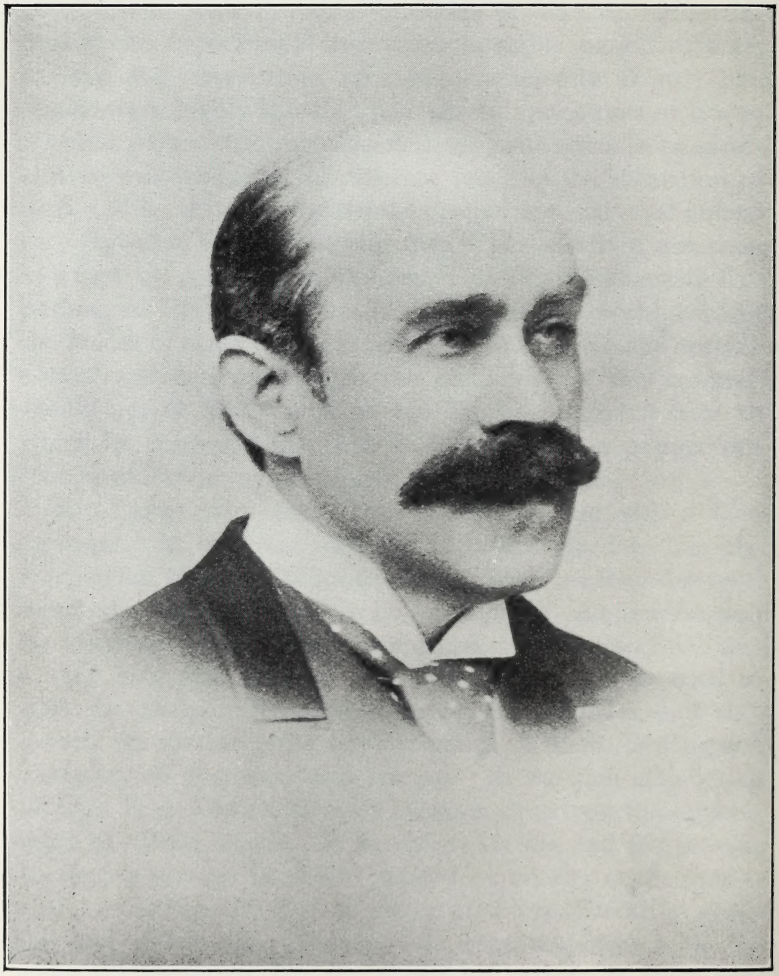
Sir John Bennet Lawes.

With John Bennet Lawes we return to the sphere of Sir Tatton Sykes. Sir Tatton had used bones as manure on his Wold estates and so converted them from pasture to tillage. To Lawes is due almost all we know to-day of manures and artificial aids to soil and feeding—in a word, the best part of our modern agricultural science. The son of a rich country gentleman, he was born at Rothamsted in Hertfordshire in the year before the battle of Waterloo. He came to Brasenose from Eton in 1833, but like Grove found little to interest him in a place where classics dominated everything. He left without taking a degree and proceeded to follow out his private hobby of chemical experiments. His father had died when he was a child, and in 1834, when he came of age, he found himself with a comfortable income in possession of the Rothamsted manor. He turned one of the best bedrooms into a laboratory, and, having had some slight chemical training at University College, London, devoted himself to the study of the composition of drugs, and the plants from which they were derived. At first he had no interest in agriculture, but his neighbour, Lord Dacre, one day asked him how it came about that on one farm bones were good for the turnip crop, and on another farm useless. Lawes set himself to solve the conundrum, and in solving it discovered his life's work. He tried to grow turnip crops with bones dissolved in sulphuric acid, and in 1842, when he was only twenty-eight, patented a device for converting mineral phosphates into manure by sulphuric acid treatment. This was the foundation of the artificial manure business, which to-day has grown to a great industry. Lawes's first factory was at Deptford, but in 1857 he built a larger one at Barking Creek, and he engaged besides in the manufacture of various chemical acids. The manure business, which proved highly profitable, was turned into a company in 1872.

Business in London, however, was only a small part of Lawes's activity. He started a research laboratory in an old barn at Rothamsted and presently found himself engaged in

a complete scientific investigation of agricultural conditions. With the assistance of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Henry Gilbert he experimented with every type of crop—without manure, and with the chief varieties of manure. He conducted the experiments over a considerable period of time, so that the observation area was sufficiently large. The results were highly valuable, and placed agriculture on a new scientific plane. He experimented, too, with animals, to ascertain the relative effects of different foods in the formation of flesh, and he also investigated the comparative values of animal and vegetable food as human diet. The old barn was soon replaced by a proper laboratory, and the Rothamsted Experimental Station, the first of its kind in the world, became the Mecca of every scientific agriculturist at home and abroad. Lawes was determined that the continuity of this research should not be interrupted, so in 1889 he created a trust to which he conveyed the land on long lease at a peppercorn rent as well as an ample money endowment.

But Lawes was more than a scientist, he was a land reformer. In 1852 he started allotment gardens for the Harpenden villagers, allotments which soon numbered several hundreds. By giving prizes he encouraged competition, and by founding a clubhouse he stimulated co-operation. He was a very bold and practical reformer, for in 1859 he tried to start the co-operative system among the villagers, and succeeded up to that point beyond which, it seems, in England voluntary co-operation may not go. In the first number of *All the Year Round*, Charles Dickens described the experiment of 'Friar Bacon', as he called Lawes, and his people. In 1856 a savings' bank was started—a novelty at the time—and Lawes himself used to go down every Saturday evening and collect the deposits. In time the state took the work off his hands, but the allotments remain to show how genuine was his goodwill towards the country people. The energy of the small untidy man was inexhaustible. He experimented and expounded the results in a hundred lectures and papers. He belonged to a dozen learned societies. He loved fishing and stalking second only to farming, and till



Walter Horatio Pater

late in life went every year to the Highlands. He took a whole countryside under his wing, and, though the labours of one man must be limited in effect, set a fine example of serious, considered, and practical land reform. Such a man fills a big space in national life, and, when he died in 1900 at the age of eighty-six, he was mourned, as was Sir Tatton Sykes and Coke of Norfolk, by thousands of plain folk who would not have turned their heads at the decease of a prime minister. He may be best described, perhaps, as an abler, more scientific, and more democratic Coke of Norfolk. Such a type is our traditional English product, but its rarity is shown by the enthusiasm with which we greet its appearance. The name of Sir John Bennet Lawes will continue to be as widely and honourably known as that of any son of the College, but few of those who know it will be interested in College history.[1]

IX

Walter Horatio Pater.

Last in this series of little sketches comes Walter Horatio Pater. His is undoubtedly the greatest Brasenose name of the nineteenth century, and it may reasonably be argued that since Matthew Arnold he is the most distinguished figure that Oxford has given to the world of letters. The events of his outward life—*fallentis semita vitae*—were few and simple, for the landmarks of his career were all in the intellect. He was born in 1839, the son of a doctor who traced his descent from Dutch settlers. His boyhood was spent at Canterbury, where he was educated at King's School, and at the age of eighteen he entered Queen's College, Oxford. He took a Second Class in the Schools, and two years later was elected a Fellow of Brasenose, principally on his work in philosophy. He seems to have at one time previously thought of the Unitarian ministry, and at another to have actually offered himself to the Bishop of London for ordination. He was a Tutor of the College from 1867 to 1883, and acted for some time as Dean, but the only University office he ever held was

[1] *D.N.B.*; *Country Gentleman Album*, 1884; Publications of Rothamsted Trust.

that of Curator of the University Galleries. Early in his college life he began to contribute to the chief reviews, and the publication of his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* in 1873 revealed to the world a new critic and student of aesthetics, with a subtlety of thought and style which had scarcely been equalled since Coleridge. Other volumes followed at irregular intervals, and in the eighties he gave up his college tutorship and took up residence in London near Holland Park. He returned to Oxford in 1893 and took a house in St. Giles's, in which and in his college rooms he lived till his death in July of the following year. Though he forsook Oxford for a time, he was very frequently in residence, and he never cared for London or mixed much in London society. He was the typical Oxford Fellow of the older school, to whom the College was at once a retreat and a home.

Shy and self-absorbed as he was, he played his part in the life of the College. *Plato and Platonism* was delivered as College lectures, and in the later years of his life he used to take essays from those undergraduates who had the wits to avail themselves of the privilege. He can never have been a very practical tutor so far as the 'Schools' were concerned, but in his quiet way he had a profound influence on many who came into contact with him. Along with his friend Dr. Bussell he used to give famous dinners to undergraduates in the quaint green-panelled rooms above the Bursary. Towards the end of his life 'he showed signs of becoming a strict disciplinarian, and he used often to wish that Sunday morning chapel was made compulsory'. Considering the nature of the man and the character of the average Brasenose undergraduate, we should have expected a mythology of Pater stories, but those I have heard are few and not very characteristic. He liked the rough, genuine young life around him, and was always in favour of a tolerant régime. He was often to be seen at the College Sports, because, as he once said, 'it is so beautiful to see young men leaping over bars like panthers.' Tradition has handed down an admirable defence of bonfires in the quadrangle: 'I like them; they light up the

spire of St. Mary's so beautifully.' Pater's would be a difficult life to write, because in the ordinary sense it was so unfeatured and because he had few intimates. Mr. A. C. Benson's little monograph is mainly a criticism of his books; Mr. Wright's volume of gossip can only be described as an outrage; so, unless Dr. Bussell or the Provost of Oriel undertakes the task, the world must be left to judge the man wholly from his writings.

It is difficult to arrive at any kind of rational estimate of his work, because most people are in the same case as myself, and are still too recently under the spell of his unique style. The fact, too, that his habit of mind bore a certain superficial resemblance to a school of aesthetics of which we have had far too much of late has slightly biased the judgement of those by whom he would most have wished to be judged. His manner lent itself readily to caricature and a cheap-jack imitation, and one who, above all things, was a laborious scholar and a conscientious thinker, has been acclaimed as master by foolish young men who make a divinity of their negligible emotions. The truth is, that Pater was as little like Mr. Rose in the *New Republic* as he was like John Calvin. I have said that the landmarks of his life were all in the intellect, and in his books he has left us some materials to judge of his development. He seems to have thought largely in types, and, like a true humanist in the old and right sense of the word, to have embodied the different stages of his philosophy of life in certain ideal figures which he elaborated with fastidious care. He had none of the novelist's talent of creating men and women who live and move with the vigour of real life, but he had in the highest degree the gift of conceiving types of mind and modes of thought, and of clothing them with a frail, almost diaphanous, garment of mortality. Marius and Watteau and Duke Carl and Gaston de Latour and Denys l'Auxerrois have only a phantasmal bodily existence, but we know their minds, in a sense, far more fully than we know Falstaff's or Jean Valjean's. It is the psychological method in fiction carried to its logical conclusion. Hence from this conscientious type portraiture, in which Pater always enshrined a phase of

his own thought, we can piece together some record of his development. In studies like 'Emerald Uthwart' and 'The Child in the House' we can learn something of his childhood. 'Sensibility—the desire of physical beauty—a strange biblical awe, which made any reference to the unseen act on him like solemn music'—in such words be seems to write of his own boyish days at Canterbury. At Oxford, Ruskin became a supreme influence for a season, and from him he learnt that naturalism which he was afterwards to develop on very different lines from his master. The Greek and Latin classics remained as a gospel, and some time during his undergraduate days he discovered the glories of art, and with them the Italian Renaissance. He made excursions into German metaphysics, but he never was in any exact sense a metaphysician. No passion for unity ever consumed him, nothing of that uneasy rapture of abstract thought which to some men becomes a personal religion. None of his imaginary portraits gives us this type except 'Sebastian van Storck,' and the point of that study is that the absolutist is never at ease in the world.

Now the naturalist demands to be at ease in the world. It is his home, and his mission is to proclaim the beauty of all natural things. He is hungry for life, and would warm both hands at its fire. With Pater this was not so much a faith as a temperament to which he aspired, and with his passion for types he set himself to create an ideal temperament to serve as his philosophy. In his remarkable essay, 'Diaphaneité,' written when he was a very young man, he sketches this ideal. The soul of man should be a transparency, he says, a soul like Beatrice's in literature or Charlotte Corday's in history. Through it the lights of the world will shine, but they will be modified by a fine medium and all their harshness excluded. Such a character will be exquisitely poised and wholly passive. 'It crosses rather than follows the main current of the world's life. The world has no sense fine enough for those evanescent shades, which fill up the blanks between contrasted types of character—delicate provision in the moral world for the transmission to every part of it of the life quickened at single points! For this nature there is no place ready in its affections.

This colourless, unclassified purity of life it can neither use for its service nor contemplate as an ideal.' And again: 'Here there is a moral sexlessness, a kind of impotence, an ineffectual wholeness of nature, yet with a divine beauty and significance of its own.' There are many cases of writers dominated by a historical figure, as Matthew Arnold was by Falkland, but Pater created his own figure and loyally served it. He developed his conception of the diaphanous soul in the famous postscript to *The Renaissance*, which may be taken to represent the culmination of his first stage. He bade us to burn always with a 'hard gem-like flame', to form no habits, to keep the soul ever unclouded and receptive. 'While all melts under our feet, we may well catch at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colours, and curious odours, or work of the artist's hands, or the face of one's friend.' Here we have the new cyrenaicism defined—the doctrine that, in the eternal flow of all things mortal, the exquisite moment is the one reality.

On such a theory there is plainly no criterion of good and evil save pleasure and pain. It is a doctrine which justifies the sensualist as well as the saint. Pater was perfectly conscious that it was a creed only for moral and intellectual aristocrats, and he took the pains to remove the postscript from *The Renaissance* in a later edition. Philosophically it could only be justified by an unwarranted optimism about human nature—the view that if the spirit were left absolutely free it would inevitably choose the true and the beautiful. But, indeed, it was not meant as a philosophy but as a maxim of life, a maxim to be used only by rare souls. Presently we find him changing, not his doctrine, but the type in which he presented it. His earlier attitude was a compound of *Theoria* and *Aesthesis* with the emphasis on the latter, but now he began to dwell more on the first. He had always made a certain 'wistfulness' an essential mood of the soul, and he developed this quality in the work by which he is best known, *Marius the Epicurean*. The conditions are still the same; the world is

still a flux; but the soul is no longer content with offering a mirror to the fleeting show; if it is still passive, it is also wistful, and longs for some continuing city. 'Surely the aim of a true philosophy must be, not in futile efforts towards the complete accommodation of man to the circumstances in which he chances to find himself, but in the maintenance of a kind of ingenuous discontent in the face of the very highest achievement; the unclouded and receptive soul quitting the world finally, with the same fresh wonder with which it had entered it still unimpaired.' So we have the wonderful study of Marius who dies on the eve of finding salvation in the Church, a study which for spiritual subtlety can hardly be equalled in our literature. The type which dominated Pater's thought was drawing slowly nearer to what Aristotle has called the 'main march of the human affections.'

The last stage in an all too short life is marked by *Plato and Platonism*, the book on which he believed his fame would rest. We need not enter here on the question of how much is Plato and how much himself. What is noticeable is a new gravity even in that grave style. *Theoria* is beginning to oust *Aesthesis* altogether. The mind of the author is turning from the rich pleasures of the cultivated senses to the stern discipline of Lacedaemon or to that doctrine of spiritual *ascesis*, which is at the heart of Platonism. He had never lent himself to the half-true maxim, 'Art for Truth's sake,' but in his earlier work he had dallied with the other, 'Art for Art's sake.' Now he is very near a profounder canon, 'Art for Righteousness' sake.' And here we leave him. His teaching is not philosophy in any technical sense, for he does not seek explanation or unity. He loved types, but the curious rather than the normal, and his tendency is always to individualism in thought—to disintegrate and to individualize. Nor is it in any sense religion, for, as some one has said, a sense of the holiness of all beauty is very far from being a sense of the beauty of holiness. The most we can say is that in his later work he was approaching closer to some canon of interpretation, more faithful than the mere temperament of culture, for the words written on his tablet in the College Chapel, 'What-



Memorial of W. H. Pater in the College Chapel

soever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are pure.' His books can best be described as studies, not in the philosophy, but in the art, of life. As a critic of literature he has rarely been surpassed in that intuitive insight which is a species of creation. He had in the richest degree the historical sense, and in the psychology of history he has no rivals. But he takes highest rank, it seems to me, as a kind of novelist (if so rough a term can be used in this connexion) who constructs his men and women, not from without, but from within. He can create for them an atmosphere and a setting, and he can enable us to see every thought that passes in the mirror of their minds. But he cannot put life into them, for they, like him, live in an inner world. *Theoria* and *Aesthesis* may give much, but they cannot give drama.

One last word must be said about Pater's style. For long it was the fashion to praise it as a model of pure English. Then came a reaction against its obvious limitations, and it was unjustly decried as lifeless and languid and overstudied. But it is surely as wrong to look in such work for a manner suited to the bustling outdoor romances of Stevenson or the homely intimacies of Lamb, as to blame Lucretius because he does not write like Virgil. Pater's style was certainly not a model for other men to follow; it was far too organically knit to his thought. Technically, it has the faults of occasional monotony and occasional superfineness. Sentences are built up cell by cell like a honeycomb with the result that the rhythm is lost, and sometimes a word is used too exotic for the purpose. But at its best—and only thus can it be judged—it has qualities which no other English writer has possessed. Often the cadences are as exquisite and intangible as an air of music, and no man has so great a gift for a haunting and unforgettable phrase. When he is simple it is the virginal simplicity of cool spring water. Moreover, he has the master's power of being always able to state his point with (it is his own phrase) 'fascinating precision', and his mode of thought demanded especially the needle-point of style. I do not think he can rank with the very greatest masters of our language, because his range is too limited; but he is king in his own

country. Mr. Algernon Cecil, in the most penetrating essay on Pater which I have read, likens his style to the slow movement of a summer stream when the air is heavy with a coming thunderstorm. The image does not seem to me to do justice to the clarity and freshness of his best writing. It has neither the exuberant wealth of summer nor the tonic rigour of winter. I should rather compare it to some genial morning in early spring, when the frost of the night is going out of the air, and the distances are clear and fine. Such a morning puts no fire into the blood, but it disposes to lucid thought and easy alert enjoyment.[1]

[1] *Lives*, by A. C. Benson, Ferris Greensleet and T. Wright; Articles by Algernon Cecil (*Six Oxford Thinkers*); Edmund Gosse (*Critical Kit-Kats*); Lionel Johnson (*Fortnightly Review*, 1894); Prof. Dowden (*Atlantic Monthly*, No. 90); Arthur Symons (*Monthly Review*, 1906). An acute study of his position as a writer will be found in Vol. III of Prof. Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*. There is an excellent bibliography of Pater's writings by the Provost of Oriel prefixed to *Miscellaneous Studies*. See also *Brasenose College Register*.

(B)

The Schools, University Honours, and Professions of Brasenose Men in the Nineteenth Century

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Bishop William Cleaver
Principal, 1785–1809

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITY HONOURS AND PROFESSIONS OF BRASENOSE MEN

In the following pages an attempt is made to give some information about the men who matriculated at Brasenose in the course of the nineteenth century; to show from what Schools they came, what Honours they obtained at the University, what professions they followed, and what part they played in the national life. A list has been compiled from the *Oxford Historical Register* of those who were awarded University Prizes and First or Second Class Honours in the Schools; their status in College is shown, and also any exceptional distinction attained by them in after life. Tables and diagrams have been prepared to make as clear as possible the numbers—as they fluctuated during the century—of those who entered each profession or bore any of the characteristics under consideration. The tables and curves are based on the *Brasenose College Register—ingentis monumentum laboris atque amoris*; and any interest they may possess is due wholly to the zeal and perseverance with which the facts have been there accumulated.

The curves shown in Diagrams I–III (with the exception of the Honours curve, Diagram IB) have been constructed on the following principle. Each curve is determined by points taken at intervals representing five years; and each point shows the average number of men bearing the characteristic of the curve in the preceding five years. The Honours curve is determined by points taken at intervals of one year; and each point represents the average of the four preceding years. The number expressing the Honours gained in each year has been obtained by counting 3 for a First Class and 2 for a Second

Class in a Final School; 2 for a First Class and 1 for a Second Class in Moderations. Between 1809 and 1824 I have assigned 2 for the first division and 1 for the second division of Class II.

The fluctuations in several of the curves are striking; and, if it were possible, it would be interesting and instructive to analyse the causes of these variations. It is clear that they reflect in part changes in the structure of English society, in part the effects of Royal Commissions, in part the policy of the College, most of all, perhaps, the personal influence of individuals; but in what proportions these different factors have come into play probably it is now impossible to determine.

I hope that the diagrams may represent without serious inaccuracy what they profess to show. But little experience is necessary in the making of statistics to enable one to realize how imperfectly numbers or curves express such facts as are dealt with here. One man is called to the Bar, but does not practise, or perhaps takes Orders; another becomes a K.C. or a Judge. But to the statistician each counts for one. One man publishes a volume of sermons or a book of minor verse, another writes a dozen important works. Yet each must be set down as an author. However, these failings of my method may be corrected by the study of the *Register* and other monographs. Statistics appear to be the only way of obtaining a bird's-eye view of what the rank and file of Brasenose men have done in the course of the century.

In constructing my tables and curves I have not aimed at formal accuracy. I have omitted some facts which another might have taken into consideration; and I have taken some points into account which fuller knowledge might have led me to discount. For example, where a man has matriculated at Brasenose but has subsequently become a scholar of another College, I have not reckoned either his subsequent career or his matriculation. Nor have I considered a man who has matriculated, but within a year has removed his name from the College books and disappeared. Again, if a man has taken a class in a Final Honour School, I have reckoned him

as a graduate, even though he did not take the Bachelor's Degree. Further, a certain amount of overlapping in the statistics of professions has been unavoidable. Perhaps a man has received a commission in the Army, and subsequently has entered Holy Orders—he has been counted twice. Again, where a man appears to have lived the life of a country gentleman, I have included him among the Landed Gentry, though his name may not be found in Burke. Throughout it has been my aim to represent fairly in the tables and diagrams the facts which appear in the *Register*; but another no doubt might undertake the task and obtain results differing (though not, I think, substantially) from my own.

The fluctuations in matriculation are very marked (Diagrams I–III A). Under the rule of Hodson and Cradock the number of men matriculating annually was increased by half. The great reduction in numbers which took place in the early part of Gilbert's reign was partly repaired towards its close. But the ground then gained was lost under Harington; and in 1855, owing no doubt largely to the Crimean War, the number of men entering the College fell to 16, of whom 6 were scholars. During the century the average number matriculating yearly was 29·5.

The percentage of Brasenose men who were born in Lancashire and Cheshire is 24·2. The curve (Diagram III B) reaches its climax in 1845; and for the first half of the century the percentage is 32·4. From 1845 there was a steady decline until 1865, when a partial recovery took place which culminated 10 years later. Since then the curve declines with the exception of a slight rise in the years 1881–85, and again in 1896–1900. The College has had an intimate connexion with the north-west of England since the days of Brasenose Hall. Last century this relation depended on the Landed Gentry and Manchester Grammar School. The decline in the curve is due partly to the severing (not, we hope, for ever) of ancient ties between the College and some of the county families of the north, partly to a relaxation of the connexion with Manchester owing to the foundation of open Scholarships at Oxford, and the development of the Lancashire

Universities. It is interesting to note that the connexion with Manchester may be taken as an index of the College's relation to Lancashire and Cheshire: for the curve showing the numbers received from Manchester, Hereford, and Marlborough Grammar Schools (Diagram III L) varies concomitantly in tendency, though not in degree, with the curve representing the numbers of Lancashire and Cheshire men matriculated.

The curve which shows the connexion between the College and the Landed Gentry has two conspicuous peaks, one in Hodson's, the other in Cradock's time. Hodson's reign is marked by a sharp advance from 1 in 5 to 1 in 3; from his death there is a steady decline until 1860, followed by a marked rise until 1875; but since then the number has again diminished. While there can be no doubt that the country gentlemen were attracted by the personality of Hodson and Cradock, it would be surprising if there were not a considerable decline in the numbers of this class coming up to the College in the course of the century. The rapid rise in wealth of the mercantile, manufacturing, and professional classes, the marked depreciation of agricultural land, the increasing facilities to enable poor men to come up to Oxford, have naturally caused great changes in the proportions of the different classes to whom an Oxford College opens its gates. Evidence of this may be seen in the fact that although in the seventies Brasenose would appear to have been an ideal College for an English country gentleman, the numbers of this class then matriculated did not exceed one in six as compared with one in three between the years 1815 and 1820.

In Table II are shown those Public Schools which sent up to Brasenose at least twenty men between 1801 and 1908, and the numbers which they sent at different periods; the numbers also are given of those who came from Manchester, Hereford, and Marlborough Grammar Schools, with which the College has been connected since the seventeenth century by the benefactions of Sarah, Duchess of Somerset. Eton comes first with a percentage of 10·1 of the men matriculated, Manchester follows (6·6), then Rugby (6·1), Harrow and

Winchester (4·9), Charterhouse (2·9), and Marlborough (2·6). The percentage of Public School men for the whole period is 49·2. It is naturally higher in the second half owing to the foundation of Schools such as Marlborough, and the transformation of Schools such as Uppingham. Thus the percentage rises to 62·6 for the years 1861–1908, and it culminates in the years 1871–5 at 73·6. If we take the period as a whole we find that one Brasenose man in four came from Eton, Harrow, Rugby, or Winchester, while one in ten came from Manchester, Hereford, or Marlborough Grammar Schools. In Diagram III appear three curves, the first, H, showing the number of Public School men matriculated throughout the period, the second, K, the number coming from Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester, the third, L, the number coming from Manchester, Hereford, and Marlborough Grammar Schools. In the two former the fluctuations, which are marked, correspond throughout, though the curves naturally diverge more and more in the course of the century with the great increase in the number of Public Schools. The latter varies independently, but (as has been remarked) it might almost be taken as an index of the connexion of the College with Lancashire and Cheshire. The Public School curves illustrate in a striking manner the influence of Hodson and Cradock, rising rapidly from the time of their elections, and falling almost as rapidly after they died.

In Table II are shown the numbers of Scholars and Exhibitioners on the different foundations since 1801. The curve representing the number of Scholars in the College (Diagram I D) rose throughout the nineteenth century. In the first 30 years of the period it was below its normal level, probably owing to the effect on the Somerset estates of the agricultural and industrial depression which marked and followed the war with Napoleon. After the Commission of 1850 twelve open Scholarships were founded out of corporate revenue; but the number of Scholars in the College was not increased, partly because the Commissioners suppressed the Frankland, Claymond, Ogle, Stoddard, Henley, Church, and Yate Scholarships, which were of little value, and partly owing

to a decrease in the number of Somerset Scholarships. Although the latter still remained closed in the first instance to Manchester, Hereford, and Marlborough Grammar Schools, the foundation of open Scholarships throughout the University conspicuously relaxed the connexion between the College and Manchester (Diagram III L). In the years 1831–55, 56 men came up from Manchester; in the years 1856–80 the number fell to 27. The numbers from Marlborough Grammar School during the same period fell from 16 to 6; but in this case other causes were operating. On the other hand, Hereford sent up 28 men in the second period as compared with 11 in the first. Perhaps the College might have retained its connexion with Manchester, just as New College has retained its connexion with Winchester, if the Somerset Scholarships had been raised in every respect to the level of the open Scholarships. In 1842 the Colquitt Exhibitions were founded. Owing to their limitation to undergraduates studying for Holy Orders, they have not been reckoned in connexion with this curve; but the Honour Lists will show that they were held, at any rate up to the time of the Commission of 1877, by a number of men who attained distinction. In 1875 the John Watson Scholarship was founded. By a scheme of 1881 12 Junior Hulme Scholarships were added, and Exhibitions from 1901 were created out of the surplus of the Hulme Scholarship Fund. No account has been taken in making the diagram of the Senior Hulme Scholarships, as they were not awarded until the close of a man's undergraduate career. But reference to the Honour Lists will show how often success in the Schools coincided with the possession of these valuable prizes. The scheme of 1881 reduced their number nearly to one-third of what it was previously (Table II).

The Honours' curve (Diagram I B) shows the greatest variations. It suggests a range of mountains with four peaks and three valleys. Hodson's reign is marked by a double peak, which certainly appears the most remarkable feature in the range, when the character of the examination system at that time is considered. For few men read for Honours then, and these were only awarded in Literae Humaniores and

Mathematics. Had opportunities then existed for obtaining Honours in Moderations and Schools other than the two mentioned above, it is doubtful whether the College would have surpassed in the rest of the century the heights attained in its first quarter, notwithstanding Milman's statement (in his first week as a freshman) that of the three tutors in College 'one can lecture and never does, another cannot and always does, the third neither can nor does.' It was fitting that Brasenose should excel in the Schools. For the Examination Statute of 1800 was in no small way due to a pamphlet published in 1773 by a Fellow of the College, Dr. Napleton; and Hodson played an important part in working the new system by acting as Public Examiner in the years 1802, 1803, 1806, 1808–10. In the first half of Gilbert's reign the College lost much ground rapidly; and though the last half saw a partial recovery, the advantage was lost again under Harington, until in 1847 the Honours' curve reaches its lowest point. The reason for this fall is not, however, to be found wholly within the College, since at that time the standard of the Examination appears to have been raised. Thus on the average of the eight years from 1831 to 1838 as many as 115 candidates obtained Classical Honours in the University, but on the average of the ten years from 1839 to 1848 only 92 names appeared on the Class Lists, although the number of candidates was greater during the latter period than during the former. From 1847 there is a steady rise until 1872. This was due partly no doubt to changes made by the First Commission—the foundation of open Scholarships and greater efficiency in the College teaching—partly to the extension of the field in which Honours might be obtained, by the establishment of Moderations in 1850, together with the Schools of Natural Science, Law and History, and in 1870 the School of Theology, but in the main perhaps to the influence of Cradock, under whom the vigour of the College was by no means confined (as is sometimes supposed) to the river and the cricket-field. We have already drawn attention to the fact that the advantage conferred on the College by the foundation of open Scholarships was to some extent with-

drawn by the depreciation of the value of its close Scholarships in the eyes of those Schools to which they were confined. Further, it may be noted that, while the majority of the Honours obtained by the College in the first half of the century were gained by Commoners, relatively few appear in the Class Lists in the second half, in spite of the foundation of the Schools of Law and Modern History. The reason is to be found partly in the fact that men intellectually ambitious come up now as Scholars who formerly would have matriculated as Commoners. Perhaps, too, the College was not in the later part of the century so attractive to Commoners with the capacity and ambition for high Honours as it was in Hodson's golden age. From 1872 until 1881 there is a rapid decline in the Honours' curve; to this there corresponds a decline, not however so sharp, in the number of men graduating, although the matriculation curve remains steady during the period. Perhaps it would not be unjust to trace this decline in the industry of the College to the dislocation of work produced by the agitations and discussions which centred around the Commission of 1877; but other influences may have been at work. From 1881 until 1902 there is another steady rise in the Honours' curve. This was followed by a sharp descent, but that, happily, has now been checked; and in the present year the College has reached the highest point yet attained in Honours, though this does not appear in the diagram, where the curve represents a four years' average.

No attempt has been made to apply our Procrustean methods of numbers and diagrams to University Prizes. But reference to the Honour Lists will show that the College can boast, at one time or another, the Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship, the Craven, Vinerian, Eldon, and Boden Sanskrit Scholarships, the Senior and Junior Mathematical, Pusey and Ellerton, Denyer and Johnson, Taylorian and John Locke Scholarships, the Chancellor's Latin Verse, English Essay, and Latin Essay Prizes, the Newdigate, Ellerton, Denyer, Arnold, Stanhope, and Lothian Prizes, the Greek Testament, Septuagint, and Syriac Prizes, the Conington and

Green Moral Philosophy Prizes. As befits the College of Heber, Brasenose has won the Newdigate nine times during the nineteenth century.

The graduation curve (Diagram I C) varies with the curve of matriculation, but its fluctuations are not so marked, the proportion of men graduating being higher when the number of men matriculating was relatively low.

In Diagram II are drawn curves which show the distribution of the members of the College into the chief callings and professions throughout the nineteenth century. The most striking changes appear in the curve B, which represents the number of men who have entered Holy Orders. Until 1860 it follows closely the matriculation curve, the number of clergymen varying from a half of the men matriculated in the first quarter of the century to two-thirds in Harington's time. The climax was reached in 1842; of the 24 men who became members of the College in that year, no less than 23 took Orders. From 1860 until 1895 the number fell steadily to about an eighth, but in the last five years of the century the proportion of those who became clergymen was one in six. The percentage for the century is 40·8. Many various conditions have contributed to this remarkable change. The Tractarian movement must have increased the numbers entering upon Orders in the second quarter of the century. Men intending to become clergymen were no doubt attracted to the College by the practice of giving the Senior Hulme Exhibitions to those who declared such an intention; and also perhaps by the Hulme benefices, on the purchase of which no less than £80,000 was spent by the Hulme Trustees up to 1870. But apart from the policy of the Hulme Trust the causes would seem to be those operating generally throughout the University and in English society, of which Oxford is the mirror. There is no evidence of strong clerical or anti-clerical influence in the College itself, at any rate in the second half of the century. The other reasons for this striking decline in the number of clergy may be found in the relaxation of the obligation to take Orders upon fellows and schoolmasters; in the abolition of religious tests; in the depreciation of the value

of many livings below the level of subsistence; in the admission of greater numbers of men who intend to follow the Law or Business, and in the larger opportunities of uniting a life of service with a career in the work of administration at home, in India, and the Crown Colonies.

Throughout the century a number of Brasenose men have followed the (Law Diagram II E). The percentage of barristers and solicitors for the whole period is 13·1. Between 1856 and 1885 the proportion rose from 1 in 13 almost to 1 in 4. But since then there has been a decline to the normal level. Up to 1875 the great majority were barristers, but since that date there has been a steady advance in the number of solicitors; and in the last five years of the century the numbers were equal. It may also be noted that until 1880 many men became members of the Inns of Court, but for one reason or another were never called to the Bar. These I have counted as Law Students, but perhaps some of them only 'ate dinners'. The recent decline in the number of barristers is perhaps in part due to the opening of new careers for able and ambitious men, and more especially of the Home and Indian Civil Services to University candidates.

Brasenose has not given as many men to the medical profession as one could wish, though among them have been more than one physician of great distinction (Diagram II I). In the first half of the century they were few and far between; in the second half they were more evenly distributed, and lately there has been an increase in numbers. The complete neglect by the University of the medical sciences sufficiently accounts for the position of Medicine in the College during the first half of the century; but it is strange perhaps that the second half has not witnessed a greater advance, especially when one considers how valuable a Senior Hulme Scholarship would be to an ambitious man following the medical profession.

The percentage of Brasenose men who have taken commissions in the Army is 4·6. The curve (Diagram II F) is steady throughout the great part of the century, rising, as one would expect, at the time of the Crimean and South African wars. There is also during the years 1866–70 a marked

increase, which is fairly maintained until 1880, due either to the policy of the War Office towards Oxford or to the character of the College at that time. Brasenose has also given many officers to the auxiliary forces, particularly in the second half of the century. Since 1866 the percentage has been 6·4 (Diagram III F). No doubt a great advance in this line will be witnessed by the twentieth century, now that a real effort is being made to use the splendid reserve of military strength which Oxford possesses in her men.

The average number of men engaged as University teachers or schoolmasters is 11·5 per cent. of those who matriculated. The fluctuations in the curve are not very considerable (Diagram II D), but it tends to rise when the curve of Honours rises, and to fall when it falls. In the first 40 years of the century the number of schoolmasters is inconsiderable, being only 15 as compared with 82 men who held some position in the University. Since then there has been a steady increase in the number of schoolmasters; and between 1871 and 1900 they numbered 117 as compared with 17 engaged in University work. These changes are due to various causes. In the first part of the century there were more fellowships, and many more elections, since a fellowship then was often only a half-way house to a career outside the University. Further, although Brasenose received many of its fellows from other colleges, it also elected many from among its own members. Then, too, the College enjoyed an intellectual eminence in the University, which it did not always maintain afterwards. Again, the development of the Public Schools has immensely increased the demand for Oxford men as schoolmasters.

The percentage of Brasenose men who have held Government appointments during the century is 6·9. There have been a few appointments at Court, mainly in the first half of the century; more in the Diplomatic and Consular services. 53 men have held legal positions under Government, their number at different times varying with the number called to the Bar. The sharp rise towards the end of the century shown in Diagram II, curve G, is due to the change in the regulations which has thrown open the Home, Indian, and Colonial Civil

Services to Oxford men. Of the men matriculated in the last 10 years of the century no less than 50, or 15·5 per cent., have entered one or other of these services. But though the Civil Service regulations at present in force have made a great difference to Oxford, Brasenose has been represented in these services during the greater part of the century. 18 men entered the Indian Civil Service in the fifties and sixties; and the Government Offices at home and the Crown Colonies have received a number at various times.

There was a marked and sudden change about 1865 in the number of Brasenose men entering business. Before that date the *Register* shows only 20; since then 152 appear. The highest point was reached about 1880 (Diagram II H). This change is no doubt in the main due to the rise of the commercial and manufacturing classes in wealth, social position, and education. Perhaps, too, the Commission of 1850 increased their confidence in Oxford. It remains, however, for the twentieth century to prove that a university training has an economic value in the eyes of the men who direct the business and industry of the country.

People sometimes talk as though an Oxford man must become either a schoolmaster or a journalist. The *Register* does not support this theory. The percentage of journalists throughout the century is 0·6; and even in the last 20 years it does not rise above 2·2. Art, Music, and the Stage together claim 0·3 of our men.

The percentage of Brasenose men who have written books in the course of the nineteenth century is 10·8 (Diagram II K). The curve is lower in the second half of the century than it is in the first, when the percentage is 13·9. The apex is reached in the years 1836–40 with a percentage of 20·9. The bulk of the work produced by the men of this time is of a religious character; and much of the literary activity may be traced directly or indirectly to the Tractarian movement. It is not fair of course to compare the curve in the last quarter of the century with its level in the other quarters; but the reflection is forced upon us whether after all the changes introduced by the Commissions and otherwise have had on the intellectual life of

Oxford the quickening effect with which they are popularly credited.

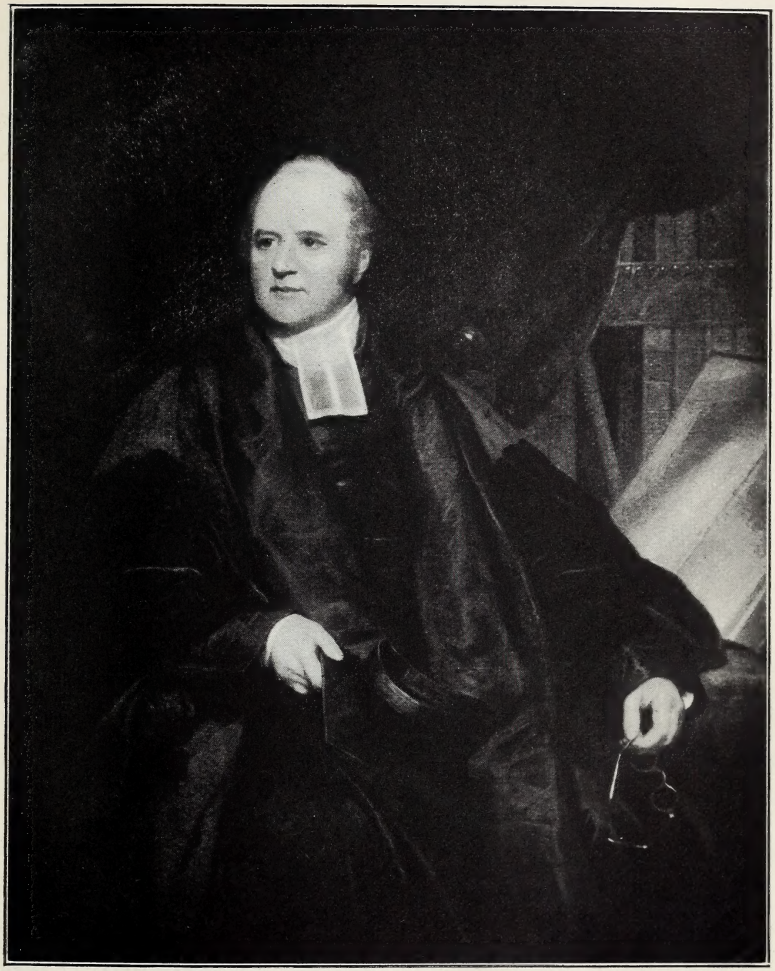
It has not been possible to show with precision how many Brasenose men have lived the life of a country gentleman. Some inferences may be drawn from the curve (Diagram III C) which shows the number of Landed Gentry matriculating in the course of the century. But perhaps the best indication of the number of Brasenose men who have lived the traditional life and performed the duties of the squire is given in the curve which shows the number of men who were made magistrates. Their percentage for the century is 10·1. Between 1816 and 1825 it rises to 13·7, and between 1871 and 1880 to 13·9.

Of the men who matriculated at B.N.C. in the nineteenth century 63 were returned as members of Parliament, and 8 rose to positions in the Government (Diagram III E). The first quarter of the century (as one might guess from what has already been said) contributed the greatest number; but they appear throughout our period with the exception of the last 15 years, which have not yet had time to bear fruit.

Owing to the zeal and perseverance with which the *Register* has been compiled the percentage of men untraced is only 14·6 (Diagram II C). So far as this curve varies, it reflects the fluctuations in the matriculation curve. One may conjecture that among those untraced are many who have sought their fortunes in the Colonies and foreign parts, but perhaps have not found great success; others may have drifted from one occupation to another; others have died unknown before time brought them honour. Had they been traced it is unlikely that the figures relating to the Church, the Army, Government, Law, or Medicine would have been much different from what they are. The number of schoolmasters might have been somewhat increased; and considerable additions might have been made to the list of journalists and business men, while some of them perhaps would have been hard to place in any category.

To many minds statistics are lifeless and repellent; yet numbers have a certain impressiveness of their own. And it

is surely worthy of consideration that out of less than 3,000 men matriculated at Brasenose during the last century, 1,198 entered Holy Orders, 135 became soldiers, 63 members of Parliament, 298 magistrates, 206 served the Government at home and abroad, 388 became barristers and solicitors, 339 students and teachers, 318 writers of books. The contemplation of these figures enables us to realize with a peculiar vividness that the College in the nineteenth century has not proved unworthy of the heritage entrusted to it by its illustrious Founders and Benefactors, but has sent forth into the world men able and willing to serve God in Church and State.



Dr. Frodsham Hodson
Principal 1809–22

HONOUR LISTS AND UNIVERSITY PRIZEMEN

F Fellow of Brasenose College.
f Fellow of College other than Brasenose.
Σ Open Scholar or Somerset (open *pro hac vice*).
S Somerset Scholar.
σ Nowell, Yate or Frankland Scholar.
H Senior Hulme Scholar.
h Junior Hulme Scholar.
e Hulme Exhibitioner.
k Colquitt Exhibitioner.
c Commoner.
R Rhodes Scholar.

University Prizes

1774 H. Morgan *S*, Chancellor's Prize, English Essay
1779 H. Addington *c* (Viscount Sidmouth), Chancellor's Prize, English Essay
1780 T. Bancroft *H*, Craven Schol.
1792 Frodsham Hodson *SHF*[1], Chancellor's Prize, English Essay
1801 R. Heber *cf*[2], Chancellor's Prize, Latin Verse
1802 R. H. Johnson *c*, Craven Schol.
1803 T. Winfield σ*H*, 'Examinatoribus Publicis se maxime commendavit'
R. Heber *cf*, Newdigate
1805 R. Heber *cf*, Chancellor's Prize, English Essay
1806 J. Latham *cf*[3], Chancellor's Prize, Latin Verse
1807 C. T. Johnson *cH*, Craven Schol.
J. T. Allen *SH*, Chancellor's Prize, English Essay

1808 E

Lit. Hum.
II. J. Blackburne *c*
W. Farrer *c*
T. Farrer *c*
J. Ford *c*
A. Matthews *cF*[4]
W. Stewart *SH*

Math. et Phys.
II. W. Farrer *c*
T. Farrer *c*

1808 M

Lit. Hum.
I. A. T. Gilbert *SHF*[5]
II. A. Dawson *cHF*
W. Hassall *cH*
T. C. Hincks *cH*
J. T. H. Le Mesurier *c*[6]
G. W. Newton *c*
M. J. Pattison *c*

[1] Principal of Brasenose.
[2] Fellow of All Souls; Bishop of Calcutta.
[3] Fellow of All Souls.
[4] Canon of Hereford.
[5] Principal of Brasenose; Bishop of Chichester.
[6] Archdeacon of Malta.

1809 E

Lit. Hum.
I. E. Cardwell *cHF*[1]
R. Garden *c*
S. Hall *cHF*
II A. K. Prescott *σH*
II B. W. Austin *c*
Hon. J. S. Cocks *c*
H. G. Liddell *c*

Math. et Phys.
II A. E. Cardwell

1809 M

Lit. Hum.
II B. C. H. Johnson *cH*

University Prizes
P. M. Latham *c*[2], Chancellor's Prize, Latin Verse
C. H. Johnson *cH*, Newdigate Prize

1810 E

Lit. Hum.
I. W. Gregson *c*[3]
II A. R. Franco *c*
J. Mainwaring *c*
W. L. Sclater *c*
II B. R. W. Eyton *c*[4]
C. H. Hardy *σ*
T. H. Holgate *SH*
P. M. Latham *c*
A. Luders *c*
E. Taylor *c*
W. Wheatley *c*
J. B. Wittenoom *c*

1810 M

Lit. Hum.
I. J. Fletcher *c*
R. Heath *cH*
II A. E. Ashton *cHF*

1811 E

Lit. Hum.
II B. W. T. Oliver *c*
G. Winstanley *c*

1811 M

Lit. Hum.
II B. C. Gaunt *c*
G. Hornby *cHF*
H. Morrall *cH*
J. Taylor *SH*

1812 E

Lit. Hum.
II A. Earl De La Warr *c*[5]
II B. W. Hesketh *cH*

1812 M

Lit. Hum.
II A. G. Bernard *S*
H. Smith *cH*
J. Watson *cHF*
II B. C. R. Ashfield *S*
G. Goring *cH*

University Prizes
H. Latham *c*, Chancellor's Prize, Latin Verse
H. H. Milman *cHF*[6], Newdigate Prize

1813 E

Lit. Hum.
I. H. H. Milman *cHF*
II A. E. Batty *c*
II B. J. G. Cloves *c*
R. Janion *SH*
J. Smith *SHF*

1813 M

Lit. Hum.
I. J. J. Lowe *σ*HF
II B. R. Holt *S*
J. C. Prince *SH*

University Prize
H. H. Milman, Chancellor's Prize, Latin Verse

1814 E

Lit. Hum.
II B. W. Bradley *SH*

Math. et Phys.
II A. W. Borradaile *c*

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[1] Principal of St. Alban Hall.
[2] Physician Extraordinary to Queen Victoria.
[3] Under Secretary for Home Department, 1835.
[4] Canon of St. Asaph.
[5] Lord Chamberlain.
[6] Dean of St. Paul's.

1814 M

Lit. Hum.
I. W. W. Hull *cF*
W. Lowndes *c*
II A. W. Birkett *SH*
J. Robinson *cHF*
II B. J. Jackson *σ*

1815 E

Lit. Hum.
II A. C. W. St. J. Mildmay *cf*[1]
II B. F. Brandt *c*

1815 M

Lit. Hum.
I. H. Latham *c*
T. G. Roberts *cHF*
II A. H. B. Faulkner *c*
II B. R. M. Mainwaring *c*
G. Rust *c*

1816 E

Lit. Hum.
II A. T. L. Hughes *c*
II B. W. T. Eyre *SH*
R. F. Fuller *c*

1816 M

Lit. Hum.
II A. J. Hodgkinson *SH*
II B. W. J. Coltman *c*
M. Formby *SH*
J. Hordern *cH*

Math. et Phys.
II. M. Formby *SH*

University Prizes
H. H. Milman, Chancellor's Prize, English Essay
H. H. Milman, Chancellor's Prize, Latin Essay

1817 E

Lit. Hum.
II B. C. H. Coulthurst *c*
H. J. Feilden *c*

1817 M

Lit. Hum.
I. W. Greswell *SHf*[2]
G. Henderson *cHF*[3]
II A. J. S. Graves *c*
J. Morrall *cHF*
E. Sullivan *cf*[4]
J. Walker *c*
II B. T. Johnson *cH*
D. Lewis *c*
R. Noble *c*

1818 E

Lit. Hum.
II A. W. S. Best *c*
F. A. Dawson *SH*
T. Higgins *S*
II B. T. A. Boswell *c*
C. Hewett *c*
J. Toke *c*

Math. et Phys.
II A. H. J. Barton *SH*[5]

1818 M

Lit. Hum.
II A. J. O. Parr *σH*
R. R. Warde *c*

1819 E

Lit. Hum.
I. W. Simmons *cF*
II B. T. Shaw *c*
F. Vincent *c*
E. Woodyatt *c*

Math. et Phys.
II B. J. Bonham *c*

1819 M

Lit. Hum.
I. F. S. Newbold *cHF*
W. Peel *c*
II A. J Baron *c*
H. W. Buckley *cf*[6]
P. Hordern *cH*
G. M. Musgrave *c*

1820 E

Lit. Hum.
I. T. T. Churton *σHF*
II A. A. Clive *c*
L. B. Larking *c*
M. Vavasour *cH*
II B. G. E. Larden *cH*
H. Perceval *c*
W. White *c*

Math. et Phys.
II. C. Ward *c*

[1] Fellow of Merton.
[2] Fellow of Balliol.
[3] Recorder of Liverpool.
[4] Fellow of All Souls.
[5] Canon of Peterborough.
[6] Fellow of Merton.

1820 M

Lit. Hum.
II A. J. Parker *c*[1]
II B. T. S. Codrington *c*

1821 E

Lit. Hum.
II A. E. F. Arney *cH*
T. L. Pain *SH*
II B. W. Neilson *c*
W. H. Prescot *SH*
Hon. H. A. Rous *c*

1821 M

Lit. Hum.
II B. J. St. V. Bowen *c*
W. A. B. Cave *c*
C. T. Robinson *c*

1822 E

Lit. Hum.
I. W. Stone *cHF*[2]
II A. N. Pearse *c*
II B. T. Coltman *c*
Hon. A. Curzon *c*
J. L. Philipps *cH*

1822 M

Lit. Hum.
I. J. Garbett *SHF*[3]
II A. A. Rowlandson *cH*
II B. S. Maddock *SH*
W. Sergison *c*
L. Tugwell *c*
G. Watson *c*
W. Wyatt *cH*

Math. et Phys.
I. J. Huyshe *cH*

University Prizes
J. Parry *SHF*, Craven Schol.
Hon. F. Curzon *c*, Chancellor's L. V.

1823 E

Lit. Hum.
II B. S. G. Gunning *c*
J. A. Hanson *S*
J. H. Underwood *SH*
Hon. A. Waldegrave *c*

1823 M

Lit. Hum.
I. Hon. F. Curzon *c*
II A. E. L. Badeley *c*
S. M. Colquitt *cHF*
R. Maude *cH*
II B. A. Crowdy *SH*

Math. et Phys.
I. Hon. F. Curzon *c*

University Prize
T. S. Salmon *c*, Newdigate

1824 E

Lit. Hum.
II B. W. G. Meredith *c*

1824 M

Lit. Hum.
II A. E. Higgins *SH*
II B. B. F. Duppa *c*
R. Latham *cHF*

University Prize
R. W. Mackay *c*, Chancellor's L. V.

1826 E

Lit. Hum.
I. D. C. Wrangham *c*[4]
II. F. H. Greswell *SHF*

Math. et Phys.
I. D. C. Wrangham *c*

1826 M

University Prize
T. W. Carr *cH*, Ellerton Theol. Essay

1827 E

Lit. Hum.
II. J. E. Jackson *c*

1828 E

Lit. Hum.
II. W. W. Champneys *SHF*[5]

1828 M

Lit. Hum.
II. C. M. Newbold *cHF*

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[1] Secretary to Admiralty.
[2] Canon of Canterbury.
[3] Archdeacon of Chichester.
[4] Queen's Serjeant.
[5] Dean of Lichfield.

1829 E

Math. et Phys.
I. W. W. Johnson *cH*

1829 M

Lit. Hum.
I. T. J. Ormerod *cF*[1]
II. S. Humphreys *c*
A. F. B. St. Leger *c*

1831 E

Lit. Hum.
II. G. Casson *cHF*
R. E. Tyrwhitt *cH*

1831 M

Lit. Hum.
II. N. J. Merriman *cH*

1832 M

Lit. Hum.
II. J. W. M. Berry *c*[3]

1833 M

Lit. Hum.
II. T. Prothero *c*[4]

University Prize
W. N. Smyth *SH*, Chancellor's L. V.

1834 E

Lit. Hum.
I. R. Thompson *SH*

1835 E

Lit. Hum.
I. T. Chaffers *SHF*
II. W. Cockin *SH*
C. B. A. G. Hulton *SH*

1835 M

Lit. Hum.
I. P. C. Claughton *SHf*[5]

Math. et Phys.
II. J. Puckle *S*

University Prize
H. B. W. Churton *F*, Pusey and Ellerton Schol.

1836 E

Lit. Hum.
II. J. Caswall *SH*
G. Whitbread *c*

1836 M

Lit. Hum.
II. D. Melville *SH*[6]
P. Mules *cf*[7]

Math. et Phys.
II. T. Hussey *c*

1837 E

Lit. Hum.
I. T. H. Haddan *cf*[8]
C. T. Nesbitt *c*
E. Sleap *cH*
II. R. J. Buddicom *SH*
P. R. Robin *c*

1837 M

University Prizes
P. C. Claughton *SHf*, Chancellor's Eng. Essay
C. B. A. G. Hulton *SH*, Ellerton Theol. Essay

1838 M

University Prizes
T. H. Haddan *cf*, Chancellor's Eng. Essay
F. Menzies *SHF*, Pusey and Ellerton Schol.

1839 E

Lit. Hum.
I. W. E. Buckley *SHF*[9]

1839 M

Lit. Hum.
I. E. R. Jones *SHF*

Math. et Phys.
I. J. Gordon *c*[10]

University Prize
C. A. Johnson *c*, Craven Schol.

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[1] Archdeacon of Suffolk.
[2] Bishop of Grahamstown.
[3] Librarian in Ordinary to Queen Victoria.
[4] Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Victoria.
[5] Fellow of University; Chaplain General to the Forces.
[6] Canon of Worcester.
[7] Fellow of Exeter.
[8] Fellow of Exeter.
[9] Professor of Anglo-Saxon.
[10] Master of Supreme Court.

1840 E

Lit. Hum.
II. A. Coote *c*
J. O. Taylor *SH*

University Prize
T. H. Haddan *cf*, Eldon Law Schol.

1840 M

Lit. Hum.
II. T. Greene *SH*

Math. et Phys.
I. W. C. Howell *c*
II. A. Burnett-Stuart *c*

University Prize
J. Gordon *c*, Math. Schol.

1841 E

Lit. Hum.
I. C. P. Chretien *σHf*[1]
II. E. Garbett *S*
J. Walker *cH*

1841 M

Lit. Hum.
II. W. Lea *c*[2]

University Prizes
J. H. Latham *c*, Craven Schol.
A. P. Forbes *c*[3], Boden Sanscrit Schol.

1842 E

Math. et Phys.
I. E. Pedder *SH*

1842 M

Lit. Hum.
II. V. G. Driffield *SH*

1843 E

Lit. Hum.
II. F. Marshall *S*

University Prize
J. Gordon *c*, Vinerian Schol.

1843 M

Lit. Hum.
II. J. G. Cazenove *S*

Math. et Phys.
I. J. E. Cook *c*
II. J. G. Cazenove *S*

1844 M

Math. et Phys.
II. T. Balston *c*

University Prize
J. E. Cook *c*, Sen. Math. Schol.

1845 E

Math. et Phys.
I. G. Case *c*

1846 E

Lit. Hum.
II. G. Perkins *SH*

1847

University Prizes
T. H. Haddan *cf*, Vinerian Fellow
J. C. Paxton *c*, Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship

1848 E

Lit. Hum.
II. J. H. Backhouse *SH*
H. J. W. Stillingfleet *cH*

Math. et Phys.
I. J. H. Backhouse *SH*

1848 M

Math. et Phys.
I. T. H. R. Shand *cHF*

1849 E

Lit. Hum.
II. C. R. Hutchinson *c*

1849 M

Lit. Hum.
II. W. Bell *c*

Math. et Phys.
I. F. Ashpitel *c*

University Prize
T. H. R. Shand *cHf*, Johnson Math. Schol.

1850 E

Lit. Hum.
II. J. Ambery *SH*

University Prize
F. Ashpitel *c*, Sen. Math. Schol.

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[1] Fellow of Oriel.
[2] Archdeacon of Worcester.
[3] Bishop of Brechin.

1850 M

Lit. Hum.
II. J. M. D. Owen *c*

University Prize
W. Alexander *Hon. F*[1], Denyer Theol. Essay

1851 M

Lit. Hum.
II. J. H. Leach *cHF*

1852 E

Cl. Mod.
I. C. J. Wood *SHF*
II. W. Y. S. Izon *c*

1852 M

Cl. Mod.
II. J. W. Taylor *SH*

Lit. Hum.
I. K. Prescot *Sf*[2]
II. R. S. Wilson *cHF*

Math. et Phys.
II. H. T. T. West *c*

1853 E

Cl. Mod.
II. F. B. Dickinson *cH*
W. D. Duncombe *c*
J. L. Pain *c*

University Prize
D. M. Gardner *σH*, Pusey and Ellerton Schol.

1853 M

Cl. Mod.
II. C. Walford Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. C. J. Wood *SHF*

Jur. et Hist.
II. C. J. Wood *SHF*

1854 E

Cl. Mod.
II. T. R. Halcomb *ckHf*[3]
C. J. Sewell *cH*

Math. Mod.
I. T. R. Halcomb *ckHf*

Math. et Phys.
II. H. S. Byrth *cH*

1854 M

Cl. Mod.
II. J. Furnival *cH*

1855 E

Cl. Mod.
I. D. M. Gardner *σH*
II. J. Rogers *SH*
K. Smith *S*
O. L. Swainson *c*

Lit. Hum.
II. C. Walford Σ

1855 M

Cl. Mod.
II. L. O. Pike *S*
W. H. Taylor *SH*

1856 E

Cl. Mod.
I. W. Morshead Σ*H*
II. R. Battye *c*
R. W. Cullen *SH*
H. E. Sullivan *c*

Lit. Hum.
I. T. R. Halcomb *ckHf*

1856 M

Cl. Mod.
I. J. H. Rawdon *cH*
II. J. M. Austen Σ*H*
C. Price Σ
J. A. Whitlock *SH*

Math. Mod.
II. C. Price Σ

University Prize
H. S. Byrth *cH*, Ellerton Theol. Essay

1857 E

Cl. Mod.
II. H. Grey *σ*
E. Stowe Σ

Math. Mod.
II. J. E. Binney *c*

Lit. Hum.
II. D. M. Gardner *σH*

[1] Archbishop of Armagh.
[2] Fellow of Merton.
[3] Fellow of Lincoln.

1857 M

Cl. Mod.
I. E. H. Little Σ*H*
II. T. F. Collins *cH*
R. B. Leach Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
II. W. Morshead Σ*H*

University Prize
T. R. Halcomb *ckHf*, Arnold Hist. Essay

1858 E

Cl. Mod.
I. W. Berkley *σHf*[1]
F. L. Latham Σ[2]
G. H. Mullins Σ*H*
II. G. J. Richards Σ*H*

Math. Mod.
I. H. Wace Σ[3]

Jur. et Hist.
II. W. W. Waddington *S*

University Prize
F. L. Latham Σ, Newdigate

1858 M

Cl. Mod.
II. C. Coldwell *cH*

Math. Mod.
I. T. W. Openshaw *SH*

Lit. Hum.
II. J. M. Austen Σ*H*
J. H. Rawdon *cH*

Math. et Phys.
II. C. Price Σ

Jur. et Hist.
II. J. M. Austen Σ*H*

1859 E

Cl. Mod.
II. S. C. Austen *c*
E. J. Townley Σ

1859 M

Cl. Mod.
I. A. B. Weigall Σ*H*[4]
II. C. W. Prescot *cH*

Lit. Hum.
II. E. H. Little Σ*H*

University Prize
J. M. Austen Σ*H*, Johnson Theol. Schol.

1860 E

Cl. Mod.
I. F. Brandt Σ[5]
W. L. Stonhouse Σ*H*
II. H. J. Carpenter *cH*
W. Champneys *cH*
W. M. Myres *kH*

University Prizes
W. Alexander *Hon. F*, English Poem on Sacred Subject
T. R. Grundy *c*, Taylorian Schol.
R. J. Crosthwaite Σ*H*[6], Pusey and Ellerton Schol.
F. Chancellor Σ*H*, Jun. Math. Schol.

1860 M

Cl. Mod.
I. J. W. Black Σ*H*
II. R. W. Baddeley *c*

Lit. Hum.
I. W. Berkeley *σHf*
F. L. Latham Σ
II. H. Wace Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. T. W. Openshaw *SH*
H. Wace Σ

1861 E

Math. Mod.
I. F. Chancellor Σ*H*

Sci. Nat.
I. A. B. Shepherd *cH*

1861 M

Cl. Mod.
I. W. H. Maber *SH*

Jur. et Hist.
II. S. C. Austen *c*

University Prize
W. L. Stonhouse Σ*H*, Chancellor's L. V.

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[1] Fellow of Trinity.
[2] Advocate General, Bombay.
[3] Dean of Canterbury.
[4] C.M.G.: Head Master of Sydney Grammar School, Australia.
[5] Judge, High Court, Madras.
[6] K.C.S.I.

1862 E

Cl. Mod.
II. W. C. Harris Σ
F. J. Huyshe *cH*
S. W. Skeffington Σ*Hf*[1]

Math. Mod.
I. J. Harding Σ*H*
W. S. Matthews Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
II. A. B. Weigall Σ*H*

1862 M

Cl. Mod.
I. W. F. Murray *kH*
II. S. R. Coxe *cH*
R. D. Walker *c*

Lit. Hum.
II. J. W. Black Σ*H*

Math. et Phys.
I. F. Chancellor Σ*H*

1863 E

Cl. Mod.
I. H. C. B. Bazely Σ*H*
H. F. O'Hanlon Σ*Hf*[2]
II. W. C. Tabor *c*

Jur. et Hist.
II. W. S. Lach-Szyrma *c*

1863 M

Cl. Mod.
I. E. L. Hicks Σ*f*[3]
E. H. R. Wiggin Σ

Math. Mod.
II. T. H. Gregory *c*

1864 E

Cl. Mod.
II. W. Millington *S*

Math. Mod.
I. R. F. Rumsey Σ
II. K. M. Pughe Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. J. Harding Σ*H*

1864 M

Cl. Mod.
I. G. Alcock Σ
II. C. Deedes *k*
W. E. Whitaker Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. S. W. Skeffington Σ*Hf*
II. F. J. Huyshe *cH*

1865 E

Cl. Mod.
I. F. W. Percival *c*
C. Thompson Σ

Math. Mod.
I. A. W. Reinold Σ*f*[4]

Sci. Nat.
II. W. E. Heap *c*

1865 M

Cl. Mod.
I. C. T. Fisher *c*
R. E. Jennings *c*
J. B. Milne *c*
II. J. Pickford *S*
A. C. Powell *c*
G. Yeld *S*

Math. Mod.
II. A. M. Loring *c*

Lit. Hum.
I. H. F. O'Hanlon Σ*Hf*
II. H. C. B. Bazely Σ*H*

Jur. et Hist.
II. E. H. R. Wiggin Σ

University Prizes
J. Pickford *S*, Boden Sanskrit Schol.
A. W. Reinold Σ*f*, Jun. Math. Schol.

1866 T

Cl. Mod.
II. E. C. W. Austin *S*
C. C. Prichard *S*
T. H. Ward Σ*F*

Lit. Hum.
I. E. L. Hicks Σ*f*

Math. et Phys.
I. R. F. Rumsey Σ
II. K. M. Pughe Σ

Jur. et Hist.
II. H. J. W. Buxton *c*
H. J. Stephens *c*

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[1] Fellow of University.
[2] Fellow of Lincoln.
[3] Fellow of Corpus; Canon of Manchester.
[4] Fellow of Merton; Professor of Physics, R.N.C., Greenwich.

1866 M

Cl. Mod.
I. W. C. Crofts Σ
A. Macmillan Σ [1]
II. H. U. Smith *S*

Math. Mod.
I. T. Threlfall Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. W. E. Whitaker Σ

Math. et Phys.
I. A. W. Reinold Σ*f*

Jur. et Hist.
II. C. Deedes *k*

University Prize
G. Yeld *S*, Newdigate

1867 T

Cl. Mod.
II. P. Barker Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. F. W. Percival *c*
II. C. Thompson Σ

1867 M

Cl. Mod.
II. J. H. Goodier *SH*
R. H. Rodgers Σ*H*
A. F. Wheeler *cH*

Math. Mod.
I. F. A. Wallroth *c*
J. L. Watson Σ
II. P. Barker Σ
R. S. Lea *c*

Lit. Hum.
II. C. T. Fisher *c*

Jur. et Hist.
II. R. E. Jennings *c*

University Prize
E. L. Hicks Σ*f*, Craven Schol.

1868 T

Cl. Mod.
II. J. T. Freeman *c*
J. F. Hartley *c*

Math. Mod.
I. M. J. Muir-Mackenzie Σ*f* [2]
II. H. E. Hull *c*

Math. et Phys.
I. T. Threlfall Σ

1868 M

Cl. Mod.
I. C. L. Dundas Σ*f* [3]
II. A. Bathe *c*
W. B. Brown *kH*
L. J. Chamberlen *cH*
W. H. P. Gresswell Σ*H*
T. Moore *k*

Lit. Hum.
I. T. H. Ward Σ*F*

Sci. Nat.
II. T. Threlfall Σ

University Prizes
E. L. Hicks Σ*f*, Chancellor's Lat. Essay
H. C. B. Bazely Σ*H*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.

1869 T

Cl. Mod.
II. F. J. Brown *kH*
W. B. Prosser Σ
F. W. Stone σ*H*

Math. Mod.
I. A. W. Rücker Σ*F* [4]

1869 M

Cl. Mod.
I. B. A. Gregory Σ
L. J. E. Percival Σ
II. R. D. H. Gray *kH*
T. J. Rider *c*

Math. Mod.
I. A. Spencer *SH*

Lit. Hum.
II. P. Barker Σ
R. H. Rodgers Σ*H*

Math. et Phys.
I. F. A. Wallroth *c*
J. L. Watson Σ

[1] Professor of Indian Jurisprudence and History, King's College, London.
[2] Fellow of Hertford; Official Referee, 1905.
[3] Fellow of Jesus; Archdeacon of Dorset.
[4] Principal, University of London; President, British Association, 1901.

University Prizes
A. W. Rücker Σ*F*, Jun. Math. Schol.
A. W. Reinold Σ*f*, Sen. Math. Schol.

1870 T

Cl. Mod.
II. V. K. Cooper Σ*H*
E. W. D. Manson Σ*H*
A. E. Wannop *c*

Math. Mod.
I. A. Hotham Σ*H*

Math. et Phys.
I. M. J. Muir-Mackenzie Σ*f*

Sci. Nat.
II. J. F. Hartley *c*

Jur. et Hist.
II. Hon. B. E. B. Fitz-Patrick *c* [1]

University Prize
A. Barratt *F*, Eldon Law Schol.

1870 M

Cl. Mod.
II. A. Hotham Σ*H*
H. L. St. Barbe *c*

Math. et Phys.
I. A. W. Rücker Σ*F*

Sci. Nat.
I. F. Champneys *c*

Jur. et Hist.
II. W. B. Brown *kH*

Theol.
I. C. L. Dundas Σ*f*

1871 T

Cl. Mod.
I. E. Curling ΣH

1871 M

Cl. Mod.
I. T. S. Dyball *cH*
C. J. Ottaway Σ
J. P. Way Σ*H* [2]
II. H. S. Butler *kH*
F. P. Maddison *S*

Lit. Hum.
II. L. J. E. Percival Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. A. Spencer *SH*

Sci. Nat.
I. A. W. Rücker Σ*F*

Theol.
II. R. D. H. Gray *kH*
T. J. Rider *c*

University Prize
C. L. Dundas Σ*f*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.

1872 T

Cl. Mod.
I. F. Madan Σ*HF*
II. J. A. Parrott *c*
J. D. Wilde Σ*H*

Math. Mod.
I. B. T. Bartrum Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
I. B. A. Gregory Σ

Jur. et Hist.
II. A. E. Kinch *c*
J. H. Stronge *c*

Theol.
I. G. G. Monck *c*

1872 M

Cl. Mod.
II. J. P. Cooper *S*
J. Denison *SH*
W. B. Hornby *c* [3]
S. R. Meredith *kH*

Lit. Hum.
II. E. W. D. Manson Σ*H*
A. E. Wannop *c*

Math. et Phys.
II. A. Hotham Σ*H*

Jur. et Hist.
II. J. W. Gardner *c*

Theol.
II. C. W. H. Kenrick *c*
J. Longridge *c*

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[1] Chancellor, Royal University of Ireland.

[2] Head Master of Rossall.

[3] Bishop of Nassau.

University Prizes
F. H. Champneys *c*, Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship
G. Edmundson *F*, Senior Math. Schol.
R. H. Rodgers Σ*H*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.
R. D. H. Gray *kH*, Sen. Greek Test. Prize

1873 T

Cl. Mod.
II. T. Crick Σ*H*
A. E. P. Gray *k*
B. Sharp Σ*H*
A. B. Stevens *c*

Theol.
II. T. S. Dyball *cH*
C. E. E. Williams *SH*

1873 M

Cl. Mod.
I. C. L. Coote Σ
M. Macmillan Σ[1]
II. E. H. Dunn *kH*

Math. Mod.
II. A. A. Knollys Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
II. F. P. Maddison *S*
J. P. Way Σ*H*

Theol.
II. J. Darlington *c*

University Prizes
C. L. Dundas Σ*f*, Sen. Greek Test. Prize
R. D. H. Gray *kH*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.

1874 T

Cl. Mod.
II. H. V. Brown *SH*
W. Heslop Σ*H*
W. E. Tennant *c*

Math. Mod.
I. A. F. Jones Σ
II. C. E. Simpson *S*

Math. et Phys.
II. B. T. Bartrum Σ*H*

Jur.
II. F. P. Maddison *S*

University Prizes
G. B. Brown *F*, Chancellor's Eng. Essay
R. J. Alexander *c*, Newdigate

1874 M

Cl. Mod.
II. E. H. Goddard *cH*

Lit. Hum.
II. F. Madan Σ*HF*

Jur.
II. E. R. Still *c*

Hist.
I. A. J. Evans *cF*[2]
II. J. P. Cooper *S*

1875 T

Cl. Mod.
I. G. R. Browne *SH*
A. Inkersley Σ*H*
A. F. Leupolt Σ
W. B. Taylor Σ*H*

Math. et Phys.
I. A. F. Jones Σ

Sci. Nat.
II. E. V. Freeman *c*

Theol.
II. H. E. Clayton *SH*

University Prize
A. E. P. Gray *k*, Jun. Greek Test. Prize

1875 M

Jur.
II. C. F. Wright *c*

Hist.
II. F. Spurling *c*

Theol.
II. J. Foord *c*

1876 T

Cl. Mod.
I. H. May Σ
II. T. M. Harrison *SH*
F. G. Rücker Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. C. L. Coote Σ
II. H. V. Brown *SH*
W. Heslop Σ*H*
M. Macmillan Σ

[1] Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay.

[2] Keeper of Ashmolean Museum.

Jur.
II. E. G. Amphlett *c*

Theol.
II. E. H. Parry *S*

1876 M

Math. Mod.
I. W. H. Heaton ΣH[1]

Sci. Nat.
I. A. F. Jones Σ

1877 T

Cl. Mod.
I. W. M. Barnes Σ
R. Gee *SH*

Lit. Hum.
II. A. F. Leupolt Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. H. S. Holme *SH*

Hist.
II. G. R. Browne *SH*

1877 M

Cl. Mod.
I. H. Atkins Σ*H*
II. H. B. Allen *cH*
E. H. R. Tatham Σ*H*

University Prizes
R. J. Alexander *c*, Chancellor's English Essay
J. Foord *c*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.
H. E. Clayton *SH*, Sen. Greek Test. Prize

1878 T

Cl. Mod.
II. A. McN. Campbell Σ*H*
A. W. M. Weatherly *SH*

Hist.
II. H. W. Ellicott *c*

1878 M

Math. et Phys.
I. W. H. Heaton Σ*H*

University Prizes
R. J. Alexander *c*, English Poem on Sacred Subj.
H. E. Clayton *SH*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.
A. Inkersley Σ*H*, Jun. LXX Prize

1879 T

Cl. Mod.
II. G. V. Fiddes Σ[2]
E. S. Marshall Σ
R. H. J. Poole Σ*H*

Math. Mod.
II. H. C. Bond *SH*

Lit. Hum.
II. R. Gee *SH*

Hist.
II. G. Longridge *cH*

1879 M

University Prizes
T. M. Macdonald Σ*H*, Newdigate
E. H. Parry *S*, Syriac Prize
W. B. Taylor Σ*H*, Sen. LXX Prize

1880 T

Cl. Mod.
I. A. O. M. Mackenzie Σ*H*
II. W. C. Bell *S*
A. E. DuBuisson *c*
G. C. Fletcher Σ*H*
C. B. Lucas Σ*H*
R. Parry *S*

Lit. Hum.
I. H. Atkins Σ*H*

Sci. Nat.
I. W. H. Heaton Σ*H*

1881 T

Cl. Mod.
I. A. W. Arkle Σ*H*
E. E. H. Brydges Σ*H*
II. A. F. Hoyle *S*
G. M. Robertson Σ
W. H. Stevenson *S*
E. R. Wethey *c*

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[1] Vice-Principal, University College, Nottingham.

[2] C.M.G.; Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Colonies.

Lit. Hum.
II. H. P. Bull *S*

Sci. Nat.
II. H. C. Bond *SH*

University Prize
E. H. R. Tatham Σ*H*, Lothian Prize

1882 T

Cl. Mod.
II. G. O. Bellewes Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. C. B. Lucas Σ*H*
A. O. M. Mackenzie Σ*H*

Theol.
II. S. Dugdale *c*
A. K. D. Smith *c*

1882 M

Math. Mod.
I. H. J. Read Σ*H*[1]

Jur.
II. S. A. Sillem *c*

1883 T

Cl. Mod.
I. R. S. Johnstone Σ*H*
B. D. Tomlinson *SH*
J. Tracey Σ*H*[2]

Lit. Hum.
II. G. M. Robertson Σ

Hist.
I. E. R. Wethey *c*
II. T. P. Armstrong *c*
T. W. Hudson *c*

Theol.
II. R. Hartley *c*
J. R. Pendlebury *k*

1884 T

Cl. Mod.
I. S. L. Gwynn Σ*H*
II. G. H. Price *h*
W. B. Selbie *S*[3]
F. E. Skyrme *k*
A. E. Webb *h*

Math. Mod.
I. A. Rutherford Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
II. W. H. Devenish Σ

Math. et Phys.
I. H. J. Read Σ*H*

Hist.
I. G. R. Askwith Σ*H*[4]
G. M. Robertson Σ

1884 M

Cl. Mod.
A. E. Rubie *h*

1885 T

Cl. Mod.
I. R. E. E. Frampton Σ
E. F. Macpherson Σ*H*
II. R. W. Gordon *h*
E. M. Hobart-Hampden Σ
J. B. Kershaw *hH*
W. A. Macfadyen *S*
H. E. Strickland *h*

Math. Mod.
II. T. Dewe Σ
D. L. Rhys *S*

Lit. Hum.
I. R. S. Johnstone Σ*H*
J. Tracey Σ*H*
II. E. J. Bodington *S*
B. D. Tomlinson *SH*

1886 H

Cl. Mod.
I. G. C. Joyce Σ*H*
II. A. F. Bill Σ
F. H. B. Ellis *h*
J. G. Knowles *S*
G. E. Rudd *S*
J. Walmsley *S*

Lit. Hum.
I. S. L. Gwynn Σ*H*
A. E. Rubie *h*
II. W. B. Selbie *S*
A. E. Webb *h*

Math. et Phys.
I. A. Rutherford Σ*H*

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[1] C.M.G.; Principal Clerk, Colonial Office.
[2] Tutor of Keble.
[3] Principal, Mansfield College.
[4] Comptroller-General, Board of Trade; C.B.

1887

Cl. Mod.
I. E. B. Titchener ΣH[1]
II. H. C. Burnett Σ
W. M. Crowdy *hH*
C. S. Currie Σ
H. C. Garden *cH*
L. W. Harry *h*
E. W. Jones *S*
R. Robinson *S*
A. E. Russell *h*

Math. Mod.
II. A. H. Wood Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. J. B. Kershaw *hH*
W. A. Macfadyen *S*
E. F. Macpherson Σ*H*

Math. et Phys.
II. T. Dewe Σ

University Prize
L. J. M. Bebb *F*, Denyer and Johnson Schol.

1888

Cl. Mod.
I. H. B. Moore *ShH*
R. W. Porter Σ*H*
II. L. Robbs *h*
P. M. Watkins Σ

Math. Mod.
I. A. H. Maudson Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. G. C. Joyce Σ*H*

Jur.
II. E. F. Macpherson Σ*H*

Hist.
II. C. C. Bradford *c*
G. A. Hammond *c*
J. B. Kershaw *hH*
W. A. Macfadyen *S*
H. B. Tabberer *c*

Lit. Ind.
I. A. M. T. Jackson Σ

University Prizes
A. M. T. Jackson Σ, Boden Sanskrit Schol.
L. J. M. Bebb *F*, Ellerton Theol. Essay
W. B. Selbie *S*, Senior Septuagint Prize
L. J. M. Bebb *F*, Senior Gk. Test. Prize

1889

Cl. Mod.
I. R. Cripps Σ*H*
II. B. P. Browning *c*
B. S. Cornish *S*
C. J. Holmes Σ[2]
R. E. Leigh *h*

Math. Mod.
I. J. H. Denbigh Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. E. B. Titchener Σ*H*
II. H. C. Burnett Σ

Jur.
II. J. W. Wearing *c*

Hist.
I. A. E. Russell *h*
II. W. M. Crowdy *hH*
H. C. Garden *cH*
W. Ll. Williams *h*

Theol.
II. J. Walmsley *S*

1890

Cl. Mod.
I. E. J. P. Ross-Barker *h*
A. W. Tonge Σ*H*
II. G. B. Grundy *cf*[3]
W. Lys *S*
H. Taylor *h*
R. Vickers Σ

Math. Mod.
I. R. G. Barnes Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. R. W. Porter Σ*H*
II. F. Finn Σ
H. B. Moore *ShH*
P. M. Watkins Σ

University Prize
J. Walmsley *S*, Senior Gk. Test. Prize

[1] Professor, Cornell University, U.S.A.
[2] Director of the National Portrait Gallery.
[3] Fellow of Corpus Christi.

1891

Cl. Mod.
I. F. D. Evans Σ
II. A. G. H. Daller *h*
R. H. Dun Σ[1]
S. P. Duval Σ*H*
W. G. H. Gritten *S*
J. Hallward *h*
R. Newman *SH*
A. B. Nutter Σ

Math. Mod.
I. A. C. Jones Σ*H*
W. G. Williams Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. B. S. Cornish *S*
R. Cripps Σ*H*
G. B. Grundy *cf*

Math. et Phys.
II. J. H. Denbigh Σ

Sci. Nat.
II. J. C. Fisher *c*
W. A. P. Waters *c*

Jur.
II. F. W. Owen *c*

Hist.
II. A. E. Twentyman *hH*

Theol.
II. W. Farnsworth *S*

University Prize
L. R. Browne *S*, Jun. Gk. Test. Prize

1892

Cl. Mod.
II. J. E. Freeman *h*
A. V. Gough Σ
H. C. Hampson *S*
L. H. Leslie-Jones *SH*
W. E. Low Σ
H. R. Norris *SH*
J. S. Porter Σ
T. D. Stanger-Leathes *c*

Math. Mod.
II. P. Thompson *c*

Lit. Hum.
II. H. H. Child Σ
E. J. P. Ross-Barker *h*
A. W. Tonge Σ*H*
R. Vickers Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. R. G. Barnes Σ

Jur.
II. C. C. Currey *c*

Theol.
II. L. R. Browne *S*

1893

Cl. Mod.
I. J. S. Bradbury Σ*H*[2]
A. J. Sargent *hH*
II. A. Coore *S*
E. E. Forrester Σ
H. Freeman *h*
E. J. Parker Σ
J. D. Rolleston *S*

Math. Mod.
I. H. Price Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. R. H. Dun Σ
F. D. Evans Σ
R. Newman *SH*
H. H. E. L. Puxley *c*

Math. et Phys.
I. A. C. Jones Σ*H*
II. W. G. Williams Σ

1894

Cl. Mod.
I. J. W. Crowfoot Σ*H*
R. A. Jenkins Σ
H. C. Woodman *hH*
II. C. J. Astbury *SH*
J. Hearn *h*
E. Jones Σ
C. J. Phillips Σ
R. J. Wright Σ

Math. Mod.
II. A. B. Taylor Σ
L. H. Fripp Σ

Jur.
II. P. C. Elgee *c*
H. C. Hampson *S*

Hist.
I. L. H. Leslie-Jones *SH*
P. J. Macdonell *h*
II. T. D. Stanger-Leathes *c*

Theol.
II. S. P. Duval Σ*H*
W. M. Evans *k*

[1] Chief Judge, Khartoum.

[2] C.B.

1895

Cl. Mod.
II. A. C. Allnutt Σ
G. P. Andrew *S*
T. W. Beasley Σ*H*
W. R. V. Brade *SH*
E. S. Chalk Σ
A. G. Jenkinson *h*
J. N. P. Mackie Σ

Math. Mod.
II. O. J. Sykes Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. J. S. Bradbury Σ*H*
A. J. Sargent *hH*

Math. et Phys.
I. H. Price Σ

Sci. Nat.
I. A. C. Jones Σ*H*

Hist.
II. H. M. MacVicar *h*

1896

Cl. Mod.
I. W. F. Hudson Σ
II. A. C. Dixon *SH*
P. P. Fox *c*
E. W. F. Gilman *h*

Math. Mod.
II. J. G. Green Σ
C. F. Payne Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. J. W. Crowfoot Σ*H*
C. J. Phillips Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. L. H. Fripp Σ

Jur.
II. C. J. Astbury *SH*
A. F. Bryant *c*
W. M. Carter *h*

Hist.
I. J. S. Bradbury Σ*H*
H. C. Woodman *hH*
II. F. B. Birt Σ

1897

Cl. Mod.
I. W. S. Milne Σ
S. E. Stinton Σ*H*
A. W. G. K. Tressler *h*
II. B. C. Boulter *h*
J. Buchan *hH*
W. R. Coombs *S*
E. P. Thursfield *S*

Math. Mod.
I. J. K. Lancashire Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
I. W. R. V. Brade *SH*
II. T. W. Beasley Σ*H*

University Prizes
A. J. Sargent *hH*, Chancellor's Eng. Essay
J. Buchan *hH*, Stanhope Hist. Essay

1898

Cl. Mod.
I. W. M. Bouch *h*
A. H. Hope *S*
R. Mowbray Σ
G. F. Plant *S*
II. F. Bradshaw *hH*
K. T. Frost *h*
G. E. R. Graham *h*
T. E. Keyden *c*
E. D. Lee *S*
R. S. Marsden *S*
W. J. Roberts *hH*
F. G. Williams Σ

Math. Mod.
I. F. F. Beach Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. A. C. Dixon *SH*
E. W. F. Gilman *h*
W. F. Hudson Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. J. G. Green Σ

Hist.
I. G. F. Carter *SH*
II. W. R. V. Brade *SH*
M. Frost *h*
C. Toogood *c*

University Prize
J. Buchan *hH*, Newdigate

1899

Cl. Mod.
I. A. E. Widdows Σ
II. L. C. Bromley Σ*H*
B. K. Long *hH*
D. E. McCausland *S*
F. A. M. Spencer Σ
G. W. Thomas *h*
W. Whitehead *S*

Math. Mod.
II. J. D. Heddon Σ
Lit. Hum.
I. J. Buchan *hH*
W. S. Milne Σ
II. W. R. Coombs *S*
S. E. Stinton Σ*H*
A. W. G. C. Tressler *h*
Math. et Phys.
I. J. K. Lancashire Σ*H*
Jur.
II. T. T. Blyth *c*
Hist.
II. R. W. Jeffery *c*
Theol.
I. G. F. Carter *SH*
II. A. C. Dixon *SH*

1900

Cl. Mod.
I. A. J. Richards Σ
II. F. H. Fortescue Σ*H*
C. E. W. Jones *h*
J. C. Stodart *hH*
G. A. F. Wallis *h*
W. A. Ward-Jones *S*
Math. Mod.
II. F. W. Partridge *h*
Lit. Hum.
I. R. Mowbray Σ
W. J. Roberts *hH*
F. G. Williams Σ
II. W. M. Bouch *h*
A. H. Hope *S*
Math. et Phys.
I. F. F. Beach Σ
Hist.
I. F. Bradshaw *hH*
II. W. E. Davis-Winstone *k*
J. K. Lancashire Σ*H*
P. A. R. Pritchard *c*
University Prize
G. B. Grundy *cf*, Conington Prize

1901

Cl Mod.
I. H. A. Henderson *h*
J. F. Henderson Σ
J. A. Salter Σ
II. H. A. Back *S*
A. H. Collins *S*
B. A. Collins Σ
W. A. Fiddian *h*
H. H. Hopwood *S*
C. G. Mortimer Σ
R. H. Stephen *h*
T. S. Wright *c*
Math. Mod.
I. W. Rigby Σ*H*
Lit. Hum.
I. F. A. M. Spencer Σ
II. L. C. Bromley Σ*H*
A. E. Widdows Σ
Hist.
I. B. K. Long *hH*
C. V. Rawlence *c*
Theol.
II. W. Whitehead *S*

1902

Cl. Mod.
I. J. L. Brierly Σ*Hf*[1]
J. L. Humphreys Σ
G. B. Sanderson Σ
II. W. H. Buchan *h*
C. C. Duigan *h*
W. A. Ferguson *h*
R. P. Newton *S*
J. H. A. Street *h*
Math. Mod.
I. J. H. Smith Σ
Lit. Hum.
I. F. H. Fortescue Σ*H*
II. A. J. Richards Σ
J. C. Stodart *hH*
G. A. F. Wallis *h*
Math. et Phys.
II. J. D. Heddon Σ
Nat. Sci.
II. D. Davidson *c*
Hist.
I. C. E. W. Jones *h*
II. H. N. Marriott *c*
C. W. W. Bramley *c*
Theol.
II. C. M. E. Hicks *k*
University Prize
F. A. M. Spencer Σ, John Locke Schol.

[1] Fellow of All Souls.

1903

Cl. Mod.
II. P. C. Henderson *h*
H. A. Hield *e*
T. A. Leach *hH*
E. Mannering Σ
A. Master Σ
J. D. Quirk Σ*H*

Lit. Hum.
I. J. F. Henderson Σ
J. A. Salter Σ*H*
II. B. A. Collins Σ
R. H. Stephen *h*

Math. et Phys.
I. W. Rigby Σ*H*
II. F. W. Partridge *h*

Hist.
II. H. A. Henderson *h*
W. H. Buchan *h*
W. C. Earnshaw *c*

1904

Cl. Mod.
II. G. E. Grundy *h*
J. R. Hall Σ
R. N. Reid Σ

Math. Mod.
II. J. S. P. Dickey Σ

Lit. Hum.
II. J. L. Brierly Σ*Hf*
W. A. Ferguson *h*
G. B. Sanderson Σ
J. H. A. Street *h*

Jur.
I. R. M. Lowe *c*

Hist.
I. N. B. Dearle *hHf*[1]
II. C. S. Carter *c*

Theol.
II. C. G. Mortimer Σ

1905

Cl. Mod.
II. F. W. Green *e*
H. E. Halliday Σ
J. R. Jones Σ
C. A. Woodhouse *h*

Math. Mod.
I. C. à B. Terrell Σ
II. A. E. Rambaut Σ

Lit. Hum.
I. J. D. Quirk Σ*H*
II. H. A. Hield *e*
T. A. Leach *hH*
A. Master Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. J. H. Smith Σ

Jur.
I. J. L. Brierly Σ*Hf*
II. M. R. Harris *c*

Hist.
II. N. F. Grant *h*

University Prize
R. Mowbray Σ, Green Mor. Phil. Prize

1906

Cl. Mod.
I. E. C. Cleary Σ*H*
F. T. Nott *S*
J. C. Walton Σ
II. F. W. Kolthammer *h*
F. H. Steavenson *h*

Math. Mod.
I. C. E. Fairbairn Σ*H*

Nat. Sci.
II. A. J. Smith *c*
G. W. Johnson Σ*H*

Jur.
II. J. T. Wood *c*

B.C.L.
II. R. A. Dyott *c*

Theol.
II. W. H. Elliott *k*

1907

Cl. Mod.
II. D. Atkinson *e*
W. G. Beloe *e*
F. Goodyear Σ
A. D. G. Hore Σ
R. C. Lodge *S*
C. Mellows Σ
H. M. Prichard *c*
H. F. Scudamore *h*

Math. Mod.
I. V. W. O'C. Miley Σ

[1] Fellow of All Souls.

Lit. Hum.
II. F. W. Green *e*
J. R. Jones Σ

Math. et Phys.
II. C. à B. Terrell Σ

Nat. Sci.
I. D. R. Edwardes-Ker Σ

Jur.
II. C. W. Bush *R*
H. P. M. Egleston *c*

Hist.
I. H. E. M. Icely *hH*

University Prize
A. E. Boycott *F*, Radcliffe Prize

1908

Cl. Mod.
II. T. P. Coe *h*
R. De la Bere *e*
H. R. Gould *c*
T. R. Harley Σ
W. V. Hoey Σ
H. R. Lynch-Blosse *h*

Math. Mod.
I. F. J. Webb Σ
II. O. F. Brown Σ
R. T. Medd *h*

Lit. Hum.
I. E. C. Cleary Σ*H*
J. C. Walton Σ
II. F. W. Kolthammer *h*
F. T. Nott *S*

Math. et Phys.
I. C. E. Fairbairn Σ*H*

Nat. Sci.
II. F. E. Thomas Σ

Jur.
II. E. St. J. Jackson *c*
J. M. O. Johnson *S*
T. M. Papineau *R*

Theol.
II. F. W Green *e*

University Prize
V. W. O'C. Miley Σ, Jun. Math. Schol.

1909

Cl. Mod.
I. C. G. M. Broom *h*
II. H. A. de Montmorency *e*
G. S. Duncan *e*
D. Gladding Σ
C. M. Pope *e*
F. R. Radice Σ
W. H. Schlich Σ
C. H. Smith Σ
J. Woodman Σ

Math. Mod.
II. G. H. Davis Σ

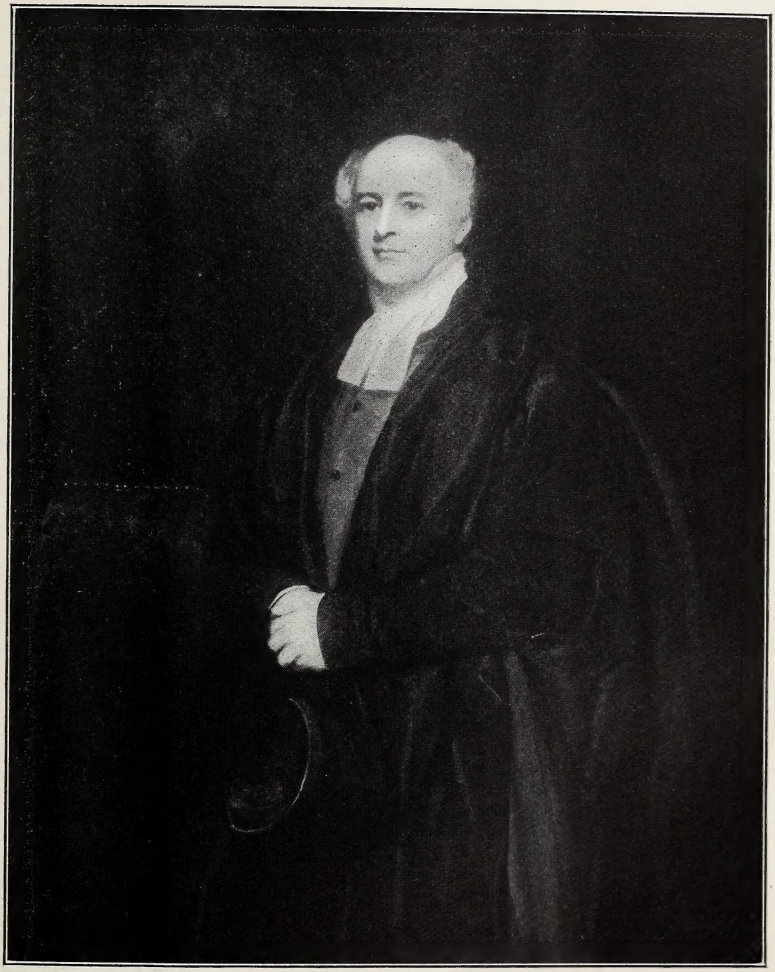
Lit. Hum.
I. R. C. Lodge *S*
II. D. Atkinson *e*
F. Goodyear Σ
A. D. G. Hore Σ
C. Mellows Σ

Math. et Phys.
I. V. W. O'C. Miley Σ

Jur.
II. R. J. Hunter *c*

Hist.
II. A. C. Houlder *c*
F. T. Nott *S*
H. M. Prichard *c*
C. L. Wallace *e*
J. E. W. Wallis *h*

University Prize
J. C. Walton Σ, Arnold Hist. Essay



Bishop A. T. Gilbert
Principal 1822–42

TABLE I

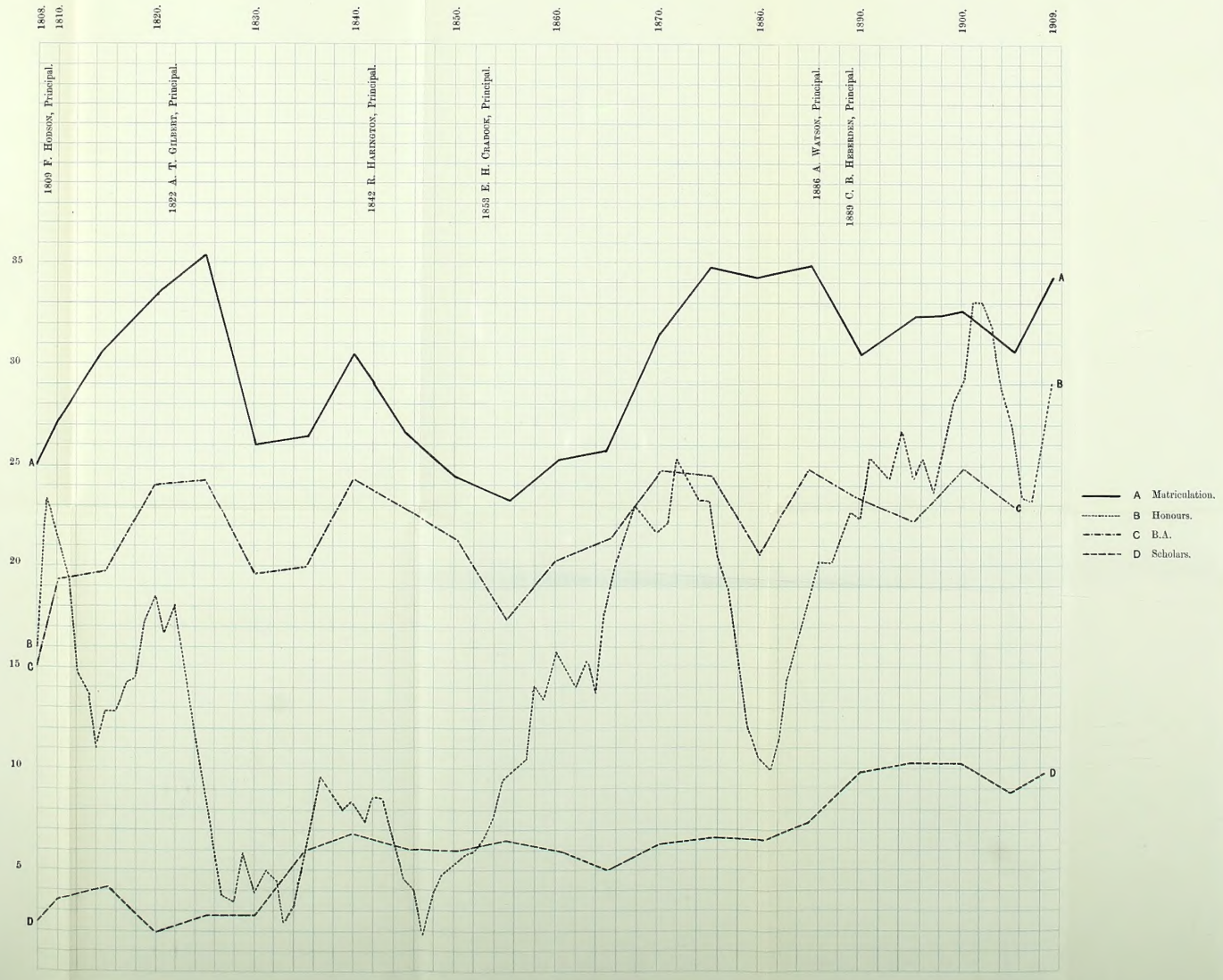
	1801–5.	1806–10.	1811–15.	1816–20.	1821–25.	1826–30.	1831–35.	1836–40.	1841–45.	1846–50.	1851–55.	1856–60.	1861–65.	1866–70.	1871–75.	1876–80.	1881–85.	1886–90.	1891–95.	1896–1900.	Total.	Percentage of Matriculations.
Lancashire	18	28	41	28	38	21	34	37	39	32	23	15	13	19	24	19	24	16	15	26	510	17·3
Cheshire	21	19	12	11	16	14	11	14	16	9	7	7	7	5	14	4	3	5	5	2	202	6·9
Commoners	104	117	133	157	163	116	102	119	103	94	84	96	103	126	142	139	136	104	110	111	2357	80·2
Scholars	10	18	21	10	14	14	30	34	30	30	32	30	26	31	32	32	37	49	51	51	582	19·8
B.A.	63	96	99	120	125	99	100	122	114	106	87	101	108	124	123	104	124	117	111	124	2167	73·7
Church	46	59	77	87	81	65	71	88	89	81	63	68	60	51	44	41	40	36	22	29	1198	40·8
Bishops	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	·3
University	10	10	15	9	9	7	14	8	7	7	1	6	6	10	3	2	5	1	2	4	136	4·6
Schools	2	5	...	2	2	1	2	1	8	11	12	12	15	13	12	12	22	28	18	25	203	6·9
Members of Scientific Societies	3	4	2	...	...	2	3	1	...	1	2	1	2	4	5	3	1	5	1	2	42	1·4
Army, Regular Forces	7	3	6	5	5	3	3	4	7	6	14	7	2	12	11	9	7	5	6	13	135	4·6
Army, Auxiliary Forces	...	1	...	2	2	...	3	3	1	3	3	2	5	8	13	16	10	10	12	5	98	3·3
Barristers	7	7	18	15	17	8	16	12	7	8	12	10	19	28	23	27	26	20	18	9	307	10·3
Solicitors	2	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	3	...	2	...	1	6	6	11	16	12	9	10	81	2·8
Law Student	4	8	6	9	11	9	3	3	4	3	4	5	7	7	3	3	...	...	...	...	89	2·9
Medicine	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	1	...	1	2	1	1	3	2	3	25	·9
Members of Parliament	7	10	5	7	7	4	1	2	5	1	1	...	1	2	4	2	4	...	...	...	63	2·1
Members of Government	1	2	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	·3
Magistrates	17	15	20	24	23	22	13	14	14	12	6	7	17	16	26	24	14	8	8	...	298	10·1
Court Appointments	3	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	10	·3
Diplomatic and Consular Service	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	1	...	1	2	...	2	15	·5
Law Appointments	2	...	3	5	5	3	2	2	...	1	2	1	3	5	3	5	4	1	5	1	53	1·8
H.C.S.	...	1	2	...	1	2	...	...	...	3	6	...	1	4	1	5	...	2	5	6	39	1·3
I.C.S.	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	10	3	3	...	...	1	5	10	8	45	1·5
Colonial Appointments	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	1	3	1	1	...	1	...	6	2	5	13	8	44	1·5
Authors	11	10	16	17	23	21	23	32	25	19	12	9	11	22	12	11	12	12	14	6	318	10·8
Journalists	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	1	2	...	4	4	3	3	20	·6
Art, Music, and Stage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	1	9	·3
Business	2	...	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	5	15	25	32	18	22	23	16	172	5·9
Landed Gentry	28	25	47	58	49	35	25	20	19	16	14	12	27	23	32	24	19	7	12	5	497	16·8
Untraced	13	28	25	25	31	26	25	29	17	12	10	21	13	17	22	22	25	19	23	27	430	14·6

TABLE II

	1801–5.	1806–10.	1811–15.	1816–20.	1821–25.	1826–30.	1831–35.	1836–40.	1841–45.	1846–50.	1851–55.	1856–60.	1861–65.	1866–70.	1871–75.	1876–80.	1881–85.	1886–90.	1891–95.	1896–1900.	1901–5.	1906–8.	Totals.
Eton	9	16	22	33	21	17	7	7	8	14	8	2	17	22	28	26	23	11	10	6	4	11	322
Harrow	5	3	6	10	12	4	3	4	3	...	2	6	11	13	15	16	12	7	14	4	3	7	160
Rugby	7	4	6	16	14	5	7	24	14	10	6	6	6	15	14	11	8	3	7	4	6	3	196
Winchester	5	4	3	5	10	5	3	2	4	7	6	3	8	9	16	15	12	17	7	3	3	8	155
Westminster	3	3	11	6	5	...	2	2	2	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	1	2	45
Charterhouse	1	3	3	4	8	7	10	5	5	5	3	1	2	2	...	4	5	7	4	6	1	4	90
Shrewsbury	1	3	...	4	1	6	4	2	...	4	...	2	2	...	2	1	6	3	...	...	1	...	42
St. Paul's	1	1	1	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	5	4	2	1	26
Merchant Taylors	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	2	...	...	3	3	1	2	1	1	27
Manchester	9	10	16	9	17	11	11	12	14	12	7	2	4	8	7	8	10	7	10	16	8	3	211
Hereford	...	1	2	3	...	2	1	2	3	2	3	6	4	4	6	8	8	8	4	5	1	1	74
Marlborough Grammar	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	2	3	4	5	3	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24
Tonbridge	1	...	2	...	...	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	5	1	3	2	33
Haileybury	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	4	3	2	2	4	...	2	23
Repton	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	5	1	...	2	2	1	4	1	4	2	...	1	...	25
Cheltenham	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	3	5	2	1	2	7	5	2	...	3	3	2	39
Uppingham	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	5	4	6	2	1	2	...	3	1	27
Rossall	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	9	2	7	4	4	3	...	1	1	1	...	37
Marlborough	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8	5	5	19	6	9	3	7	7	7	6	1	86
Radley	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	7	8	5	6	4	...	...	4	3	2	1	42
Bradfield	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	5	4	3	2	...	1	1	2	...	24
Clifton	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	5	6	4	2	1	1	26
Malvern	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	8	2	4	1	1	4	14	10	45
Wellington	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	3	5	3	4	2	5	26
Loretto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	8	2	4	1	1	...	20
Somerset Scholars (closed)	8	12	18	9	12	9	28	28	27	26	17	9	8	12	12	18	11	15	15	12	7	4	
(open *pro hac vice*)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	7	10	8	3	4	...	2	2	3	4	6	
Minor Scholars	2	6	3	1	2	5	2	5	3	4	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Open Scholars	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	13	8	11	17	10	14	17	18	16	18	10	
Junior Hulme Scholars	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	15	16	20	15	9	
Hulme Exhibitioners	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	
Colquitt Exhibitioners	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	2	3	5	6	6	6	5	6	4	5	3	
Rhodes Scholars	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	
Senior Hulme Scholars	24	26	25	27	25	25	27	30	25	30	35	26	33	28	33	35	11	10	8	12	10		

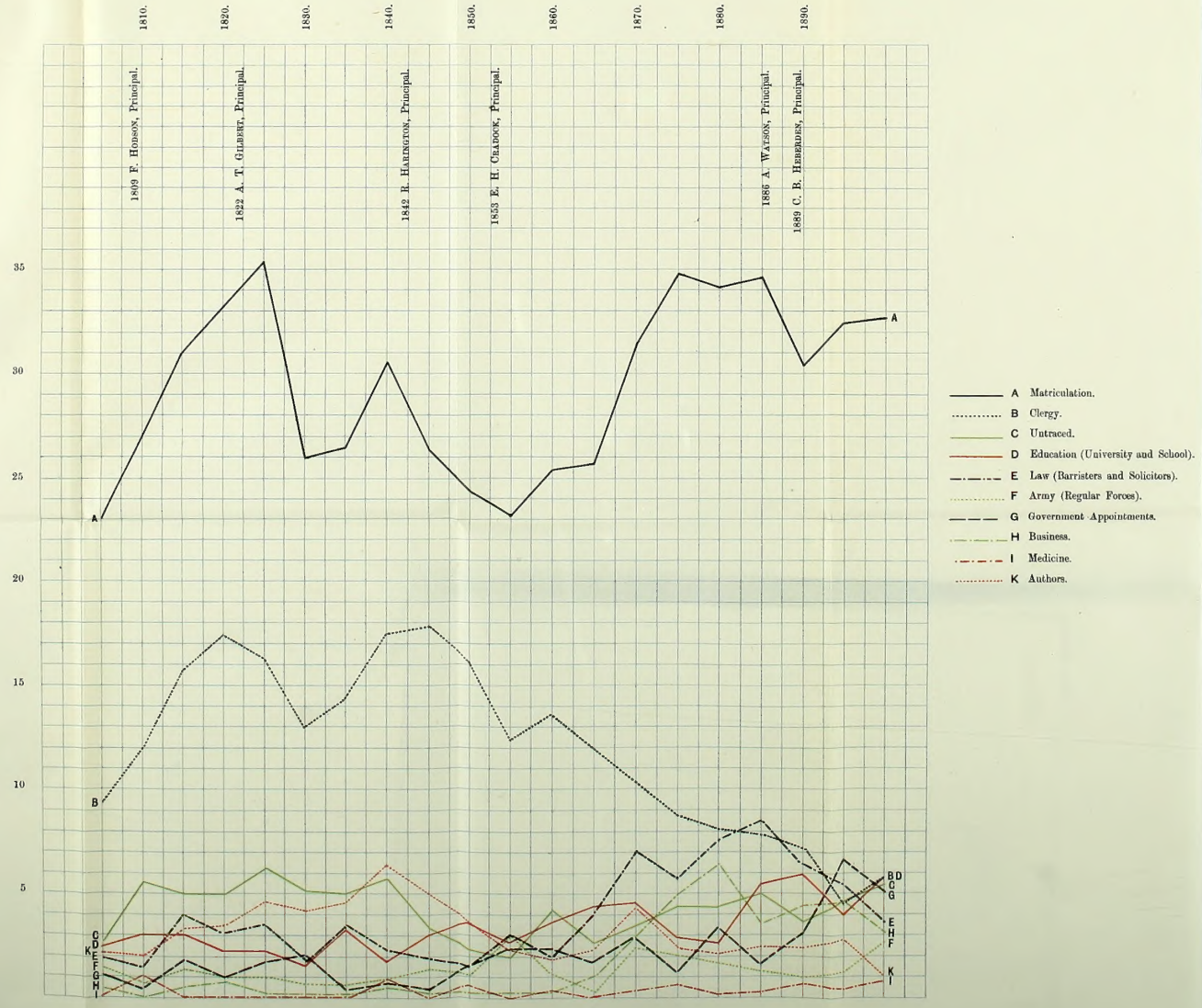
COLLEGIATE AND ACADEMICAL RECORDS.

DIAGRAM I.



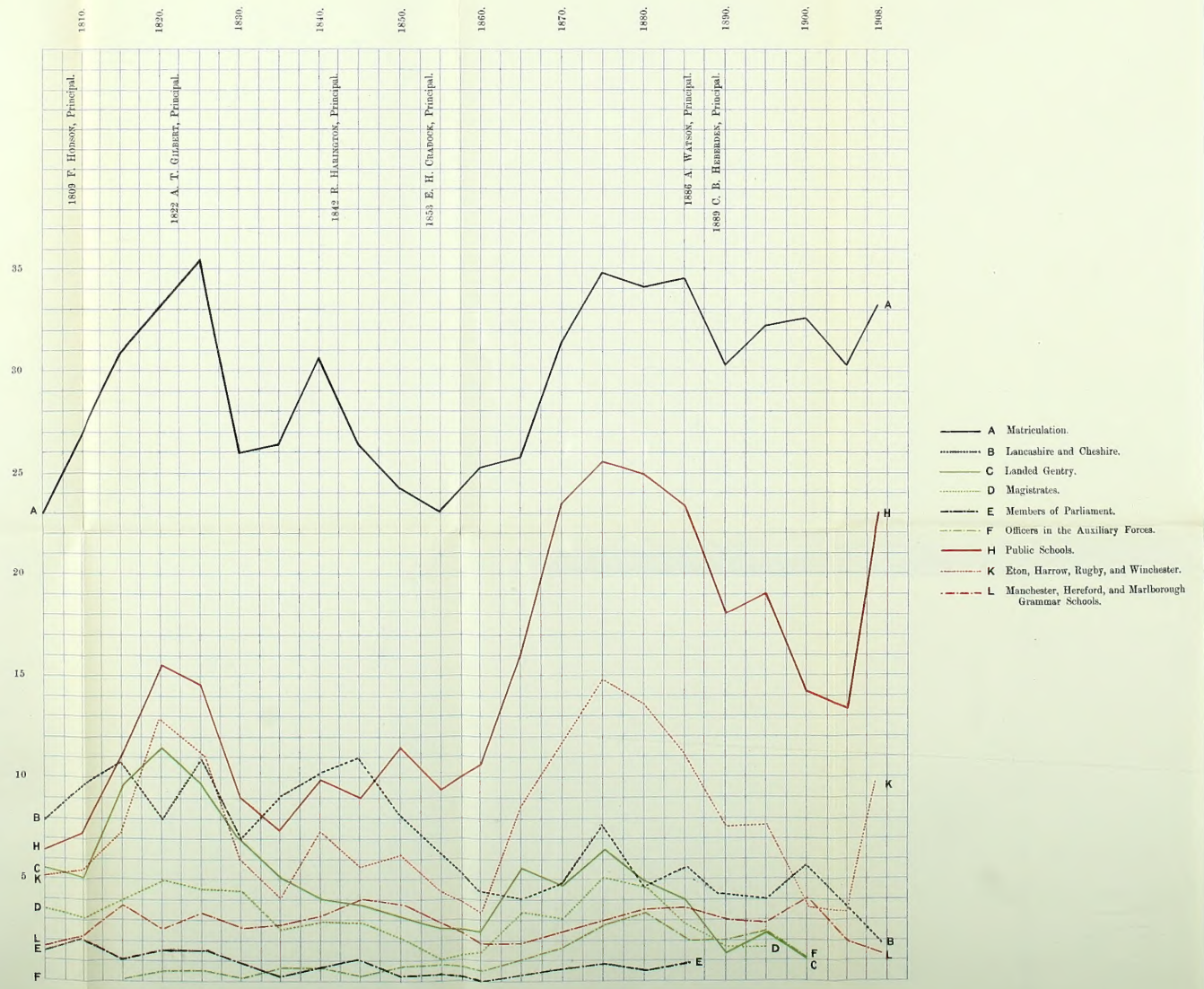
PROFESSIONS.

DIAGRAM II.



SCHOOLS, PARENTAGE, DISTINCTIONS.

DIAGRAM III.

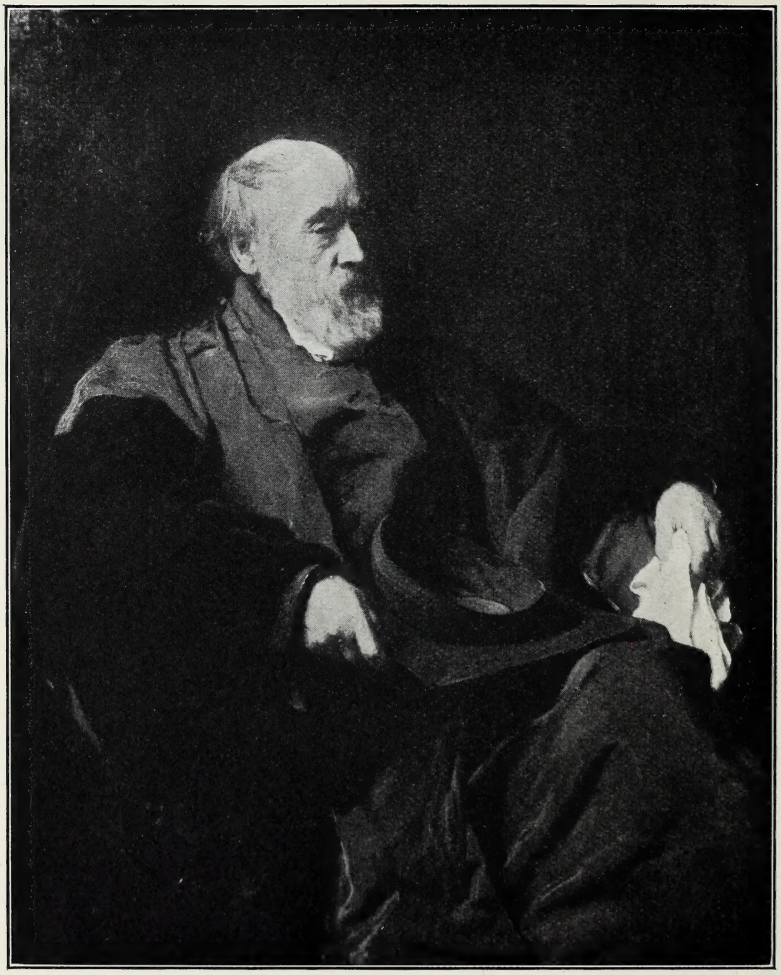


(C)

Reminiscences

By

T. Humphry Ward



'The Chief'
Dr. Cradock, Principal 1853-86

BRASENOSE, 1864-1872

My first sight of Oxford, and of Brasenose, was in the second week of April, 1864, and the memory stands out as one of the most delightful of my life. I came up from Merchant Taylors' to stand for a scholarship. It was an early spring, the weather was divine, and the beauty of Oxford went to the heart of the London boy, most of whose youth had been spent in the squalid streets lying to the north of the City, or in the dark classrooms of the cramped old school building in Suffolk Lane. I had one family friend at Brasenose, W. C. Harris, at that time, already a B.A.; a great rowing man, who afterwards did good service as Head Master of Wimborne School, and subsequently as Archdeacon of one of the districts of New Zealand. He had rooms in the High with two other Brasenose men, S. R. Coxe and D. L. Landale, and the three kindly made a home for me during the important week. I still have a clear recollection of many of the examination papers—of a passage from the *Odyssey* which happened to be one of my favourites, of a question on the siege of Londonderry, my reply to which was to reel off pages of Macaulay, and of a request that we should make an English epigram on πλέον ἥμισυ παντός, to which my Muse replied (pretty obviously) that I hoped the examiners would think so when they read my papers. I well remember, too, the ordeal of *viva voce* in the fine old Bursary, of sitting by Principal Cradock's side to translate a piece of Juvenal to a formidable array of Dons, and then the 'supreme result of all', when A. Macmillan and I were declared elected.

Oxford was different in October, when my father brought me up to instal me in queer little rooms at the top of No. 7. His protests to the imperturbable Vice-Principal (Menzies) were vehement, but quite useless. 'We can't rebuild old

colleges to please freshmen,' was the bland reply. So I made the best of the ugly little garrets, and found life there very tolerable. My tutor, afterwards my kind friend, was Albert Watson; but I was at first more drawn to W. Yates, to whom I had a letter, and whose fresh and genial manner was an invitation, not a barrier, like Watson's painful shyness. With Yates I went to my first breakfast party, to my first lecture also—a construing lecture in Thucydides, chiefly remarkable to me for the miraculous way in which a second-year man, C. T. Fisher, ran off an accurate translation, as if he had been reading an English historian. Another member of the class was Clement Thompson, a scholar of the year above me, with an attractive face and manner and a sweet smile. Alas! the seeds of disease were already in his system, and he died of phthisis not long afterwards. I can remember, too, going to a *Philippics* lecture with Watson, and a *De Corona* lecture with E. T. Turner; but undoubtedly the 'Mods' lecture that made the most impression came a year or so later, when J. J. Hornby came back to Brasenose for a short time before he took the flight which landed him successively in the second mastership at Winchester, the head mastership at Eton, and finally the Provostship which he still adorns. With him we read the last six books of the *Aeneid*, not construing in schoolboy fashion, but listening to brief and animated comments and discussions, which made the poet and his subject live again for us. Years afterwards, when from the summit of the Alban Hills I traced the campaign of Aeneas, I often thought of the bright exposition of the poem that we had received from Hornby.

Like other freshmen, I kept myself at first very much to the society of my school friends, who were to be found in numbers at St. John's, and scattered about at Merton and elsewhere. Then came new acquaintances and friendships, in and out of college, of which the latter need not concern us here. It must be owned that the Brasenose undergraduates of my standing were for the most part not clever. They did not talk on general subjects, or about books, or about what was going on in the world; but they were excellent, healthy

young Englishmen, with the virtues and defects of their race and class. They had the opinions of their home and their public school; they went pretty regularly to chapel and sometimes to University sermons; they 'toiled at games and played at books'; and they were strenuous and patriotic on the river and in all forms of college sport. I did not row, so till the Summer Term I had not much share in that side of college life; but I was a tolerable cricketer, and enjoyed many a busy afternoon on the old ground at Cowley Marsh. Unluckily for me the eleven was so good that it had no room for tolerable cricketers, but I played and bowled regularly for the second eleven, generally captained by T. D. Croft. Once or twice I remember standing up for a brief moment to E. L. Fellowes, to be promptly dismissed with a portentous rattle of stumps. Fellowes was of my year; a tall, wiry, handsome man with a rather foreign countenance, who quickly became one of the best bowlers of his day, and went straight into the University eleven. Afterwards he became a clergyman and a rose-grower, a little too fond of sport (or so it was said) for his bishop's liking, but a typical example of the best Old English style of parson. He died in early middle life—*requiescat in pace!* Other cricketers of that or a later date, with all of whom I was on very friendly terms, were W. Evetts, a typical Harrow batsman; J. H. Gibbon, also from Harrow, with an impregnable defence; B. Pauncefote, a brilliant bat from Rugby, and one of the most charming of men, who died early; S. Butler, an even more formidable bowler than Fellowes, and the destroyer of Cambridge wickets; the two Wallroths; C. J. Ottaway, a scholar of the College, a famous bat, and a superb racket player; and 'Curly' Mathews, if I may venture here to give him the name by which he was universally known. He used to be the most puzzling of slow bowlers; every ball he sent down might have been marked, in bankers' phrase, 'not negotiable.' He is now, and has been for years, a leading authority on dairy farming. And here I would mention, and only mention, three of my junior contemporaries who were still undergraduates when I had become a Don and a Lecturer, and one who came into

residence just afterwards. The first three were Arthur Nicolson, Arthur Rücker, and Falconer Madan; the fourth was Arthur John Evans. There is surely no need to dwell upon names so well and widely known as these.

The year 1866 was more or less wasted for me by my taking up for a time the Indian Civil Service. The other scholar of my year (Macmillan) and I both passed as probationers; he went through with the business, and spent the best years of his life in India, while after a year I yielded, very willingly, to the temptations offered by the University. This fixing and unfixing of plans led to some waste of time, but I was not sorry to be forced to read some at least of the 'further examination' subjects, such as Adam Smith and the elements of Roman Law. When it was time to take seriously to Greats work, I found myself one of the very small group of men attending what I believe to have been Walter Pater's first course of lectures. Years afterwards, when the system of 'combined' lectures had been organized, and when the fame of his writings and sayings had spread abroad, I believe the College Hall could scarcely hold the men who came to hear him discourse on Plato and kindred themes. But at the date of which I speak, the end of 1866 or beginning of 1867, the Junior Fellow of Brasenose was almost unknown to the seniors of the University, and quite unknown to the undergraduates. About this time he published, without his name, the article on Coleridge in the *Westminster Review*, followed very soon by the Essay on Winckelmann; and there at once began, in a very small group in Oxford and in London, that curiosity of admiration which became general when the Lionardo article appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* (1869), and wider still when the volume of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* was published at the end of 1872. I am not here so much concerned with Pater as known to the world of letters, as with the teacher and friend as I knew him. I still possess notes of those early lectures—their subject nominally the History of Philosophy—and some of my own undergraduate essays, with Pater's brief but invaluable comments. The novelty of the lectures was that they rarely

mentioned any philosopher's name. They presupposed, I fear, much more knowledge than any of the class possessed; and I remember that, after the first, one man who had easily gained his First in Moderations resigned Greats work on the spot. Not that they were difficult, still less dry; but the easy way in which the teacher moved amid his material was a little confusing to slow-moving minds. On the other hand, a few of us found in these lectures an extraordinary stimulus, and I class them, in my memory of Oxford, with those of W. L. Newman on Greek History and those of Sir Henry Maine on Roman Law, as the most educative of all I ever listened to.

I learnt still more from Pater in many a long walk on autumn afternoons, and more still in a delightful month that I spent, by his invitation, at Sidmouth in the Long Vacation of 1867. He lived in a little house overhanging the sea, and I had lodgings in the town, going to him every morning with an essay, or to hear him discourse on the *Republic* and the thousand subjects suggested by it. In two ways his teaching was immensely fruitful. His ideas, his view of life, were fresh and original, as all the world recognized a few years later; and his criticism of style, though administered with the lightest possible touch, was convincing and final. Vulgarity of expression, over-emphasis, exaggeration, could not stand for a moment before his correcting pencil; they shrivelled up at a word, and a word was all he gave them. Perhaps he seemed to undervalue learning as such, but no man demanded more clear and accurate thinking, or a more exact expression of it in words. Such is the most definite impression left upon the mind of one who was his pupil in those early years before the world knew him, and before his twenty years of literary eminence had begun. Of his great kindness to me as an undergraduate, and of the friendship which existed between us during the ten years that I was his colleague as tutor of Brasenose and during the rest of his life, I need say nothing here.

Two more figures stand out among those who were Fellows in my day, and who are no longer with us—Albert Watson and Samuel Harvey Reynolds. Oxford names and reputa-

tions die away so rapidly that any personal recollections of remarkable men have a certain value, slight as they may be; and both Watson and Reynolds deserve the epithet. Dear, shy, shrinking, genial, learned Albert Watson! Some one nearer to him in age than I, some one who in the intimacy of youth had contrived to break down the defences of his reticence, ought to have kept notes of his talk (for talk he could and did, if one knew how to turn on the stream!) and a sketch-map of his amazing knowledge. To the world of Oxford and of scholarship he is known by one single volume, the selection from Cicero's *Letters*, which he published in 1870; and, as Jowett said to me of this very book, no man can base a solid reputation on a volume of Selections. Many generations of Oxford men have recognized the great merits of this book, and the solid basis of knowledge upon which it was founded, but it represents only a fraction of the stores with which Watson's mind was filled. People of large competence used sometimes to lay little traps for him, in the hope of getting to the end of his knowledge, and they nearly always failed. He was at home in all forms of classical history; his memory moved with astonishing ease over the Europe of the last two centuries; he had the most marvellous knowledge of the *personnel* of English politics since Pitt and Canning; and no man, at least in Oxford, could play about with such aptness and such lambent humour over the whole range of Thackeray's characters. I have a vague recollection of his showing the same acquaintance with Balzac; certainly he knew his George Eliot and his Scott to perfection, and we used to suspect him of having had a hand in the once famous set of examination papers in the school of Literae Fictitiae of which, I believe, the late T. E. Brown of Clifton was the chief author. To his colleague and friend, S. H. Reynolds, Watson was a source of never-ending amusement; and nobody enjoyed the quaint attacks of the formidable humorist more than their smiling victim. My own relations with Reynolds were delightful. To tell the truth, his formal lectures were not much, but when one read an essay to him, if one could rouse his interest or

(still better) his antagonism, his comments were not to be forgotten. They were a curious corrective to Pater's. Under the spell of Pater I sometimes took an essay to Reynolds that I had written with a special eye to style; on which the master of common sense—his biographer in the *Times* pointed out with truth how much he had in common with Dr. Johnson—would come down with some crushing remark on the importance of matter as compared with manner. But my chief recollection of Reynolds is connected with the island of Sark, where, just before my Schools in 1868, I joined his reading party. His rule was light; we read as we pleased; and he only helped when we asked him, being then, I am bound to say, most willing and kind. The pleasure of the visit was the sight of the absolute enjoyment with which this huge-framed, gold-spectacled philosopher took his holiday, and the unbounded delights which he sucked in from the sunlight and the sea. Swimming or ashore, he reminded us of some old sea-god, at one with Nature. In the evening the sea-god played whist; in the morning, if one caught him in the mood, he would discourse with gusto on the virtues of the *Novum Organum,* on the greatness of Professor J. M. Wilson, on the irrefragability of Comte's *Positive Politics,* and on the invading absurdities (alas, that he should so have characterized the convictions of so many of my friends!) of the Oxford Hegelians. In after years, Reynolds and I were for a long time colleagues in London. In his life, and in his almost daily writings, I seemed to recognize the strong, solid sense, the quaint irony, of my old friend of the Sark uplands and of the common-room of Brasenose.

One more figure remains, to whom others will doubtless pay a tribute, but who must *honoris et amicitiae causa* be mentioned here. This is E. H. Cradock, the beloved Principal of those days, with whom it is permitted to associate the bright, elf-like figure of his wife. 'The Chief,' as he was invariably called, was by birth and tastes a country gentleman of mildly Whig proclivities; and rather late in life he had married Miss Lister, who had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, the author of *Anne Grey* and other

novels that had been successful in their long distant day, and related to the Russells, Ribblesdales, and other prominent families. The charming little courtier and aristocrat could not but regard Oxford as a sort of honourable exile, but she faced her lot with an amusing courage, did a short 'off season' in London every year, and consoled herself with her garden in Holywell, her cottage at West Malvern, and a little house on the fell above Grasmere. Elf-like I have called her; and she *saw* elves, and drew pictures of them, which she published in a queer little book, while for the rest she loved her flowers and the great world, and any one who could bring a breath of it to remind her of Windsor and Lord John. Her husband was a man of his time, the transition period between pre-Commission Oxford and the activities of a later era. He welcomed reforms, but did not initiate them; he was devoted to the College, was adored by the men, and rejoiced in any distinctions won in the Schools, and still more in those won on the river and in the cricket-field. Well do I remember standing one day watching a University match at Cowley, when the famous E. S. Carter of Worcester was bowling triumphantly against some great hostile eleven. The Principal came up to me, and with his celebrated little sidelong nod said, less than half humorously, 'we might have taken him for scholar when we took you!' I felt that I had a great deal to live down, but the dear Principal was forgiving, and for sixteen years was one of the kindest of friends to me. Few Oxford memories come back to my mind with more satisfaction than the help I was able to give, in the year 1880, towards securing Frank Holl, then at the height of his powers, to paint the fine portrait of Principal Cradock which is now one of the chief ornaments of the College Hall.

(D)

Notes on Brasenose Cricket

By

F. Madan M.A.

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(Tylecote), Butler :
Law, (Harris): Pauncefote, Townshend, Francis:
Marriott, (Pelham): Ottaway, Hadow

CRICKET

THOUGH the Brasenose Cricket Club cannot rival the victories of the Boating Club, it has a longer and a very honourable record of its own. For the years 1870, 1871, and 1872 its performances have perhaps never been equalled in any other College.

County cricket seems to have firmly established itself long before the Universities took up the game. Kent is said to have played All England as long ago as 1711, and it and Hampshire claim the longest history of all English clubs. The M.C.C. was founded in 1787. The first inter-University match was in 1827, and of course a Brasenose man was to be found in it, W. W. Ellis.

The first mention of the Brasenose Club is to be found in Mr. J. Pycroft's *Oxford Memories* (1886), vol. ii, p. 117, cf. 84. Mr. Pycroft (of Trinity) played in the Oxford Eleven of 1836 and therefore had every opportunity of learning the facts about early College clubs. He states, writing of 1836, 'We had ... at Oxford only one [University] club—that on Cowley Marsh. There was a Brasenose club, and a Bullingdon club, as old as this century on Bullingdon: but cricket there was secondary to the dinners, and the men were chiefly of an expensive class.' Secondary or not, there on Bullingdon Green, near where the present Cowley Barracks are, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were two cricket clubs and two only, one connected with B.N.C. and one with Christ Church. Mr. Pycroft bears testimony that in 1836 these were still the only College Clubs, but the 'Magdalen ground' on Cowley Marsh had been recently formed as a University ground. Next came the Exeter ground in 1844, but in 1847 there were still only three College clubs, though

St. John's must have soon acquired a ground in the same district, for soon after the Magdalen ground was put up for auction by the parish of Cowley (and purchased by the University, in May, 1851, for £2,000), 'Brasenose and St. John's came down from Bullingdon to a field [in Cowley Marsh], which they shared with Exeter and Wadham as lessees under the University.' The records of the Brasenose cricket club do not begin till the close of 1861, so that until that year we can only note the doings of the Brasenose 'Blues,' though a search in the files of the *Oxford University Herald* and *Jackson's Oxford Journal* might unearth some doings of the College club.

In the first inter-University match in 1827, as has been mentioned, W. W. Ellis of B.N.C. played a part. He was a Rugbeian and best known as the originator of running with the ball at Rugby football in 1823, as a tablet at Rugby testifies. In 1838, 1839, and 1840 the College was represented by A. Coote (Eton), who was captain in the first-mentioned year, which was the first of the unbroken line of matches. Next came J. Randolph, an old Westminster, who rowed in the College boat in 1841, and played for the 'Varsity XI in 1843, without, however, contributing any runs in either innings. C. F. Willis (Tonbridge) played in 1847, 1848, and 1849, but, though matriculated at B. N. C. in 1844, he was a scholar of Corpus from 1845, and should be 'credited' to that College. In 1859 the College pulled itself together and contributed the captain, F. Brandt (Cheltenham), and J. W. Morley (Marlborough). Brandt was 'a good bowler, a good bat, and a good field,' and in later years became a judge of the High Court at Madras, and is still living, at Cheltenham, the *doyen* of Brasenose cricket.

All this was, however, mere prelude to the great time coming. The dawn was ushered in by no less redoubtable a man than R. D. Walker (Harrow). For four years (1861–4) he represented Oxford in the Single and Double Racquets, and for five years (1861–5) in cricket. He was one of seven brothers, all famous at cricket, three of whom (John the eldest, Alfred and Frederick) went to Cambridge, and R. D. alone to Oxford, and

R. D. Walker.



C. J. Ottaway
(matr. 1869)

of course to Brasenose. Full details of the whole family (with portraits) are to be found in Bettesworth's *Walkers of Southgate* (1900), and abundantly show that R. D. had a peculiar style of batting, very effective but difficult to describe. Some describe him as 'patting the ball', placing it where he liked, or as giving the impression of a nervous player until a ball was pitched well up. 'The chances were that this would be followed by two or three fours.' Others declare that he held the bat very high up on the handle and used it almost as a racquet! He seemed to take no trouble, or notice of the field, while really his eyes were as alert as a lynx's. So too his bowling appeared easy, but somehow got the wickets: victims seemed unable to explain how it was they were out. But he had a fine wrist-turn, and a fine brain directing every movement. Nor was his fielding inferior to his batting and bowling. As soon as his last year came, Brasenose supplied another luminary in E. L. Fellowes (Marlborough), who played in 1865, 1866, and 1868, being captain in the last year. Similarly at the last date came W. Evetts and E. Matthews (both Harrow), who each played in 1868 and 1869: and also B. Pauncefote (Rugby), who played in four successive years and was captain in 1869 and 1870. Evetts was 'a frightful punisher of loose bowling', and on the day succeeding the 'Varsity match of 1868 made 50 against Surrey in 12 hits. In 1869 J. H. Gibbon (Harrow) played. These were the players who brought Brasenose up to its triumphs of 1870, 1871, and 1872.

1870, 1871, and 1872.

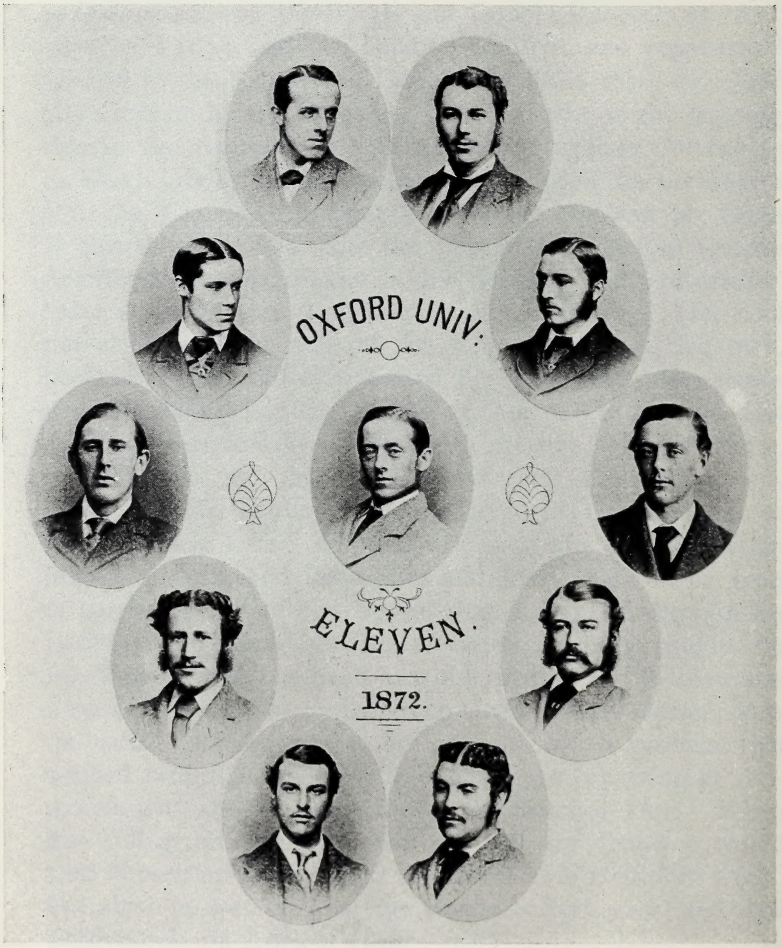
In 1870 the College contributed six to the University Eleven. Of these only Pauncefote had played before. The new comers were S. E. Butler (Eton: played 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873), C. K. Francis (Rugby: played 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873), W. H. Hadow (Harrow: played 1870, 1871, 1872), C. J. Ottaway (Eton: played 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, captain in the last year), and W. Townshend (Rossall: played 1870, 1871, 1872). What names are here! Take Ottaway, who was perhaps

C. J. Ottaway.

the greatest athletic hero known at Oxford till C. B. Fry arose. He was seldom beaten either at school or college in a public contest, whether with a partner or by himself. Here at Oxford he won the Single and Double Racquets in 1871, 1872, and 1873, and the Doubles in 1870, and represented Oxford in the Single and Double Tennis in 1870, 1871, and 1872, and in the 100 Yards in 1874. He was on the winning side in the Association Football match against Cambridge in March, 1874. In Michaelmas Term, 1871, he obtained a First in Classical Moderations, having obtained an Open Scholarship in 1869. Let the present President of Corpus describe his characteristics in his favourite sport of cricket. 'Mr. Ottaway was a master of the defensive. His cool patience made his runs all the more valuable to his own, because it tired and exasperated the other side. His scores were 16 and 69 in 1870, 21 and 13 (not out) in 1871, 11 and 41 in 1872, 41 and 52 in 1873, with the fine average of 37.5, or only two less than that of his great Cambridge contemporary Mr. Yardley. From 1870 to 1873 he was one of the very best bats.' No one who saw him will forget his firm-set mouth, and keen eyes and black hair. The kind of language used of him by the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton (in his Badminton volume, see below) is, 'splendidly caught by Mr. Ottaway with one hand over the ropes', 'Mr. Tylecote was a very good bat, but compared to Ottaway only mortal; how on earth Ottaway was to be got out was a problem that seemed well-nigh insoluble,' both passages occurring in connexion with the exciting finish of the match in 1870. When his College cricket was over for the day Ottaway would shut himself up in his rooms and grind at Moderations work; but alas! he was burning the candle at both ends, and died prematurely on April 2, 1878.

S. E. Butler.

Next to him may be placed S. E. Butler, whose line was fast bowling. 'To him,' as the President says, 'more than to any other single man must be imputed the victory of Oxford in 1871. Oxford having got 170 runs in the first innings, Mr. S. E. Butler got all ten wickets of Cambridge, no less than eight clean bowled, for 65, and made them follow



Law, Butler : Ottaway, Hadow :
(Ridley), (Tylecote), (Harris) : Isherwood,
Townshend : Wallroth, Francis

on. In their second innings he clean bowled four wickets, and got a fifth caught. Mr. Butler got fifteen wickets in all for 95 runs. This is acknowledged to be the greatest single bowling performance of the University matches'. His record stands:—1st innings, 24–1 overs, 11 maidens, 38 runs, 10 wickets: 2nd innings, 34 overs, 14 maidens, 57 runs, 5 wickets.

The account of this performance given by the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton in the Badminton *Cricket* volume (seventh ed., 1904, p. 307) is as follows:—

'The greatest bowling feat in the whole history of University cricket belongs to Mr. S. E. Butler, of Eton and Oxford renown, and took place in 1871. Cambridge had some good bats in her eleven—Messrs. Money, Tobin, Fryer, Scott, Yardley, and Thornton, a rough and ready hitter in the person of Mr. Cobden, and a fair batsman in Mr. Steadman. But Mr. Butler found an old-fashioned Lord's wicket, and he bowled a terrific pace and got on a spot which shot and made his balls break considerably down the hill. He got the whole ten wickets in one innings, and in the match he lowered fifteen wickets for 95 runs. His bowling was unplayable on the first day; eight of the ten wickets in the first innings were clean bowled, and twelve out of the whole fifteen.'

As a bat, the President places Pauncefote next to Ottaway, and as a bowler C. K. Francis next to Butler. There were giants in those days.

In 1871 no less than eight Brasenose men played in the University Eleven. Besides the six of 1870 the recruits were W. Law (Harrow), who played also in 1872, 1873 and (Captain) 1874, and C. Marriott (Winchester), who played only in 1871.

In 1872 there were again as many as eight Brasenose men in the University eleven, for though Pauncefote and Marriott had dropped out, their places were filled by C. A. Wallroth (Harrow), who played also in 1873 and 1874, and F. W. Isherwood (Rugby), who played only in this year.

In 1873 we still had five, Law, Ottaway, Butler, Francis, and Wallroth; and in 1874 Law (captain) and Wallroth.

The next first-rate cricketer from Brasenose was V. P. F. A. Royle (Rossall), who played in 1875 and 1876, well carrying on the Brasenose succession. He was a good bat, and a good

bowler; the latter quality in the 1875 match called forth Mr. Lyttelton's praise in the following terms:—'In 1875 Mr. Royle's bowling proved the turning-point of the game. He was not by any means an accurate bowler, but at times his balls broke fast, and were most difficult to play.' But the most striking and brilliant feature of his play was his perfect fielding at cover-point. His choice of precisely the right spot, both in direction and distance from the wicket, his quickness and cleanness in picking up the ball, and his skill in saving the one run, were things not to be forgotten, when seen.

In 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879 A. H. Heath (Clifton) represented us, and contributed 71 to the total of 612 obtained in a match of the University v. Middlesex in 1876, when for twenty-four wickets the total of both sides went up to 1217 runs. In 1878 G. S. Marriott (Winchester) played, but from 1880 to 1882 there was no 'Blue' in College, for the first time since 1860.

In 1883 A. G. Grant Asher (Loretto) came to the rescue, great in the Sports and at football, as well as cricket; and to him succeeded in 1886 H. T. Arnall-Thompson (Rugby), who bowled 79 overs for 52 runs and 4 wickets, and in the same year that fine bat W. Rashleigh (Tonbridge), who also played in 1887, 1888, and 1889, being captain in 1888. In his first year he made 107 in the second innings—the only century made by B.N.C. in the series of University matches.

This long list is wound up with the name of J. C. Hartley (Tonbridge), who played in 1896 and 1897, contributing 43 in the first game.

From 1827 to 1900 Brasenose is credited with twenty-seven men who have played against Cambridge, compared with the fifty-seven of Christ Church, thirty-three of Oriel, thirty-two of Trinity, and twenty-nine of New College. The next below Brasenose is Balliol with twenty-five, Exeter with twenty-one, and University with twenty.

We may now turn to the Collegiate records, which (as has been stated) are not known to exist before 1861.

On Friday, Nov. 15, 1861, a College Meeting was held, when Morley, who had the entire management of the club, resigned his office. It was agreed for the future to have *three* officers instead of one, to be elected annually, namely, a captain (R. D. Walker), a secretary (F. G. Blackburne), and a treasurer (A. M. Lipscomb). In October, 1862, negotiations were begun with a view to break off the joint tenancy of a ground with St. John's and to arrange for a new Brasenose one on Cowley Marsh. For the time, however, the plan was not carried out, and a joint pavilion was erected by the two Colleges in 1866. In that year the club expressed its opinion concisely about the new plan of laying out cricket-grounds in the Parks, viz., 'That the proposed practice ground was too small: that the proposed College grounds were too small: and that the scheme of a University pavilion was absurd' (!) R. D. Walker's College average that year was 56, and in 1869 Pauncefote's was 62, Fellowes' 45, Gibbon's 41, Mathews' 14, and Evetts' 13, all five being in the 'Varsity Eleven. *College Records.*

In 1870 B.N.C. made large scores against other Colleges, those over 200 in a single innings being 267 (against New), 353 with 9 wickets down (Wadham), 214 (Exeter), 303 (Magdalen), 393 Pembroke, 230 (Eton), and the averages of Brasenose men in the 'Varsity Eleven were:—Pauncefote 76, Evetts (too senior to play) 41, Ottaway 33, Hadow 28, Francis 20, Townshend 12, Butler 6. Nine matches were won, two lost, three drawn.

In 1871 the single innings scores over 200 were 387 (against Christ Church), 267 (St. John's), 230 (Exeter), 282 (Trinity), 274 (Corpus), 419 with five wickets (Wadham, who did not go in at all). We gave our opponents a good deal of leather-hunting that year. The averages of those in the 'Varsity Eleven were: Marriott 71, Law 52, Townshend 47, Ottaway and Francis 32, Hadow 31, Butler 17, while Pauncefote seems not to have played in College matches. Five matches were won, nine drawn (owing to the appalling scores) and none lost.

In 1872 the famous match was played on the Christ Church ground, on June 6, 7, and 8, between Fourteen of Brasenose

and a strong All England Eleven. Unfortunately the continuous rain quite spoilt the game. There had been every likelihood of a good game, and immense interest was evoked in Oxford by the prospect. In the first innings Goodwin's 34 for the College was the only good score, and the innings closed for 115, the bowling of J. C. Shaw and McIntyre being rather overwhelming. Then the visitors went in and made 15 for the loss of one wicket. On the first and third day no play was possible owing to the rain.

Ottaway gained the highest average with 39. In this year the usual dinner of both sides which followed each inter-Collegiate match was given up.

On June 9, 10, and 11, 1873, Sixteen of Brasenose won a match against a United North of England Eleven (a strong professional team) by 131 runs. The Brasenose scores were:—

1st innings.		*2nd innings.*	
J. H. Lamont, b. Lockwood . .	9	run out	5
W. Law, c. & b. Lockwood . .	13	c. Hill	3
C. J. Ottaway, c. Iddison . . .	6	b. Hill	20
W. H. Hadow, b. Hill	8	c. Lockwood . .	0
C. A. Wallroth, not out	72	c. & b. Hill . .	40
S. E. Butler, c. Greenwood . .	1	b. Hill	35
C. Marriott, c. Iddison	2	c. Hicks . . .	37
W. Evetts, c. & b. Lockwood . .	28	b. Hill	8
E. L. Fellowes, b. Hill	2	b. Hill	4
C. K. Francis, b. Hill	13	c. Lockwood . .	3
V. P. F. A. Royle, b. Hill . . .	22	c. Hill	5
M. Graham, c. Plumb	5	c. Lockwood . .	0
A. G. Bovill, b. Howitt	11	[*record wanting*]	0
W. W. Whitmore, l. b. w. . . .	2	b. Hill	4
T. K. Parkyns, b. Hill	0	not out	3
P. Lancashire, b. Howitt . . .	5	c. Rowbotham .	3
Extras	10	Extras . .	3
	209		173

The United North Eleven got 168 and 83. It is recorded that on the College side 'a gigantic six by Mr. Bovill was one of the features of the innings'. Butler got eight wickets and Hadow seven. On the other side, besides those mentioned in

the score above, were E. Stephenson, E. B. Rawlinson, and G. Atkinson.

1876. For the first time the volume of records from which I am quoting begins to give some statistics, not only of batting, but also of bowling, showing some growing appreciation of that branch of cricket.

In 1880 the subscription was raised from 25*s.* to 30*s.*, for freshmen from 45*s.* to 50*s.* The match with University on May 18 and 19 fell through, for the excellent reason that all University had been sent down.

In 1881 a uniform was decided on for the Club, viz., a cap of black flannel with 'B.N.C.' in plain gold letters in silk in front, and a coat of black flannel with yellow silk double binding.

The 'Hornets' are first mentioned in 1891: their matches and affairs were managed by the College Cricket Club for some years from this date.

1895. The new ground near the river was inaugurated with a match on the Friday and Saturday in Eights Week between Present and Past Brasenose. About £1,200 had been raised in connexion with the new ground, of which the Pavilion cost £650.

COLLEGE CAPTAINS, &c.

	Captain	*Highest Averages*		*Out-College Matches* W.	D.	L.
1862	R. D. Walker	Pocklington	14	3	6	6
1863	" "	R. D. Walker	31	9	4	3
1864	F. J. Huyshe	———		3	7?	4
1865	Garnett	G. E. Gardiner	18	(*Records incomplete*)		
1866	G. E. Gardiner	A. C. Powell	32	6	6	1
1867	E. L. Fellowes	E. L. Fellowes	24	7	7	0
1868	" "	B. Pauncefote	84	2	7	1
		W. Evetts	52			
1869	C. Marriott	B. Pauncefote	62	4	4	2
1870	B. Pauncefote	B. Pauncefote	76	9	3	2
1871	C. Marriott	C. Marriott	71	5	9	0
		W. Law	52			
1872	W. H. Hadow	C. J. Ottaway	39	9	5	0

	Captain	*Highest Averages*		*Out-College Matches* W.	D.	L.
1873	W. Law	Lamont	35	6	8?	0
1874	„	Townshend	27	8	2	1
1875	E. F. S. Stanhope	———		(*Records incomplete*)		
1876	V. P. F. A. Royle	Christy	30	6	6	2
1877	G. S. Marriott	A. H. Heath	48	6	6	3
1878	„ „	A. H. Heath	44	10	2	0
1879	H. F. Blaine	P. J. M. Rogers	21	8	2	1
1880	C. E. Horner	T. R. Aikman	26	7	2	2
1881	C. R. Bailey	E. R. Wethey	39	6	4	2
1882	E. R. Wethey	A. G. G. Asher	35	4	9	4
1883	W. M. Pike	A. G. G. Asher	44	7	9	1
1884	W. M. Tatham	A. G. G. Asher	36	3	8	2
1885	H. H. Dobinson	A. S. Blair	23	4	8	3
1886	H. T. Arnall-Thompson	W. Rashleigh	55	3	7	2
1887	H. H. Castens	H. H. Castens	46	4	8	0
1888	C. C. Bradford	W. Rashleigh	33	2	6	3
1889	R. F. Leigh	W. Rashleigh (from two innings: next, H.S. Wiggett 19)	104	4	4	6
1890	F. G. Barker	H. F. Fox	51	3	8	3
1891	B. W. Bradford	———		———		
1892	A. Garrett	H. F. Fox	49	4	4	4
1893	D. W. Garr: then Pearson	R. H. S. Baiss	46	2	8	3
1894	R. H. S. Baiss	———		———		
1895	„ „	———		———		
1896	J. C. Hartley	———		———		
1897	H. S. Chinnock	———		———		
1898	C. E. Jenkins	———		———		
1899	R. Joyce	R. Joyce	32	7	5	7
1900	„ „	R. Joyce	34	4	4	4

M. J. Brooks.

A few details may be added here for reference. In 1876 M. J. Brooks of Brasenose cleared 6 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the Inter-University High Jump. He had previously (in 1874) won the same contest with 5 ft. 10 in. Brasenose has five times won the University Challenge Cue at Billiards, since the contests began in 1860 to 1900 (T. C. A. Hatchard, 1872; C. Taylor, 1873; H. Grove, 1882; A. M. Jeffrey, 1885; C. A. Spottiswoode, 1889).



M. J. Brooks
(matr. 1873)

(E)

A short Account of The Phœnix Common Room 1782–1900

By

F. Madan, M.A.

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THE PHŒNIX COMMON ROOM

THE following pages contain some account of the oldest social College Club in Oxford—the famous 'Phœnix Common Room' at Brasenose. No club could exist for more than a hundred and twenty years, and show itself flourishing long after its centenary, without something sound and healthy in its principles and constitution; and the writer believes that he need not apologize even for an imperfect attempt to put together, from the careful records of the Club, a survey of its growth, history and constitution.[1] It will be readily understood that a social club, in spite of its rapid changes of *personnel* and even habits, can have few annals or history proper. Dinners and table-talk in 1786 and 1909 differ in kind about as much as human nature itself.

In the eighteenth century political clubs were common at both Universities, and Mr. Christopher Wordsworth has given many details respecting them in his *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Camb., 1874). The 'High Borlace' may, at first sight, seem to be a convivial society of some permanence; but it was in reality political, and met only once a year. The 'Red Herring', 'Poetical', 'Nonsense', and other clubs, were ephemeral, and usually met at a coffee-house, being quite independent of any College. In fact, there is no parallel, it is believed—at least in Oxford—to the establishment and growth of the Brasenose society.[2] Dining societies must have existed in plenty, but none has developed such lasting qualities as the Phœnix.

[1] The present article is to a large extent reprinted from the writer's *Century of the Phœnix Common Room*, 1786–1886 (London, 1888, 8vo).

[2] What is called THE Club is a Senior Social Club, founded in 1790, not connected with any College, but also consisting of twelve members who dine together twelve times a year.

So far as the records extend, the founder of the Club was Joseph Alderson, who entered Brasenose in March, 1779, and whose name stands first in the earliest existing lists. The course of events seems to have been as follows :—At the close of 1781, or beginning of 1782, Alderson (then of nearly three years' standing), Hesketh, Pemberton, and Powell (all in their first year), formed themselves into a dining or social Club, perhaps named the 'Phœnix Society'. There was, even at this stage, sufficient formality to allow of a distinction between Actual and Honorary Members, although there is no trace of rules; and the first recorded date is Oct. 10, 1782, when Alderson was 'admitted Honorary Member'. For nearly three years these four must have continued without further change, till, in October, 1784, Hesketh and Pemberton became Honorary Members, and Powell alone remained an Actual Member. Clearly, unless a succession was secured by co-optation, the Society would share the fate of its predecessors in the University, and cease to be anything but a curious subject for antiquarian research. Accordingly, in the October term of 1784, as it would seem, Rodd and Blencowe are admitted Members, both being in their first year. Powell's honorary membership is the only recorded event in 1785. We now come to 1786, the year in which the Club was, in all probability, really founded. In October of that year, it is practically certain that Terry, Crowther, Symonds, Heron, Bagshaw, and Mainwaring were admitted Actual Members, all of them, except Bagshaw, being first year men. The number of Members, Actual and Honorary, now amount to twelve, all probably in residence; and this is the exact number (though not the exact kind) prescribed in the code of rules which seems to have been now drawn up. It is this code which transforms the Phœnix Society, with its precarious existence, into the Phœnix Common Room (P. C. R.), or Junior Common Room of Brasenose, and which ensures a proper succession of Members; from this moment, '*uno avulso non deficit alter.*' The rules alluded to declare that for the future there shall be twelve *Actual* Members, undergraduates, and give precise directions for the conduct of

elections. Now the first *election*, not admission, is that of Bennett ('*vice* Alderson'), who was eligible at Easter, 1787, and there is little doubt that he and the five next Members were elected in 1787, in which year Alderson left the Club. There are other similar converging evidences to show that the constitution of the Club probably took shape in the October term of 1786 at latest: for instance, the first Secretary —who would probably not have been chosen from among Members likely to leave in less than a year—vacates his office in Nov., 1787. On the other hand, the date cannot be earlier than that term, because five out of the six last members 'admitted' did not come into residence until 1786, and one of them not till June in that year. A consideration of all the details leads one almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the present Phœnix dates from 1786, and rightly celebrated its centenary in 1886.

With respect to the name[1] Phœnix, we have only probabilities to go upon. It was the opinion of Principal Cradock that the name indicated a revival of some earlier Club which may have been suppressed, and that the motto ('*Uno avulso non deficit alter*') was a covert allusion to that suppression. What that earlier Club was, and, indeed, the truth of the whole matter, may be discovered some day from private correspondence. There is a tradition of no great weight that the earlier Club was fashioned after the model of the iniquitous society at Medmenham, portrayed in *Chrysal, or the Adventure of a Guinea*, and that it bore the name of the 'Hell-fire Club'; but though it is permissible to say thus much, and to allow that the manners of that time, and in particular the list of club toasts, make the supposition possible, it must be confessed that there is nothing in the records to establish the point. Five of the first nine Members were elected to Fellowships within a few years, Frodsham Hodson, afterwards a Principal of the College, was a member in 1787, and Reginald Heber in 1801; nor is there

[1] The true title of the Club as founded is, 'The Phœnix Society, or Junior Common Room at Brasenose'; or more compendiously, 'The Phœnix Common Room' (P. C. R.).

anything in the rules, or, what is more important, in the fines actually inflicted, to indicate more than the sociability and enjoyment of the good things of life which a College Society might encourage without losing its self-respect. The motto alone would well suit any society which co-opts its members, but the name does clearly point to a crisis before or at the foundation of the Phœnix which caused it to be regarded as a renewal of something which had preceded.

The records of the Club are singularly complete from its foundation, enabling us to picture each dinner, in whose rooms it was held, the Members present and their friends, and even the amount of wine drunk and the fines inflicted; but the latter are frequently entered on the blotting-paper with which the book was interleaved, and were accordingly easy to remove when it was not thought desirable to perpetuate the memory of them. In one case the blotting-paper received a picture of the Phœnix Common Room as it was furnished in 1805; nor are caricatures and personal remarks wanting. In 1811, for instance, a Member is sconced for being shaved in the Common Room; in 1822, the entrance of Harington (afterwards Principal) in 'white Turkish trousers and flowered black velvet waistcoat' is especially noted with disapproval, and also that on a later meeting in the same year he appeared in 'striped worsted stockings'. All kinds of odd facts turn up in these pages: in 1788, the papers supplied to the Common Room cost as much as 15*s.* a month; in 1792, the price of port is 22*s.* to 26*s.* a dozen (!), and of sherry 30*s.*; while in 1800, the port is 36*s.*, sherry 42*s.*, claret 60*s.*, and madeira 72*s.*, at a time when there were 175 dozen in the P. C. R. cellars. But the annals of a social club can be readily imagined by any one acquainted with College life, and little need be added in this place except a few words descriptive of the constitution of the Society and its changes in the last hundred years.

The Society consisted at first of twelve Actual Members, who became Honorary Members when of sufficient standing to take their degree. New Members were co-opted by ballot, but no one was eligible in his first term of residence. The

Members dined together every evening, each providing the Common Room in turn, and every Actual Member was required to be present at least once a fortnight, and could bring a stranger to every dinner. In addition to this, there was an Anniversary Dinner in the Act Term, usually at the King's Arms, at which all members were required to be present; and also supplementary Club dinners and breakfasts. The present uniform of the Club was ordered in 1823. In 1840, or perhaps a little earlier, the meetings were only held once a week, at first on Sundays, then, since 1842, on Tuesdays, as at present. Probably the full number of twelve Actual Members has not often been reached since about 1815. The plate has steadily increased in quantity and value by successive donations. The chief difficulties have been, as might perhaps have been guessed, financial; and Rule VI. 11 (see p. 113), may be recommended as a 'new way to pay old debts'. Three times, at least, has the Club been in real danger. In 1821 there was a 'violent opposition throughout College', probably due to the exclusiveness of the Society. In 1832 half the Society were sent down, so that only three Members remained in Oxford, and there was but one resident in College. No wonder that 'the meetings were deferred for the present', and the indignant secretary notes: 'It seems high time that the Phœnix should be transferred from a College in which the three best men are dismissed on mere suspicion.' But the Phœnix was a fowl of sturdier breed than to be turned out of College, and held its ground through everything. Lastly, in 1842, feeling ran so high that Members resigned their place in the Society, and the Principal and Fellows threatened to suppress the Society if they continued to meet on Sundays. The Club soon regained a high position, and was patriotic enough about 1845 to present the Phœnix Sculls to the College, to be annually competed for. In 1865 some inconvenient rules were imposed by the Governing Body, which were soon left in abeyance, and since then little or nothing has occurred to mar the harmonious relations of the P.C.R., both with the Fellows and with the rest of the College. The fluctuations of the Phœnix can, however, be

readily seen reflected in the successive changes of rules, and to them, and to notes under different years, our readers are referred for fuller details.

The constitution of the Club does not seem to have sensibly altered since the time of the Centenary dinner of 1886, nor is it fair to a private Society that its more recent records should be published. The Phœnix seems at the present time to be as stable and as firmly grounded as ever, and there is little doubt that it will in time celebrate its second Centenary. It well deserves its prosperity and length of days.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RULES AND REGULATIONS

I. MEMBERS

1786?

1. The Society shall consist of twelve Actual Members, undergraduates; who upon taking their degrees of A.B., or removing to other Colleges, or leaving the University, and paying Five Shillings to the fund of the Society, shall be admitted to the rank of Honorary Member.

1801

2. (On Feb. 13, after 'A.B.,' the words 'or becoming of standing for them' were added; and after 'of the Society', the words, 'and Two Shillings and Sixpence to the Common Room man.')

1842

3. (May 4.) Resolved, that Members having withdrawn from the P. C. R. in consequence of the unjust opposition of the Dons, and such withdrawal being considered prejudicial to the interests of the Club, future Members of the P. C. R. consider themselves pledged against resignation, and bound in every way to advance the welfare of the Club.

1860

4. (Oct. 16.) Resolved, that the senior resident Member should be President, and that the management of the accounts and Secretaryship should be held by one of the other Members who, being most fit for that, is to be elected by vote.

1879

5. (Oct. 12.) Resolved, that Members who had removed their names at B. N. C., and put them on Halls, should become Honorary Members, and pay their own share of wines, &c., at meetings of the P. C. R.

II. ELECTIONS

1786 ?

1. In the case of a vacancy every new Member shall be elected by ballot by the Actual Members only; and no person can be elected without the unanimous consent of those Actual Members who may be present at the time of voting.

Later note, after 1801 :—'This Rule has been infringed in cases of great necessity, and by the unanimous consent of the voting Members.'

2. No person can be proposed to the Society as a Member but by the Secretary, and the Members are to ballot for the person so proposed according to their seniority in the Society.

3. Every person is to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to his voting at elections.

4. When more than one Member is elected at the same time, the Members so elected are to rank according to their seniority in College.

See *Business Meetings*, Rule 2.

5. At an election, upon the proposal of a person, he must be three times balloted for, in case he is not sooner elected; and if he is not then elected, he cannot again be proposed at the same meeting.

Later note.—'This has been sometimes waived.'

1801

6. On Feb. 13, in Rule 2, all after 'Secretary' was struck out: and also Rules 3 (but see III. 9) and 4; and in Rule 5, all after 'sooner elected'.

1802

7. (May 23.) (Vacancies probable after the Long Vacation shall [*later* 'may'] be filled up before the preceding Anniversary Dinner.)

1821

8. Jan. 26. It was this day resolved that in consequence of the great want of Members, arising from a violent opposition throughout College to the P. C. R., it is necessary to the interests of the Club that there be a temporary suspension of

the rule which has hitherto been strictly observed, and that a man may be now eligible in his second term. But, as this measure appears, nevertheless, to be unconstitutional, and only justified by the extreme necessity of the times, it is hoped that there will be no occasion for it to continue long in force, and that future secretaries will not appeal to it, unless compelled by similar circumstances; the best security of the Phœnix being generally a uniform adherence to its ancient and established rules. [Rescinded May 30, 1821.]

9. (Nov. 18.) (The resolution of Jan. 26, 1821, was re-enacted 'as a temporary measure', adding) that the two short terms between Easter and the Long Vacation are to be reckoned as one. It is to be hoped that soon the Club will be enabled to return to the standing order on the subject of elections, as it is only suspended from there being such a great scarcity of desirable men in the College.)

[This resolution was rescinded on Feb. 1, 1824.]

1824

10. (June 12.) As considerable inconvenience has arisen from the want of clearness in the law or custom of elections, with regard to the standing at which persons are to be considered eligible to the P. C. R., it is hereby enacted that all candidates must have resided at least two terms, provided that those persons who commence their residence in Easter term shall reckon the Easter and Act terms as one.

1831?

(The Secretary states that no instance is recorded of a Member elected in his first term, and strongly advises the retention of the old rule.)

1850

11. (Dec. 10.) (A Member of the Club is expelled, 'for a series of acts totally incompatible with the character which he, as a member of the P. C. R., was bound to uphold, and calculated to damage very seriously the reputation of the Club, unless very strong measures be taken.')

1881

12. (Jan. 26.) (Vacant places in the Club are not to be filled up for the present.)

III. BUSINESS MEETINGS

1786 ?

1. No person whatever can be present at the meetings of the Society to transact business, except the Actual Members and the Secretary for the time being, and the strictest secrecy is to be observed as to what passes at each meeting.

2. Every proposition must be carried or negatived by a majority of voices, except at the election of Members, when unanimity is required.

3. No person has a right to attend at any meeting, or to vote on any proposition, except the Actual Members and the Secretary, who, if he is Actual, has the casting voice on all occasions where the numbers are equal; but if the Secretary is an Honorary Member, though he is present at all the meetings, he has only a right of giving the casting vote when the numbers are equal.

4. The Secretary shall have the power of calling a meeting whenever he shall judge it expedient.

5. No person can be allowed to give his vote or opinion by proxy.

1793

6. Tuesday, Feb. 12. It was unanimously agreed that whenever it was necessary for the Society to have a meeting, a public breakfast should be given at the Secretary's rooms, at the expense of the Society; and that every Member absenting himself without sufficient cause shall pay his share of the breakfast, the same as if he had been present.

Later note.—This regulation was dropped in a few years.

1801

7. (On Feb. 13, in Rule 4, after 'meeting', the words 'of the whole Society, both Actual and Honorary', were added; and in Rule 3, all after 'and the Secretary' was struck out,

and a new Rule made: 'The Secretary shall have the casting voice upon all occasions, besides his vote as an Actual Member, if he be one.')

8. Feb. 13. Every Member neglecting to attend a meeting when summoned shall be fined the value of a bottle of port.

9. The strictest secrecy is to be observed with regard to what passes at any meeting.

1831

10. (May 16.) Resolved, that the weekly meetings of the Members of the P. C. R. be in future held immediately after dinner on Sundays, and that every Member not attending before seven o'clock be fined at the discretion of the Club.

IV. ANNIVERSARY DINNERS

1786 ?

1. The Anniversary of the Society shall be held at the King's Arms, always upon some day in Act Term, at which all the Honorary and Actual Members of the Society resident in or near the University are expected to attend, timely notice being given by the Secretary of the day and hour of dining fixed upon; at which meeting no stranger can possibly be admitted.

2. At the Anniversary Dinner, the two seniors of the Actual Members resident shall be the President and Vice-President, and shall have the management of the Dinner.

1801

3. Feb. 13. (In Rule 1, the words 'at the King's Arms' were struck out.)

4. Feb. 13. Besides the Anniversary two other Dinners shall be held annually—the one in Michaelmas, the other in Lent Term, at which all the Actual and Honorary Members resident in the University are expected to attend, timely notice of the day, &c., being given by the Secretary.

Note slightly later.—These two dinners have since been repealed.

5. Feb. 13. At the Lent and Michaelmas meetings no other wine than port and sherry shall be allowed, and the dinners shall not exceed *7s. 6d.* per head, which, together with a sum sufficient to defray the expense of fruit, waiters, &c., shall be collected previous to the day of dining.

6. Feb. 13. At all the Dinners, the two seniors of the Actual Members resident shall be the President and Vice-President, and shall have the management of the Dinners.

7. Feb. 13. Any resident Actual Member absenting himself from any of these Dinners, and any resident Honorary Member absenting himself from the Anniversary Meeting, shall forfeit his quota of the dinner and wine, unless his excuse for non-attendance be judged sufficient by a majority.

8. Feb. 13. At the Lent and Michaelmas Dinners no stranger can be admitted.

1802

9. (June 2.) (Members absent from the Anniversary Dinner, without 'most cogent reasons', are to be struck off the books of the Society.)

10. (June 2.) Resolved, that the Anniversary Dinner be held regularly on the Wednesday in the fourth week of May.

1831

11. (Nov. 4.) Resolved, that two extra Anniversary Dinners of the P. C. R. be held upon some day in the Michaelmas and Hilary terms, at which every resident Member shall be expected to attend, unless prevented by most cogent reasons, timely notice being given by the Secretary of the day and place fixed upon. At these extra Dinners any Member may introduce a friend, paying only for two shares of the wine drank, provided that he give notice to that effect to the President at least three days before; and any Member absenting himself without giving such notice shall be liable to his share of the expenses.

1844

12. (Feb. 14.) Resolved, that the custom of giving an Annual Dinner be revived, and that the Members of the

P. C. R. do dine at the Mitre Inn, on Wednesday, the 28th day of this month, at six o'clock, and that each Member be allowed to invite two strangers.

1853

13. (Jan. 19.) Resolved, that the custom of giving an Annual Dinner be revived, and that the Members of the P. C. R. do dine at the Cross[1] Inn, on Wednesday, Feb. 1, at six o'clock, and that each Member be allowed to invite two friends.

1867

14. (June 10.) Resolved, that at the Annual Dinner the custom of drinking wine with one another should be instituted, since it promotes festivity, and generally conduces to the harmony of the evening.

1871

15. (June 26.) The P. C. R. held a Dinner in London, at the Albion Tavern, on this day, at which it was unanimously resolved that there should be an Annual Dinner of the P. C. R. in London, and that the day fixed should always be the second day of the University [Cricket] Match. It was also resolved that the resident Secretary in Oxford and an old Member of the Club in London, elected at the preceding dinner, should have the entire management of the Dinner.

V. DINNERS, DRESS, ETC.

1786?

1. Every Member is allowed to bring any number of strangers to the Common Room, paying their shares of the wine drunk himself.

Note.—It is expected that every person, whether stranger or Member, Actual or Honorary, shall, upon his joining the party at the Common Room every day, at whatsoever time it may be, drink two glasses of wine, one of them to the toast of, 'Prosperity to the Phœnix Society'; and every person who shall have complied with this custom, which the President of the day, though he has the power to waive it, is expected to

[1] Now, no doubt, the Golden Cross, in Cornmarket Street.

see observed, shall then be at full liberty to drink exactly what quantity of wine he chooses, and at what time and in what manner is most agreeable to himself. The healths of every Actual and Honorary Member being included in the before-mentioned toast, it is irregular and inadmissible to drink the health separately of any individual (by whomever given) in the Common Room, who either does at the present time or ever has belonged to the Phœnix Society, or Junior Common Room.

Later note.—The number of Common Room toasts has been increased, and the custom of not toasting any man who is or has been a Member of the Society has been long disused.

2. The President for the day shall always be that Actual Member who has brought the greatest number of strangers; and in case two or more Actual Members shall have brought an equal number of strangers, the senior of those Members shall be the President.

3. No Honorary Member can be President while an Actual Member is present; but in case no Actual Member is present, the Honorary Members are to follow the same rules as the Actual Members.

4. Upon every occasion the Junior Actual Member is to take upon himself all the trouble, such as calling for and opening the wine, &c., &c.

5. The Common Room shall begin upon the first Sunday in every term to be held at the rooms of the senior Actual Member, and shall be continued regularly afterwards at the rooms of the Actual Members resident, according to seniority in the Society.

6. No person shall upon any account be allowed to let the Common Room pass his turn, except in case of sickness [re-enacted in Jan. 31, 1805; the Vice-Principal's æger-list is not to be regarded as sufficient proof of sickness], and no person shall be allowed to transfer it to another person's room without the consent of that person, and without taking that person's day in exchange.

1793

7. Tuesday, Feb. 12. It was unanimously agreed that every Actual Member who did not attend the Common Room

at least once in the course of a fortnight, should be fined the value of one bottle of port wine.

1801

8. Feb. 13. Every Member shall be allowed to bring one stranger to the Common Room, paying himself for two shares of the wine drunk.

9. Feb. 13. No person shall be permitted to send a stranger to the Common Room when he does not attend himself; and every Member transgressing this regulation shall pay for two shares of the wine drunk, the same as if he had been present.

10. Feb. 13. The President for the day shall always be the senior Actual Member who has a stranger.

11. Feb. 13. The President shall have the power of giving the following bumper toasts, before which it is inadmissible to give any toast or sentiment whatever. Common Room Toasts —'Our Old Friend,' 'The King,' 'The Phœnix,' 'The Absent Members,' 'The Secretary.'

12. Feb. 13. The majority of Members present shall have the power of sconcing any person for improper behaviour, the President having the casting vote.

13. Feb. 13. With the above exceptions every person shall be at full liberty to drink what quantity of wine he chooses; but it must be understood that this regulation does not authorize any person to pass the bottle without having drunk what he before filled.

14. Feb. 13. (In Rule 4, after 'occasion', the words 'except when he is President' were added.)

15. Feb. 13. It was resolved that the custom which prevailed of expecting a public breakfast from every new elected Member should in future be discontinued.

16. Oct. 25. It was resolved that the practice of giving public breakfasts should be revived, and commence with the senior Member who had not given one.

Note.—In pursuance of this resolution, eight elegant entertainments were given, in the course of the Michaelmas term, 1801, by the eight junior Members of the Society.

1802

17. (Jan. 24.) It was unanimously agreed that the public breakfasts should be henceforth abolished, it being conceived that the expense attending them was by no means counterbalanced by the enjoyment they afforded.

18. (June 2.) The division of the evening shall take place at seven o'clock instead of at prayer-time.

19. (Mich. T.) Resolved, that there shall be no division of the evening, but that any Member who attends the Common Room any part of an evening shall pay his *quota* for the whole of that evening.

1809

20. (Feb. 12.) Resolved, that no resident Member of the P. C. R. shall himself appear at the Phœnix Common Room undressed, or bring a resident stranger undressed . . . (except in the case of Members who are reading for their Degrees; otherwise to be 'sconced' the value of half-a-dozen bottles of port wine).

1818

21. (Oct. 23.) (No Honorary Member shall pay for his dinner; and resident Honorary Members only for their share of wine.)

1821

22. (May 30.) (Fines for not passing, or changing, the toasts.)

1822

23. (March 7.) Resolved, that dressing should be confined to Sunday and Concert nights; and if on common nights a Member wished to bring a stranger, he should, of course, dress as usual, and tell Sawyer to give notice to the other Members. This rule, however contrary to the ancient and established custom, was made in consequence of the things being laid out every night without ever being used; turning the man out of his room without benefit to the Members, who, on that account, went to wine wherever they could get a glass. This, however, it is to be hoped, will bring them more together,

and give them an opportunity of seeing each other some nights besides Sunday.

1823

24. (Oct. 27.) Resolved, that the Members of the P. C. R. should each wear a claret-coloured coat with a velvet collar, and buttons of a pattern to be determined by the Secretary. Also a white kerseymere waistcoat, with buttons of the same pattern as those of the coat. It is understood that this uniform should be worn on all those occasions on which the Members meet dressed.

1836

25. (Feb. 1.) (The Secretary is always to be President at the Dinners, and the senior Actual Member Vice-President for the day.)

26. (Feb. 10.) (Rule 9 to be modified, but *only* so far as to allow a Member to 'leave his stranger in the Common Room during the hours of Chapel only'.)

27. (Feb. 10.) Resolved, that in consequence of the many and arduous duties which devolve on the Secretary, there be granted to him the privilege of bringing a *second* stranger to the Common Room, which stranger shall be entertained at the joint expense of the Club.

28. (Feb. 10.) Resolved, that owing to the confusion which has arisen from a misunderstanding as to whether any Member is licensed to introduce a stranger in undress after Chapel, hereafter no such licence shall be permitted but to the Secretary alone, or any Member having the Secretary's leave to do so; it being at the same time suggested that the Secretary should not avail himself of this privilege more frequently than necessary on dress nights, as the introduction of strangers in undress at such a time cannot but be somewhat injurious to the Club's welfare.

1840

29. (Mar. 15.) (Every Member allowed to bring two Members to dinner 'during the scarcity of eligible men in the College', each paying for his own strangers.)

30. (June 29.) Resolved, that strangers be allowed to come

to the Phœnix in morning [this provision was rescinded on Nov. 23] or evening dress, without white ties.

1841

31. (March 17.) Resolved, that the time of attending Sunday times [*sic*, dinners?] be not later than six o'clock (with fine for lateness).

32. (Nov. 30.) Resolved, that no Member be allowed to ask any one who has withdrawn from the Club to the P. C. R., under penalty of not less than half-a-dozen of wine [in connexion with Rule VI. 29].

1842

33. (Feb. 3.) Resolved, that the P. C. R. do in future meet on Tuesday instead of Sunday evening, on account of the violent opposition of the Principal and Fellows to the Sunday meeting, and their threats to expel the Members of the P. C. R., unless their day be changed. Resolved, that all other existing Rules remain in force.

1844

34. (Nov. 6.) Resolved, that the first of the five toasts usually given, being a remnant of heathenism, be from henceforth discontinued, and that for the future the toasts stand as follows:—(1) 'The Queen'; (2) 'The Phœnix'; (3) 'The Absent Members'; (4) 'The Secretary.'

1857

35. (Oct. 28.) Resolved that, owing to the prosperous state of the P. C. R., the number of strangers should be limited to one to each Member; but that the resolution of Feb. 10, 1836 [No. 27, above] should still be retained.

36. (Oct. 28.) Resolved, that no Member should be absent from the weekly meeting of the P. C. R., unless on account of some urgent reason, which reason is to be determined[1] by the Secretary.

1862

37. (June 29.) Resolved, that for the future the toasts

[1] i. e. no doubt approved after consideration.

should stand as follows: (1) 'The Queen'; (2) 'The Phœnix'; (3) 'The Absent Members'; (4) 'The Guests'; (5) 'The Secretary.'

1865

38. (June 20.) (The Vice-Principal communicated five College orders to the Club, restricting entertainments after nine p.m., requiring the names of the Members of the Club every year, &c. On Feb. 13, 1867, the rule which restricted entertainments was appealed against.)

1879

39. (Oct. 12.) Resolved, that the P. C. R. should meet on the first Tuesday in the term, instead of the second.

1881

40. (Jan. 26.) Resolved, that the fine for not bringing a guest should not be less than two bottles.

1882

41. (Oct.) Owing to the Hall [dinner] being at seven o'clock, the College granted permission for a separate dinner for the P. C. R. at six o'clock, in Hall.[1]

VI. WINE, PLATE, AND COMMON ROOM MAN.

1788–91

1. Resolved, that each Actual Member (in case the Common Room man is regular and constant in his attendance) pay him every term the sum of two shillings and sixpence.

1789–91

2. Resolved, that the Common Room wine shall not, on any pretence whatever, be allowed to be drunk, nor the Common Room decanters, glasses, knives, &c., &c., be used *out* of the Common Room.

1793

3. (Tuesday, Feb. 26.) It was unanimously agreed that (in addition to the sum of *2s. 6d.* paid every term by each

[1] They now dine in the large Lecture Room at the foot of Staircase no. XI.

Actual Member to the Common Room man, which is to be paid whether the Member is resident or not), the sum of 2*s*. 6*d*. be paid him by every Member at his election into the Society, and the like sum upon his being admitted to the rank of Honorary Member.

4. Sunday, June 9. Every Member, at the end of each term, shall pay, together with his other accounts, the sum due from him to the Common Room man into the hands of the Secretary, who shall pay the same regularly to him at the end of each term. And in case there shall happen to be any vacancies for the space of one or more terms, the sum of 2*s*. 6*d*. shall be paid out of the funds of the Society to the Common Room man at the end of every term for each vacancy that shall so happen.

1794

5. Sunday, Dec. 7. It was unanimously resolved that it should be allowable for all Members, whether Actual or Honorary, to have wine from the Common Room cellar to their own rooms, paying for it at the rate of 27*s*. per dozen, or 2*s*. 3*d*. per bottle[1]; provided that payment is always punctually made for it, together with the Member's other account, upon the Saturday following. . . . (In case of non-payment, no more wine is to be sent out, and the debts for such wine are to be subject to the same penalties as the other accounts.)

1795

6. Sunday, April 26. It was unanimously resolved that, to avoid giving the Common Room man any unnecessary trouble, no wine should be allowed to be removed from the Common Room cellar to any Member's room, whether Actual or Honorary, after evening prayers, unless that room be the Common Room for the day. And it shall not be allowable for any Member to return any wine into the Common Room cellar again, after having once had it brought to his rooms.

[1] A note slightly later alters the above to *port* wine, and adds, 'and sherry at the rate of 36*s*. per dozen, or 3*s*. per bottle.'

7. Sunday, Nov. 22. It was unanimously resolved that no more than two dozen of port and six bottles of sherry shall be allowed to be taken from the Common Room cellar to the rooms of any Member, whether Actual or Honorary, in the space of one week, beginning always on the Sunday morning.

8. Nov. 22. It was unanimously resolved that all debts for wine thus had from the Common Room cellar shall positively be discharged on or before the following Saturday, upon pain of incurring the following penalties: For any quantity of wine not exceeding six bottles, the sum of 5*s*. . . .; above six, but not exceeding twelve bottles, the sum of 10*s*.; and so on in proportion . . . (after a week's debt for such penalties, half-a-guinea in addition is to be paid for not more than six bottles, one guinea for not more than twelve, and so on).

1797

9. Sunday, Dec. 10. It was unanimously resolved that it should be allowable for any Member whatsoever to have any quantity of wine to his own rooms from the Common Room cellar; but that the said wine should be always regularly and punctually paid for before the wine is removed.

10. Dec. 10. It was unanimously resolved that the fines for debts contracted on wine drunk in the Common Room should remain as they were, and be rigidly enforced, if rendered necessary by the neglect of any Member, which it was earnestly hoped would not be the case.

11. Dec. 10. It was unanimously resolved that it should be allowable for the Society, if any Member whatsoever should have quitted College, refusing or neglecting, after proper notice, to discharge his arrears, to transfer the said debt from the books of the Society (in whatsoever manner it may have been contracted, whether by fines, penalties, or otherwise) to those of the wine merchant, if he should be willing to accept of the same as part payment from the Society. And it was determined that from the time that such transfer had been made, every such debt should be considered as due from the Member in question, not to the Society but to the wine merchant, if he should be willing to accept of the same.

12. Sunday, Dec. 10. It being thought advisable to augment the salary of the Common Room man, it was unanimously resolved that the sum of 2*s*. 6*d*., in addition to his other salary[1] and perquisites, should be paid to him by every Actual Member and by every resident Honorary Member every Christmas, by way of a Christmas gift . . . (The Common Room man may claim his usual 30*s*. a term from the Secretary, but not the Christmas gift unless the Member has already paid the 2*s*. 6*d*. to the Secretary. For the purposes of the Christmas gift Honorary Members are to be called resident if they have resided in College for any considerable portion of the Michaelmas or Lent term, or of the Christmas Vacation.) And it was determined that every Member should pay the sum of 2*s*. 6*d*. to the Common Room man for attendance during the term in which he has been elected, at whatever time in the said term he may have been elected; and the like sum for attendance during the term in which he becomes Honorary, whether a new Member is elected in his place during that term or not, besides all the other before-mentioned perquisites.

Later note.—It was afterwards thought advisable that . . . every part of the salary and dues of the Common Room man . . . should be regularly paid to him by the Secretary, out of the fund of the Society, whether such gifts, dues, &c., &c., had been punctually and actually paid or not by each individual Member.

1801

13. (Feb. 13.) The Common Room decanters, glasses, knives, &c., shall not be used out of the Common Room.

14. (Nov. 22.) Resolved, that a subscription be opened amongst the Members of the P. C. R., to defray the expense of drawing and engraving the portrait of Thos. Reynolds—Common Room man—under the superintendence of Rowland Egerton and Benjamin Penny.

1802

15. (Jan. 24.) Resolved, at the same time that a present of five guineas be given by the Secretary out of the fund of

[1] *Note.*—In the secretaryship of J. Hordern [1816–17], the salary was fixed for the Common Room man at £20.

the Society to T. Reynolds, in consideration of his regularity, honesty, and attachment to the interests of the P. C. R.

16. (Jan. 31.) It was unanimously agreed that the sum of one guinea be paid by each subscribing Member towards defraying the expense of the engraving of T. Reynolds.[1] (And that the Common Room fund bear any further expense necessary in the matter, and that every future Member pay half-a-guinea [Nov. 22, 1807, '18*s.* 6*d.*'] for an impression of the plate.)

1803

17. (Lent T.) (Common Room man to keep a boy who shall attend Common Room in an evening, and to receive, therefore, 5*s.* per term from every Actual Member, and 2*s.* 6*d.* from resident Honorary Members. Christmas fee taken away, but the profits from sale of Reynolds's portrait, &c., may, if necessary, be added to his salary.)

1804

18. (Act T.) Six silver tablespoons shall be procured for the use of the Common Room, to be paid for by a subscription of the 12 Actual Members.

19. (June 10.) (Mr. Chalie to be the only wine merchant employed [a later note allows discretionary powers]: a pipe of port wine to be ordered from him.)

1805

20. (Nov. 10.) Resolved, that Sir James Gardiner's present of a pipe of port wine be accepted by the Society. Resolved also, that one pipe of port wine shall be put into the cellar of Sir James Gardiner, on his becoming Honorary Member of the Society, and not sooner; and that the Secretary send the same to Roche Court, in Hampshire. Resolved also, that a subscription be entered into by such of the Actual and Honorary Members as are willing, to defray the expenses of a silver Cup, to be presented to Sir James W. S. Gardiner. Also that this subscription be limited to three guineas each;

[1] A reproduction of this engraving will probably appear in an early number of the *Brazen Nose*.

that Messrs. Rundell and Bridge be employed for this purpose; and further, that the present be accompanied with a note testifying the grateful sense which the Members entertain of Sir James Gardiner's exertions and zeal for the welfare of the P. C. R. Society. It was this day also resolved that in future no presents be received from any Members of this Society previous to the time of their leaving College.

1813

21. (Nov. 7.) Resolved, that from the inferiority of the P. C. R. wine, John Barnes and Son should in future be the wine merchants employed, and that the present stock should be disposed of to the best advantage; which was put in execution, and half a pipe ready for immediate drinking ordered.

1816

22. (May 15.) (Common Room man's salary fixed at £20 a year.)

1818

23. (April 5.) Resolved, from the inferiority of the wine, that Mr. Latimer should no longer be employed in the wine way by the Phœnix Common Room.

24. (June 1.) ('Common Room man's salary raised, and the washing' raised, by Members paying 11*s.* 6*d.* per term, the terms being four in number. £2 2*s.* paid to Tom, to defray the expense of his late illness.)

25. (Oct. 24.) In consequence of the age of Tom Reynolds, Sawyer was this day elected to assist him during his lifetime, and after his death to succeed to the place. (On the 27th, it was resolved that Tom should still have £20, and Sawyer, for the present, £10. The former retired before June 13, 1819.)

1819

25.* (Dec. 3.) (Thanks of the Society given to Buckley 'for the handsome present of the inkstand which appears on the table'.)

1824

26. (June 3.) Resolved, that the Secretary be requested to convey the thanks of the P. C. R. to Mainwaring, for his very handsome present to the Club of three silver bottle stands.

1825

27. (Feb. 27.) Similar thanks to John W. Knightley, Esq., for his 'handsome present of a silver snuff-box'.)

1839

27.* (Feb.) (Mr. Monck gave £20 to the P. C. R., with which to buy plate.)

1841

28. (March 17.) (Interest allowed on Messrs. Lavell's and Clowes' account of £150 till it is paid.)

29. (Nov. 30.) Resolved, that Mr. J. T. Somers Cocks' picture of Reynolds be removed from his possession, in consequence of his having withdrawn his name from the Club.[1]

1853

30. (April 13.) (Thanks given to John Gott, Esq., and George Mallory, Esq., 'for their handsome present of a silver punch-bowl.')

1857

31. (May 28.) (Thanks to William McGregor Down, Esq., 'for his handsome present of a dozen cut wine-glasses.')

32. (Jan. 28.) (Thanks given to J. Codrington and T. B. Shaw-Hellier, Esqrs., 'for their handsome present of two dozen finger-glasses.')

1858

33. (Nov. 5.) (Thanks given to W. I. Allgood, Esq., 'for his handsome present of a dozen silver dessert knives.')

34. (Nov. 26.) (Thanks given to T. B. Shaw-Hellier and George Gordon Haigh, Esqrs., 'for their handsome present of a silver cigar lighter.')

[1] He withdrew 'on account of the restriction to attendance on Sunday evenings'.

1861

35. (Oct. 21.) (Thanks given to J. H. Gumbleton and W. H. Dunn, Esqrs., 'for their present of two dozen wine-glasses.')

1867

36. (Feb. 3.) (Thanks given to W. H. Dunn, Esq., 'for his handsome present of two dessert dishes, to complete the set.')

1879

37. (Jan.) (Thanks given to T. C. Edwards-Moss, Esq., 'for the handsome cigarette box he had presented.'

1874

38. (Jan. 28.) (Thanks given to W. Law, Esq., and E. P. Rawnsley, Esq., 'for their handsome present of two pairs of silver nutcrackers.')

1881

39. (Oct. 17.) (Thanks given to E. H. Hulse, Esq., 'for his very handsome present of a spirit case.')

1882

40. (Jan. 24.) Joseph Hill elected Common Room man, in place of Harry Charlwood, deceased.

1883

41. (Oct. 30.) (Thanks given to John W. Low, Esq., 'for his handsome present of a liqueur decanter and twelve silver cups.')

VII. SUBSCRIPTIONS AND COMMON ROOM.

See I., 1.

1788

1. Thursday, Apr. 17. Resolved by the Members of the Phœnix Society, that a subscription of 5*s*. be paid by each Member into the hands of the Secretary, to defray the expenses of the papers.

1788-89

2. Resolved, that the papers be taken to Mr. Symonds's rooms, and that every Member have the liberty of going into that room [*sic*] for the purpose of reading the papers.

1789-91

3. Resolved, that the magazines, pamphlets, papers, &c. &c., be in future discontinued.

4. Resolved, that any Member who has a stranger with him may look upon the room where the Society meets that day as a Common Room until tea-time.

1791

5. June 27. Resolved, that the arrears of the Society be collected by the Common Room man every Saturday; and it is requested that every Member of this Society will regularly pay up his arrears, as being conducive to the welfare and regularity of the said Society.

1792

6. Tuesday, March 13. It was agreed, *nemine contradicente*, that the accounts of the Secretary be audited and reported of, by the Society at large or a Committee appointed by them, once every term.

1793

7. Sunday, June 9. It was unanimously agreed that every Member of this Society shall always pay the entire sum that he stands indebted to the Society at the end of each term to the Secretary, under the penalty of one half the sum then due to the Society being added to his account. And in case any Member shall ever neglect for more than one term together to pay up his arrears, it was unanimously agreed that at the end of each term an additional half of the sum then due to the Society shall continue to be added to the account of the Member thus neglecting, until he shall discharge the same.

8. June 9. It was unanimously agreed that the beforementioned regulation, respecting payments, is to extend as well to the Actual Members of the Society as to those who may hereafter be admitted to the rank of Honorary Member.

9. June 9. It was unanimously agreed that the beforementioned regulation . . . (should not lessen the force of Rule 5).

1794

10. Tuesday, May 6. It was agreed that the part of the . . [7th] regulation . . . which regards the penalty to be inflicted in case of non-observance, should be altered in the following manner:—For every sum not exceeding 20*s*., left unpaid at the end of Michaelmas, Lent, or Easter Terms, a fine of 5*s*. shall be added to the account . . .: for every sum exceeding 20*s*., but not exceeding 30*s*., left unpaid at the end of Michaelmas, Lent, or Easter Terms, a fine of 7*s*. 6*d*. shall be added to the account . . .: and so on, in proportion to the amount of the debt. It was, however, resolved that the penalty which regards the debts left unpaid at the end of the Act Term, should continue the same as was appointed by the [5th] regulation . . . . It was likewise resolved that no Member shall incur the above-mentioned penalties at the end of the Michaelmas, Lent, or Easter Terms, who shall continue to reside in College from one term to another . . . . It was likewise resolved that no Member shall incur any of the above-mentioned penalties above once for the same sum . . . . It was likewise resolved that all these regulations should extend as well to the present Actual Members as to those who may hereafter be admitted to the rank of Honorary Members; and those who have been admitted that rank since the regulation of . . . June 9, 1793, are no longer to be bound by the penalties thereby inflicted, but are to be subject to the . . . new regulations . . . .

1797

11. Sunday, Dec. 10. It was unanimously resolved that the sum of three guineas,[1] as Caution money, should be collected from every Actual Member, and every resident

[1] 'This sum was increased at a meeting in May, 1799, to five guineas. It is to be understood that no Caution money whatever is, upon any occasion, to be returned to any Member, unless earnestly demanded, which it is hoped never will be the case.'

Honorary Member, to be returned whenever any Member shall discharge all arrears, and shall declare himself to be no longer a resident Member of the University. It was likewise resolved that this sum should be paid by every Member whatsoever before the end of the term, and in future by every new Member within one week after his election.

1801

12. (Revision of 11, Feb. 13.) Every Member, upon his election, shall deposit in the hands of the Secretary the sum of five guineas, as Caution money, which sum shall be returned to him whenever he shall have discharged all arrears, and shall declare himself to be no longer a resident Member of the University.

Later note.—This Rule was passed Dec. 10, 1797. The original sum was £3 3*s.*, which was soon after increased to £5 5*s.* Uniform custom has established this deposit as a gift to the P. C. R. fund, which was at first intended as a temporary loan. Of forty Members who have contributed Caution money, two only have re-demanded it. And as these were Honorary Members at the time of the first institution, and quitted College very soon after, succeeding Members have not looked upon them as affording any precedent applicable to themselves. This regulation has been of the first importance to the P. C. R.

Dec. 6, 1801, R. Egerton.

13. (Feb. 13.) Every Member, both Actual and Honorary, shall discharge the whole of his arrears to the Society at the end of the Michaelmas, Lent, and Act Terms, before he leaves College; and those Members who continue to reside in College from one term to another, before the conclusion of the Vacation, under a penalty . . . .

1802

14. (Jan. 31.) (No Member's account is to exceed £10, otherwise such Member is not to 'attend the Room' till one half is paid.)

1804

15. (June 10.) (Special additional subscription of £5 to be paid this year by every Actual Member.)

1809

16. (May 7.) (Entrance fee for Membership and Honorary Membership increased from 5*s*. to One Guinea.)

1810

17. (Feb. 7.) (Wax lights to be used in Common Room.)

1822

18. (Oct. 14.) ('It being represented that near £600 were due to the P. C. R. by various Members, and that the funds were in consequence very low,' resolved, that no wine be allowed from the cellar to Members in arrear.)

1831

19. (Nov. 4.) (A stringent rule was passed about the payment of all arrears.)

1849

20. (Nov. 20.) (A similar stringent rule passed.)

1861

21. (Oct. 21.) (A similar stringent rule passed.)

22. (Oct. 21.) Resolved, that all new Members must pay their entrance fee on the day of election.

1866

23. (March 14.) A printed circular to be sent to old Members who owe money to the Club; the entrance fee, 'which had been reduced from £6 6*s*. to £5 8*s*.,' is restored to six guineas; the annual subscription is made two guineas.

24. (May 30.) (Thanks given to C. E. Harris, Esq., for his 'handsome present' of £20 'to aid in defraying the debts of the Club'.)

25. (Nov. 27.) Resolved, that no Member be allowed to attend a meeting of the P. C. R. who owes £10 to the Club.

1867

26. (Feb. 13.) Resolved, that for the future the Club cigars should not be brought into the Card Room after wine, as the great amount which are then smoked prove a serious

expense to the Club (47 having been smoked on the last occasion), but that each Member should provide himself and guest with such cigars as they may need.

27. (June 10.) (Legal steps to be taken to recover debts from old Members.)

1872

28. (Oct.) (Entrance fee raised from six to seven guineas, and the annual subscription from two to three, 'owing to the reduced circumstances of the Club,' and 'till the Club be out of debt'. An offer towards cancelling the existing debt was made, and refused; the same offer, on Nov. 18, 1873, was accepted.)

1883

29. (April.) Resolved, that the accounts should be made up on a different system, viz.: that the full costs of each meeting should be divided among the Members of the Club present at that meeting—this seeming fairer to those Members who had to bring an extra number of guests, to supply deficiencies caused by absentees. ('The accounts are now made up terminally by the Secretary, and not, as formerly, by the Common Room man.')

VIII. MISCELLANEA

1786?

1. All persons transgressing the 'above' regulations shall submit to whatever punishment the Society shall choose to appoint.

See V., 7.

1867

2. (Feb. 6.) This book having been lost for the last five years, during the secretaryships of Messrs. Heap, Illingworth, and Garnett; resolved, that the Secretary should enter all existing rules which had been made during the secretaryships of the aforesaid gentlemen.

THE CENTENARY DINNER

THE Centenary Dinner was held on Tuesday, June 29, 1886, at 8 p.m., in the Hall of Brasenose College. The Committee for arrangements were the Rev. Canon Reynolds Hole (Chairman at the Dinner, then Dean of Rochester); T. C. Edwards-Moss, M.P.; W. J. Barry, Esq. (Sec. of the P.C.R. at the time); Hon. R. O'Neill, M.P.; S. E. Illingworth, Esq.; and W. W. Whitmore. The last-named was the centre and life of the whole scheme, and grudged no time or labour to bring about a successful result.

Some fifty Members, past and present, assembled in the College Hall, and, after the Dinner, which itself needs no description, the following toasts were proposed and speeches made:—

THE QUEEN, by the Chairman (Canon Hole).

THE PHŒNIX, by the Chairman, acknowledged by the Hon. R. O'Neill and Col. Shaw-Hellier.

ABSENT MEMBERS, by the Earl of Mar and Kellie.

THE GUESTS, by F. Crowder, Esq.; acknowledged by the Principal (the Rev. A. Watson), and F. Madan, Esq., the only two present who were not Members of the Phœnix.

THE SECRETARY AND PRESENT MEMBERS, by M. J. Taylor, Esq., the Senior Member in the Hall; acknowledged by W. J. Barry, Esq.

MR. W. W. WHITMORE, by E. P. Rawnsley.

THE CHAIRMAN, by W. W. Whitmore, Esq.

MR. TAYLOR, by E. L. Fellowes, Esq.

This completed the toasts and speeches, and after some time spent in social intercourse, the company separated, most of the Members having rooms assigned to them in the College.

LIST OF MEMBERS

(Marked P.C.R. in the Principal's *College Register*: of Nos. 1–449 there are biographical notices in the *Century of the Phœnix Common Room* already referred to.)

1. J. Alderson (Original Member).
2. R. Hesketh (Original Member).
3. J. Pemberton (Original Member: el. Fellow of Brasenose 1786).
4. G. Powell (Original Member: el. Fellow of Balliol 1786).
5. F. H. Rodd (Original Member: el. Fellow of All Souls 1787).
6. R. W. Blencowe (Original Member).
7. G. Terry (Original Member).
8. R. Crowther (Original Member).
9. R. Symonds (Original Member: el. Fellow of Oriel 1791).
10. W. H. Heron (Original Member).
11. W. Bagshaw (Original Member).
12. C. Mainwaring (Original Member).
13. J. Mayo (Original Hon. Member: el. Fellow of Oriel 1784).
14. J. Latham (Original Hon. Member: President of the College of Physicians. Portrait in Brasenose Hall).
15. G. Hulme (Original Hon. Member).

1787

16. J. L. Bennett.
17. J. H. Hindley.
18. J. W. Master.
19. D. Ashley.
20. F. Hodson (el. Fellow of B.N.C. 1794: Principal 1809–22).
21. Hon. G. Annesley (afterwards Viscount Valentia).

1788

22. H. J. Langford.

1789

23. C. Mytton.
24. T. Leigh (afterw. Trafford Trafford).
25. J. Bate.
26. J. C. Cockle (Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford).

1790

27. J. H. Mallory.
28. Mark Sykes (afterw. Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, M.P.).
29. R. Darke.
30. G. E. Leigh.
31. H. Cholmondeley (Fellow of Brasenose 1796: Dean of Chester).
32. J. W. Roberts.

Anniversary Dinner.

1791

33. W. Feilden (afterwards Sir W. Feilden, M.P.).
34. J. Huish (el. Fellow of Brasenose 1795).

35. H. Wise.
36. T. Howard.
37. B. Bromhead.

Anniversary Dinner, June.

1792

38. H. Case.
39. R. Crockett.
40. T. Apperley.

Anniversary Dinner, June.

1793

41. C. M. Wentworth.
42. C. Madely.
43. V. Isham.
44. R. Marriott.
45. A. R. Sidebottom.
46. R. Farrer (Fellow of Brasenose 1799).

Anniversary Dinner, June.

1794

47. J. J. Cleaver.
48. T. Whalley.
49. N. P. Williams.
50. R. Vernon.

Anniversary Dinner, June.

1795

51. W. Nicholson.
52. E. S. Radcliffe.

Anniversary Dinner, June 28.

1796

53. R. Hill.
54. J. Cleaver.
55. B. Port (the hero of Heber's *Whippiad*).
56. H. [C.] Isham.
57. R. Caldwell.
58. T. Kenyon.
59. W. Yates.

Anniversary Dinner, June 16, at the King's Arms.

1797

60. W. J. Palmer.
61. E. Lloyd.
62. W. Grant.
63. W. W. Drake.
64. J. Boswell (son of the biographer of Dr. Johnson).

Anniversary Dinner, June 30, at the King's Arms.

1798

65. C. W. Finch.
66. T. Ponton.
67. J. Dickin.
68. R. Egerton.

Anniversary Dinner, June 26, at the King's Arms.

1799

69. J. Markland.
70. J. Clavering.
71. F. Popham.
72. E. H. Jodrell (el. Fellow of Brasenose 1802).

Anniversary Dinner, June 19, in College.

1800

73. J. Drake.
74. W. Praed (or Pread).
75. B. Penny.
76. H. Williams (el. Fellow of Merton College 1803).
77. H. Fortescue, 1st Viscount Ebrington and Earl Fortescue (Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1839-41 : K.G., F.R.S.).
78. S. J. Porten.
79. R. H. Johnson.

Anniversary Dinner, June 23, in College.

1801

80. T. Fane.
81. W. Egerton (M.P.).

82. B. Grey.
83. R. Heber (el. Fellow of All Souls College: Bishop of Calcutta, 1822).
84. T. Dorrien.
85. Hon. C. H. Coote.
86. T. Drake.
87. J. F. Parker.

Anniversary Dinner, June 15.

1802

88. E. T. S. Hornby (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1803).
89. E. Ravenshaw.
90. T. Winfield.
91. J. Poulett (Viscount Hinton).
92. R. Heber (M.P. for the University of Oxford, 1821–26).
93. T. W. Egerton.

Anniversary Dinner, May 31.

1803

94. J. Pollard.
95. T. C. Heber (el. Fellow of Brasenose 1807).
96. C. W. Golding.
97. C. Shipley (el. Fellow of All Souls College).
98. J. Hanmer.
99. W. G. Orrett.
100. S. G. Newport.
101. J. E. Tarleton (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1808).
102. Sir O. Mosley, Bart (M.P.).

Anniversary Dinner, May 25.

1804

103. J. W. Farrer.
104. J. Loveday.
105. O. Farrer.
106. H. Grey.
107. J. Whalley (became Sir J. W. S. Gardiner, Bart., 1805).
108. R. Gumbleton.

Anniversary Dinner, June 14.

1805

109. G. R. Cross (Counsel to the University, 1821).
110. C. Warde.
111. Lord George N. Grenville.
112. G. W. Bampfylde.
113. W. H. Campion.
114. Sir J. M. Stronge, Bart.
115. H. D. Roundell (el. Fellow of Magdalen College).
116. W. Hulton.

Anniversary Dinner, May 23.

1806

117. J. P. Ross.
118. T. Daniell.
119. J. B. Bingham.
120. J. Latham (el. Fellow of All Souls 1806).
121. C. T. Johnson.
122. W. Assheton.
123. D. H. C. Poole.
124. G. Osbaldeston (well known as 'Squire Osbaldeston').
125. A. Dawson (el. Fellow of Brasenose).
126. T. C. Hincks.
127. H. G. Liddell.

Anniversary Dinner, May 21.

1807

128. J. King.
129. T. Farrer.
130. W. Farrer.
131. R. T. Garden.
132. Hon. J. S. Cocks.
133. C. Cator.

1808

134. C. T. Drake.
135. W. Gregson.
136. R. W. Eyton.
137. J. (W.) Spicer.
138. G. B. Lyon.

139. G. A. Maddock.
140. W. Currie.
141. E. Ashton.
142. R. Franco (M.P.).
143. Sir C. Farnaby, Bart.
144. Le G. Starkie.

Anniversary Dinner, June 22.

1809

145. P. Broughton.
146. G. Winstanley.
147. J. O. Crewe.
148. J. T. Drake.

Annual Dinner, June 7.

1810

149. A. (H.) Buchanan.
150. W. Codrington.
151. J. H. Poole.
152. G. Camplin.
153. Hon.W. (J. F.)Vane, 3rd Duke of Cleveland.
154. J. Clarke.
155. T. Blackburne.
156. G. J. West, Earl of Delawarr.

Annual Dinner, June 25.

1811

157. H. F. Luttrell (M.P.).
158. J. Doyne.
159. R. Winter.
160. E. J. Walhouse, Lord Hatherton.
161. C. P. Shakerley.
162. H. H. Aston.
163. E. Mainwaring.

Annual Dinner, June 19.

1812

164. J. Coulthurst.
165. P. L. Brooke.
166. G. Chetwode.
167. T. Cator.
168. T. Lewes.
169. Hon. E. Wingfield.
170. Hon. W. H. Yelverton (M.P.).

1813

171. W. Cookson.
172. E. Wyvill.
173. J. S. Barry.
174. C. W. St. John Mildmay (el. Fellow of Merton College).
175. J. S. Menteath.
176. G. T. Drake.
177. E. H. Dawkins (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1815).

Annual Dinner, June 23.

1814

178. R. Burke.
179. J. Hordern.
180. H. Porter.
181. J. A. Partridge.
182. R. Burdett.
183. G. Rumbold.

Annual Dinner, June 15.

1815

184. F. Sullivan (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1818).
185. E. A. Sanford (M.P.).
186. A. I. Aston (Envoy at Madrid 1840).
187. C. Leycester.
188. C. C. Cholmondeley.
189. P. Lewes.

Annual Dinner, May 31.

1816

190. J. S. Barry.
191. A. Chichester.
192. R. Fayle.
193. T. Hill.

Annual Dinner, June 26.

1817

194. H. Cholmondeley.
195. H. Mallory.
196. W. L. Maberley.
197. T. Gronow.
198. F. Shaw.
199. C. D. Beckford (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1821).
200. J. Buchanan.
201. H. W. Buckley (el. Fellow of Merton College 1821).

Annual Dinner.

1818

202. A. Clive.
203. P. Hordern.
204. F. K. Bouverie.

Annual Dinner, June 1.

1819

205. H. Perceval.
206. J. C. Girardot.
207. Hon. H. A. Rous.
208. G. W. C. Stapylton.
209. R. Biddulph (M.P.).

Annual Dinner, June 21.

1820

210. S. G. Gunning.
211. J. Lodge.
212. W. Harvey.
213. W. de C. Brooke.
214. Le G. N. Starkie.

Annual Dinner, June 12.

1821

215. G. C. R. Dering.
216. Hon. A. Thellusson.
217. Hon. A. Waldegrave.
218. E. Duncombe.
219. R. F. Jenner.
220. G. Brooke.

Annual Dinner, May 30.

1822

221. E. Willes.
222. R. Harington (el. Fellow of Brasenose, 1822: Principal 1842–53).
223. T. P. Meade (el. Fellow of All Souls College 1825).
224. J. W. Knightley.
225. J. Brooke.

Annual Dinner, May 31.

1823

226. R. J. Price.
227. W. W. Congreve.
228. C. K. Mainwaring.
229. J. L. Philipps.
230. J. Hargreaves.

Annual Dinner, June 4.

In Oct. 1823 a stranger was, for the first time, admitted to the P.C.R. Dinner on a *week-day*.

1824

231. T. Denman.
232. S. V. Dashwood.
233. T. Ince.
234. J. E. Verner.
235. C. B. D. Garrard.
236. R. Cox.
237. W. Chaloner.

Annual Dinner, June 18.

1825

238. O. J. A. Fuller-Meyrick.
239. A. L. L. Kaye.
240. J. C. Clarke.
241. J. C. Whalley.
242. A. Fawkes.

Annual Dinner, June 6.

1826

243. J. Procter.
244. M. J. Taylor (present at the Centenary Dinner, 1886).
245. G. T. Forester.

246. T. W. Booth.
247. S. G. Osborne (well known as 'S. G. O.' in the *Times*).

Annual Dinner, May 30.

1827

248. T. Mainwaring.
249. J. D. Shafto.

Annual Dinner, June 15.

1828

250. E. A. Waller.
251. R. C. Windham.
252. T. J. Ormerod.

Annual Dinner, June 6.

1829

253. J. Bailey.
254. C. Turnor.
255. W. P. Pigott.
256. E. Golding.
257. J. Greenfield.

Annual Dinner, June 22.

1830

258. Hon. H. Toler.
259. J. B. Monck.
260. C. Hill.
261. H. P. M. Cox.

Annual Dinner, June 22.

1831

262. S. S. Bankart.
263. T. D. Shafto.
264. M. E. Archdale.

Annual Dinner, June 16.

Note.—Extract from a private letter (1886):—'We were a very gentlemanly and very jovial set during my time, when a certain amount of hard drinking was not considered derogatory, unless it led to ungentlemanly conduct in other respects. Smoking was just coming in, which led to a cessation of drinking to excess..... The Club was very exclusive, and consequently subjected to much misrepresentation by outsiders.'

1832

265. J. Drake.
266. J. M. Steele.
267. J. B. Conolly.

Annual Dinner, June 26.

1833

268. T. Hanmer.
269. J. H. Brooks.

Annual Dinner, June 17.

On this occasion, for the first time, a resident member of the P. C. R. was absent from the Annual Dinner.

1834

270. G. Day.
271. J. H. S. Barry.
272. T. H. Lloyd (el. Fellow of All Souls).

1835

273. J. H. Borrer.

1836

274. L. E. G. Clarke.
275. A. Brown.

1837

276. T. C. Powell.
277. R. C. Legh.

1838

278. J. Penrice.
272. W. H. Cooper.

1839

280. W. Worthington.
281. J. Hughes.

1840

282. J. J. T. S. Cocks.
283. G. Worley.

On Nov. 1, 'no Phœnix, on account of the sudden death of Mr. Woodhouse.' [John Woodhouse?, adm. to B.N.C. 3 June, 1837.]

1841

284. J. T. Drake.
285. R. Barton.
286. A. R. Kenyon.
287. S. R. Hole (Dean of Rochester 1887).

1842

288. G. Gordon.
289. W. B. Glegg.
290. T. H. G. Puleston.
291. G. S. Master.

1843

292. Hon. H. R. Pakenham.

1844

293. G. H. Littledale.
294. G. L. Hall.

1845

295. C. W. P. Crawfurd.
296. J. E. Severne (M.P.).
297. T. R. C. Dimsdale.
298. H. V. Packe.

Note.—Extract from a private letter (1886):—'We, the then (1845–47) members of the P. C. R., presented the College with the "Phœnix Sculls", which were to be competed for by all or any members of the College annually. The winner held the Sculls for a year, and in commemoration of his victory he was presented with a silver medal, bearing some inscription. . . . To the best of my belief the names of the donors of the Sculls were engraven on them.'

1846

299. W. H. Midgley.
300. R. Smith.
301. J. Allgood.
302. J. W. C. Perring.

1847

303. J. A. Dawkins.
304. J. H. Milne.

1848

305. N. C. Curzon.
306. G. W. Gunning.

1849

307. J. G. Johnson.
308. J. B. Currey.

1850

309. A. G. Onslow.
310. H. H. Bradshaw.

1851

311. J. L. Errington.
312. E. P. Nicholl.
313. A. H. Minor.

1852

314. R. A. Hole.
315. J. Gott (Bishop of Truro).

1853

316. L. E. Traherne.
317. G. Mallory.
318. H. P. Lance.

1854

319. R. Calvert.

1855

320. W. H. Davey.
321. R. Battye.

1856

322. T. B. S. Hellier.
323. J. E. Codrington.
324. H. B. L. Puxley.
325. T. B. Ferguson.
326. T. G. Edmondson.

Note.—Extract from a private letter (1886):—'In 1856 the Club was at a very low ebb' in point of numbers, but in 1858 'it was in a flourishing condition'.

1857

327. J. G. P. Hughes.
328. G. H. G. Haigh.
329. W. I. Allgood.

1858

330. P. H. Lee.
331. J. W. Morley.

1859

332. J. B. Orme.
333. J. B. White.
334. A. Henry.

1860

335. J. H. Gumbleton.
336. P. Arden.
337. J. Dunn.
338. F. G. Farquhar.

1861

339. S. Phillips.
340. W. H. Erskine (became 11th Earl of Mar and Kellie).
341. W. E. Heap.
342. H. Garnett.

Annual Dinner, May 31.

1862

343. P. A. Latham.
344. S. E. Illingworth.

1863

345. C. E. Harris.
346. A. W. Grant.
347. W. H. Dunn.
348. A. C. Plowden (Metropolitan Police Magistrate).
349. L. Garnett.

(Extract from A. C. Plowden's *Grain or Chaff*, 1903, p. 65 :— 'There is only one thing left to be said of Brasenose; in fact no one could write of Brasenose and leave it out. In the Phœnix Common Room it possessed an institution which was recognised in the University, not only as being the oldest Social Club, but as having a history and traditions which gave it a unique position. It was founded as far back as 1781. The membership was, and always has been, limited to twelve. Once a week they met to drink wine in the rooms of one of its members, wearing a uniform consisting of a dark chocolate coat and cashmere waistcoat with gilt buttons. A high tone of manners was observed at these symposiums. . . . I had the good fortune to be elected a member of the club while still a freshman, and I associate with my recollection of it some of the most joyous hours that I passed at Oxford.'

1864

350. G. C. Fisher.
351. T. M. Colmore.
352. Hon. R. T. O'Neill (M.P.).

1865

353. J. P. Law.
354. E. L. Fellowes.
355. E. P. Garnett.

1866

356. F. Crowder.
357. W. Evetts.

Annual Dinner, May 30.

1867

358. H. Francklin.

Annual Dinner, June 10.

1868

359. E. Mathews.
360. C. Entwisle.
361. Hon. B. E. B. Fitz-Patrick (now 2nd Lord Castletown).
362. B. Pauncefote.
363. C. A. Hopwood.

Annual Dinner, June 18.

1869

364. C. Marriott.
365. A. D. Neeld.
366. A. Nicolson.

Annual Dinner, June 2.

1870

367. E. Wilson.
368. W. H. Hadow.
369. E. E. Venables.
370. C. K. Francis.

Annual Dinner, June 9.

1871

371. E. F. Alexander.
372. H. P. Hornby.
373. C. E. Thornycroft.
374. W. Law.

Annual Dinner, June 26, at the Albion Tavern, London. On June 5 there was also a Club Dinner in Oxford.

1872

375. E. P. Rawnsley.
376. C. H. Thomas.

1873

377. H. A. Anderson.
378. E. R. Still.
379. W. W. Whitmore.
380. T. M. F. Parkyns.
381. E. F. S. Stanhope (Earl of Chesterfield).
382. P. H. Coxe.

Annual Dinner, June 24, at the London Tavern, London.

1874

383. A. J. Edwards.
384. F. D. Hunt.
385. A. E. Leigh.
386. R. Pryor.

Annual Dinner, June 26, at the Pall Mall Restaurant, London.

1875

387. M. J. Brooks.

Annual Dinner, June 25, at the Pall Mall Restaurant, London.

1876

388. T. R. Ker.
389. T. C. Edwards-Moss (M.P.).
390. V. P. F. A. Royle.
391. A. C. Miles.
392. E. F. Sandeman.

No Annual Dinner in London.

1877

393. C. C. Rogers (M.P.).
394. H. D. Daunt.
395. A. G. Weguelin.
396. L. S. B. Tristram.
397. H. F. Blaine.

1878

398. M. C. Pike.
399. W. A. Sandeman.
400. J. R. Story.
401. W. J. M. Hughes.
402. A. R. H. Harter.
403. P. J. M. Rogers.
404. F. J. Ridgway.

1879

405. J. C. Page.
406. T. G. Gardiner.
407. H. A. N. Smith.
408. E. H. Hulse.
409. W. Stirling.

1880

410. J. G. Menzies.
411. F. W. Hayes.
412. B. H. Barton.
413. R. W. Byass.
414. A. R. Cuninghame.
415. T.S. G.H. Robertson-Aikman.
416. J. I. Blencowe.
417. H. E. Phillips.
418. W. M. Low.

1881

419. E. L. Puxley.
420. D. H. Barry.
421. D. Haig (now General Sir Douglas Haig).
422. G. F. Farnham.

Annual Dinner, May 14?

1882

423. H. S. Barton.
424. F. W. L. Popham.
425. R. H. Rawson.
426. W. M. Pike.
427. T. Hitchcock.
428. A. G. G. Asher.

Annual Dinner, May 30?

1883

429. W. Scott.
430. P. Y. Gowlland.
431. W. J. Barry.
432. S. E. R. Lane.
433. C. Child.

Annual Dinner, May 26.

1884

434. H. H. Dobinson.
435. H. T. Arnall-Thompson.
436. A. S. Blair.
437. C. W. Berry.

Annual Dinner, May 31.

1885

438. H. H. Castens.

1886

439. J. Methuen.
440. E. F. Macpherson.

There is an impression that Scholars were never elected members of the P. C. R. This is a mistake. Scholars were elected in 1786, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1798, 1802, and 1810, but not again till this occasion.

441. J. D. Boswell.

[*Centenary Dinner*, June 29, 1886.]

442. H. R. Parker.
443. G. E. Rhodes.

1887

444. F. Routledge.
445. A. Pearson.
446. W. F. C. Holland.
447. R. H. Tilney.

1888

448. F. G. Barker.
449. C. S. Currie.
450. W. A. Leith.
451. W. M. Crowdy.

1889

452. W. C. Kent.
453. C. A. Spottiswoode.
454. G. P. Bancroft.
455. W. H. Parkin.
456. G. E. Barker.

1890

457. H. S. Persse.
458. R. E. Leigh.
459. C. H. R. Horwood.
460. R. G. T. Coventry.
461. J. F. Anderson.

1891

462. E. Edwards.
463. E. Johnson.
464. W. H. Rhodes.
465. R. P. Burra.

1892

466. W. A. Dewhurst.
467. J. S. Porter.
468. W. B. Stewart.
469. W. G. Pennyman.
470. H. C. Haldane.

1893

471. E. F. Cockcroft.
472. R. B. Pearson.
473. T. O. Lloyd.

1894

474. A. B. Nutter.
475. W. P. Donaldson.
476. J. D. Graham.
477. E. D. Sidgwick.
478. J. L. Rushton.
479. H. S. Chinnock.
480. H. A. M. Barbour.

1895

481. J. C. Hartley.
482. J. K. Murphy.
483. C. E. Jenkins.
484. C. C. Eley.

1896

485. C. J. Astbury.
486. H. R. K. Pechell.
487. J. H. Preston.
488. R. E. P. Gorringe.
489. H. F. Chamberlayne.
490. F. M. May.
491. W. J. Thomson.
492. C. H. Style.

1897

493. J. Taylor.
494. E. T. Lyon.
495. C. Toogood.
496. J. R. Torrens.

1898

497. S. U. Mirza.
498. L. W. B. Martin.
499. H. G. B. Cresswell.
500. R. Ralston Patrick.
501. R. Brown.
502. T. R. Thomson.
503. G. B. Eaton.
504. G. J. L. Batchelor.

1899

505. H. C. Brocklehurst.
506. J. G. Heath.
507. B. E. Bucknall.
508. A. Neill.
509. G. W. P. Swinburne.
510. P. A. R. Prichard.
511. W. M. Bouch.

1900

512. E. N. Trappes-Lomax.
513. R. S. Ker.
514. P. P. Leschallas.
515. F. P. Murphy.

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BRASENOSE COLLEGE

(Aula Regia et Collegium de Brasenose)

[In *Mon.* viii at p. 33 will be found a conspectus of the divisions and subdivisions of the following index. The arrangement is of course quite independent of the two particular volumes here indexed, and it is possible that the classes which have no index-entries under them will suggest subjects of inquiry to such of our readers as may be disposed to contribute to the College Magazine.]

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Birmingham	Marlborough
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Burnley	Steeple Aston
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